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R E M A R K S
A N D
D I S S E R T A T I O N S
O N
V I R G I L;

With some other Claſſical OBSERVATIONS:

By the late Mr. H O L D S W O R T H.

Published, with ſeveral N O T E S, and Additional R E M A R K S,
by Mr. S P E N C E.



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M D C C L X V I I I.

The EDITOR'S

ADVERTISEMENT.

MR. HOLDSWORTH'S excellent taste for Poetry, and his superior talents in classical learning, and particularly in poetical criticism, have been as well known, and allowed as universally, as any person's of the age we live in.

HE made more journies to Italy than perhaps any gentleman in this age; studied Virgil's works, in particular, on the very spot where he wrote them (for he staid much longer than usual at Naples); and always carried some interleaved editions of Virgil with him, to take down his observations as they arose.

HIS principal aim was to acquire a more perfect insight into the Georgics; of which he intended to have given the world a new edition, with his Notes adjoined: but he did not neglect observations on the other parts of Virgil's works, as they came in his way.

All his papers of this kind were, on his decease, in 1746, left by Mr. Holdsworth, to his most intimate friend, Charles Jennens, Esq; of Copthall, in Leicestershire; who was so kind as to put them into my hands, at my earnest request; that so great a treasure might not be lost to the world.

To the great concern of his friends, and prejudice to this his design, of illustrating Virgil, Mr. Holdsworth's last years were attended with almost constant ill health; which prevented his setting his last hand to the work. Several of the observations would certainly have been much corrected, and enlarged; and, perhaps, several new ones added. But, as they are, they are highly worth the consideration of the learned, as they are from the hand of a Holdsworth. It is well known, that several unfinished sketches of Raphael, and others of the most capital painters, are held in great esteem by the most knowing connoisseurs; and Michael Angelo used to prefer the Torso of the Belvedere to most of the best and entire statues left us by the Greek Artists.

SEVERAL other observations of Mr. Holdsworth, in this kind, I had been acquainted with, many years before his death: I first having had the happiness of meeting with him at Florence in 1732; and of being favoured with a great degree of his intimacy and friendship. He soon communicated his design, and particular thoughts on Virgil to me, with the greatest freedom. I took notes down on paper, that I might not lose his thoughts; which were so very valuable to me. I went further; I procured an interleaved Virgil, and endeavoured to follow him, as well as I was able: and this occasioned my own observations, which I beg pardon for mixing in the same work with his. I have less reason to make any excuse for those of some friends, of particular worth and eminence, which are inserted in this work.

As there is such a mixture of hands, it is but a common piece of justice, that each should be assigned to the proper Authors. This is done by affixing particular marks to each observation.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

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ALL, therefore, with a larger star *, are taken from Mr. Holdsworth's own hand-writing ; either in his MS. Virgils, or loose notes. Those with a less star *, are the Remarks which I could remember from his conversation : many of which have been already printed in the Virgil published by the ingenious and learned school-master of Winchester College, my particular friend, Mr. Warton : and which I had communicated to him, before I had any hopes of getting the other Observations of Mr. Holdsworth into my hands. All with this mark †, are of other friends ; as all with this ‡, are my own.

T H E

T H E
L I F E O F V I R G I L,

Commonly supposed to be written by DONATUS †,

Improved from a Manuscript of SERVIUS; collated with it
at Florence.

PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO parentibus modicis fuit, et praecipue patre Marone, quem quidam opificem figulum, plures Magii cujusdam viatoris initio mercenarium, mox ob industriam generum tradiderunt: quem cum agricolationi rei que rusticae et gregibus praefecisset focer, sylvis coëmundis et apibus curandis reculam auxit. Natus est, Cn. Pompeio Magno et M. Licinio Crasso primùm Coff. Iduum Octobrium die, in pago, qui Andes dicitur, qui est à Mantuâ non procul. Praegnans mater somniavit Maia, enixam se laureum ramum, quem contactâ terrâ confestim cerneret coaluisse, et excrevisse illico in speciem maturae arboris, refertae variis pomis et floribus: ac sequenti luce, cum marito rus propinquum petens, ex itinere divertit, atque in subjectâ fossâ partu levata est. Ferunt infantem, ut fuit editus, nec vagâsse, et adeò miti vultu fuisse, ut haud dubiam spem prosperioris geniturae jam tum indicaret. Et accessit aliud praesa-

† Ruæus has prefix'd the Life of Virgil, commonly suppos'd to have been written by Donatus, to his Edition of Virgil for the use of the Dauphin; but at the same time declares his opinion, that it was not written by Donatus. The first time I was at Florence (which was in the year 1732), I met with a very fair manuscript of Servius's works; which then belong'd to Baron Stofche, the Author of the *Gemmae Literatae*. In the beginning of it was the Life of Virgil. It had no Author's

name prefix'd to it; but seem'd to be given there, as written by Servius himself. As most of the little fanciful stories, relating to Virgil, are omitted in this; I thought it might not be improper to prefix it to this Work: in hopes, that hereafter (if it should be found to be of sufficient authority) it may do less dishonour to the memory of our Poet, than those received for so many centuries have hitherto done.

B

gium,

gium. Siquidem Virga populea, more regionis in puerperiis, eodem statim loco depacta, ita brevè coaluit, ut multò antè fatas populos adaequàrit. Quae arbor Virgilii ex eo dicta atque consecrata est; summâ gravidarum et foetarum religione, fuscipientium ibi et solventium vota. Initio aetatis, id est, usque ad septimum annum, Cremonae egit: et xvii anno virilem togam cepit; illis Consulibus iterum quibus natus erat. Evenitque, ut eo ipso die Lucretius poëta decederet. Sed Virgilius Cremonâ Mediolanum, et inde paulò pòst Neapolin transit. Ubi cum Literis et Gracis et Latinis vehementissimam operam dedisset, tandem omni curâ omnique studio indulgit medicinae et mathematicae. Corpore et staturâ fuit grandi, aquilino colore, facie rusticanâ, valetudine variâ. Nam plerumque ab stomacho et faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat: Sanguinem saepius ejecit. Cibi vinique, nimiaeque libidinis in pueros pronioris. Sed boni ita eum pueros amâsse putaverunt, ut Socrates Alcibiadem, et Plato suos pueros. Verùm inter omnes maxime dilexit Cebetem et Alexandrum: quem secundâ Bucolicorum eclogâ Alexin appellat; donatum sibi ab Asinio Pollione. Utrumque non ineruditum dimisit: Alexandrum Grammaticum, Cebetem verò et poëtam. Vulgatum est consuevisse eum cum Plotiâ Hieriâ. Sed Asconius Pedianus affirmat, ipsum postea minoribus natu narrare solitum, invitatum quidem se à Vario ad communionem mulieris, verum se pertinacissimè recusâsse. Caetera fanè, vitâ et ore et animo, tam probum fuisse constat, ut Neapoli Parthenias vulgò appellaretur: ac, si quando Romae, quò rarissimè commeabat, viseretur in publico, sectantes demonstrantesque se subterfugere solitum in proximum tectum. Bona autem cujusdam exulantis offerente Augusto, non sustinuit accipere. Possedit propè centies Sestertiûm, ex liberalitatibus amicorum, habuitque domum Romae in Esquiliis juxta hortos Mecaenatis: quanquam secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimùm uteretur. Quaecumque ab Augusto peteret, repulsam nunquam habuit. Parentibus quotannis aurum ad abundantem alitum mittebat; quos jam grandis amisit: ex quibus patrem oculis captum; et duos fratres germanos, Silonem impuberem, Flaccum jam adultum, cujus exitum sub nomine Daphnidis deflet. Inter caetera studia, ut suprâ diximus, medicinae quoque, ac maximè mathematicae, operam dedit. Egrot et causam unam omnino, nec ampliùs quàm semel. Sermone tardissimum, ac penè indocto similem fuisse, Melissus tradidit. Poëticam puer adhuc auspicatus, in Balistam ludi gladiatorii magistrum, ob infamiam latrociniorum coopertum lapidibus, distichon fecit:

“ Monte sub hoc lapidum tegitur Balista sepultus:

“ Nocte dieque tuum carpe, viator, iter.”

Deinde

Deinde Catalecton; et Moretum, et Priapea, et Epigrammata, et Diras, et Culicem, cùm esset annorum quindecim. Cujus materia talis est: Pastor fatigatus aestu cùm sub arbore obdormisset, et serpens ad illum proreperet è palude, culex provolavit, atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit pastori. At ille continuò culicem contrivit, et visum serpentem interemit, ac sepulchrum culici statuit, et distichon fecit:

“ Parve culex, pecudum custos tibi tale merenti

“ Funeris officium, vitae pro munere, reddit.”

Scripsit etiam, de quâ ambigitur, Ætnam. Et mox, cum Res Romanas inchoasset, offensus materiâ et nominum asperitate, ad Bucolica transiit: maxime ut Asinium Pollionem, Alfenum, Varium, et Cornelium Gallum celebraret: quia in distributione agrorum, qui post Philippensem Victoriâ veteranis, triumvirorum jussu, trans Padum dividebantur, indemnem se praestitissent. Deinde Georgica in honorem Mecaenatis edidit, cùm sibi vix dum noto opem tulisset adversus Claudii veterani militis, vel, ut alii putant, Aarii centurionis violentiam, à quo in altercatione litis agrariae parum abfuit quin occideretur. Novissimè autem Æneidem aggressus est; argumentum varium et multiplex, et quasi amborum Homeri carminum instar; praeterea nominibus ac rebus Graecis Latinisque commune, et in quo, quod maximè studebat, Romanae simul urbis, et Augusti origo contineretur. Cùm Georgica scriberet, traditur quotidie meditados manè plurimos versus dictare solitum, ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere, non absurdè carmen se urfae more parere dicentem, et lambendo demum effingere.

Aeneïda prosâ priùs oratione formatam, digestamque in XII libros, particulatim componere instituit, ut quidam tradunt. Alii ejus sententiae sunt, ut existiment, eum, si diutius vixisset, quatuor et viginti libros usque ad Augusti tempora scripturum, atque alia quaedam percursum; Augusti verò gesta diligentissimè executurum: quippe qui, dum scriberet, ne quid impetum moraretur, quaedam imperfecta reliquit; alia levissimis versibus scripsit: quos per jocum pro tigillis vel tibicinibus interponi à se dicebat, ad sustinendum opus, donec solidae columnae advenirent. Bucolica triennio Asinii Pollionis suafu perfecit. Hic Transpadanam provinciam regebat; cujus favore, cùm veteranis Augusti militibus Cremonensium et Mantuanorum agri distribuarentur, suos Virgilius non amisit. Factâ enim distributione, suos, seu Claudio seu Ario datos, recuperavit. Hunc Pollionem maximè amavit Maro, et dilectus ab eo magna munera tulit, quippe qui invitatus ad coenam, captus pulchritudine et diligentia Alexandri Pol-

lionis pueri, eum dono accepit. Hujus Pollionis filium C. Asinium, et Cornelium Gallum, oratorem clarum, et poëtam non mediocrem, miro amore dilexit Virgilius. Is transtulit Euphorionem in Latinum, et libris quatuor amores suos de Cytheride scripsit. Georgica septennio Neapoli, Aeneïda partim in Siciliâ, partim in Campaniâ duodecim confecit annis. Bucolica eo successu edidit, ut in scena quoque per cantatores crebrâ pronuntiatione recitarentur. At cùm Cicero quosdam versus audisset, et statim acri judicio intellexisset non communi venâ editos, jussit ab initio totam eclogam recitari: quam cùm accuratè pernotâisset, in fine ait: “Magnae “*spes altera Romae.*” Quasi ipse linguae Latinae spes prima fuisset, et Maro futurus esset secunda. Quae verba postea Aeneïdi ipse inseruit. Georgica, reverso ab Aëtiacâ victoriâ Augusto, atque reficiendarum virium causâ Atellae commoranti, per continuum quatrimum legit, fuscipiente Me-caenate legendi vicem, quoties interPELLARETUR ipse vocis offensione. Pronuntiabat autem maximâ cum suavitate, et lenociniis miris. Seneca tradidit, Julium Montanum poëtam solitum dicere, involaturum se quaedam Virgilio, si vocem posset, et os, et hypocrisin. Eosdem enim versus, eo pronuntiante, bene sonare: sine illo, inarescere, quasi mutos. Aeneïdos vix dum coeptrae tanta extitit fama, ut Sext. Propertius non dubitârit sic praedicare:

“Cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Graii;
“Nescio quid majus nascitur Æliade.”

Augustus verò, cùm tum fortè expeditione Cantabricâ abesset, et supplicibus atque minacibus per jocum literis efflagitaret, ut sibi de Aeneïde, ut ipsius verba sunt, vel primas carminis hypographas, vel quodlibet colon mitteret, negavit se facturum Virgilius: cui tamen multo pòst, perfectâ demum materiâ, tres omnino libros recitavit: secundum videlicet, quartum, et sextum. Sed hunc praecipue ob Octavianum: quae, cùm recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus, “Tu Marcellus eris,” defecisse fertur: atque aegre refocillata, dena festertia pro singulo versu Virgilio dari jussit. Recitavit et pluribus: neque frequenter, et ferme illa de quibus ambigebat, quò magis judicium hominum experiretur. Erotem librarium et libertum ejus, exactae jam senectutis, tradunt referre solitum, quondam in recitando eum duos dimidiatos versus complèsse ex tempore. Nam cùm hætenus haberet, “Misenum Aeoliden,” adjecisse, “quo non praestantior “alter.” Item huic, “Aere ciere viros,” simili calore jactatum subjunxisse, “Martemque accendere cantu:” statimque sibi imperâsse, ut utrumque volumini adscriberet. Bucolica Georgicaque emendavit. Anno verò quinquagesimo

quagesimo secundo, ut ultimam manum Aeneidi imponeret, statuit in Graeciam et Asiam fecedere, triennioque continuo omnem operam limationi dare, ut in reliquâ vitâ tantum Philosophiae vacaret. Sed cum aggressus iter Athenis occurrisset Augusto ab oriente Romam revertenti, unâ cum Caesare redire statuit. Ac cum Megaram, vicinum oppidum, ferventissimo sole cognoscit, languorem nactus est; quem non intermissa navigatio auxit, ita ut gravior aliquanto Brundisium appelleret: ubi diebus paucis obiit, decimo Kal. Octob. Cneo Sextio, Quinto Lucretio Coff. Qui cum gravari morbo sese sentiret, scrinia saepe et magnâ instantiâ petivit, crematurus Aeneïda: quibus negatis, testamento comburi jussit, ut rem inemendatam imperfectamque. Verum Tucca et Varius monuerunt, id Augustum non permitturum. Tunc eidem Vario, ac simul Tuccae, scripta sub eâ conditione legavit, ne quid adderent quod à se editum non esset, et versus etiam imperfectos, si qui erant, relinquerent. Voluit etiam sua ossa Neapolim transferri, ubi diu et suavissimè vixerat, ac extremâ valetudine hoc ipse sibi epitaphium fecit distichon:

“ Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc

“ Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.”

Ossa ejus Neapolim translata sunt, tumuloque condita, qui est viâ Puteolanâ*, intra lapidem secundum; suoque sepulchro id distichon, quod fecerat, inscriptum est. Haeredes fecit ex dimidia parte Valerium Proculum, fratrem ex altera parte, ex quartâ Augustum, ex duodecimâ Mecaenatem, ex reliquâ L. Varium, et Plotium Tuccam, qui ejus Aeneïdem post obitum, prout petiverat, jussu Caesaris, emendaverunt. Nam nullius omnino sententiâ crematu Aeneïs digna visa fuit: de quâ re Sulpicii Carthaginensis extant hujusmodi versus:

“ Jufferat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis

“ Virgilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.

“ Tucca vetat, Variusque simul: tu, maxime Caesar,

“ Non finis, et Latiae consulis historiae.

“ Infelix gemino cecidit propè Pergamos igni,

“ Et penè est alio Troja cremata rogo.

* Every body was of this opinion, till Cluver fancied it to be on the other side of the Bay of Naples; and all that he founded his new fancy upon, was a very unpoetical Criticism of his on two passages in Statius's Sylvae, Lib. iv. Ecl. 4. As I am apt to be-

lieve, that when our Mr. Addison says so positively that Virgil's Tomb was on that side, he had nothing to build upon but what was thus indiscreetly conjectured by Cluver. † See *Dissertation the Fifth*, for a fuller account of this, by Mr. Holdsworth.

Extant de ipsâ eâdem re versus plures et clarissimi :

- “ Ergone supremis potuit vox improba verbis
 “ Tam dirum mandare nefas ? ergo ibit in ignes,
 “ Magnaque doctiloqui morietur Musa Maronis ?
 “ Ah scelus indignum ! solvetur litera dives ?
 “ Et poterunt spectare oculi ? nec parcit honori
 “ Flamma suo ? ductumque operi fervabit amorem ?
 “ Pulcher Apollo, veta. Musae, prohibete, Latinae.
 “ Liber, et alma Ceres, succurrite : vester in armis
 “ Miles erat : vester docilis per rura colonus.
 “ Nam docuit, quid Ver ageret, quid cogeret Æstas :
 “ Quid Pater Autumnus, quid Bruma novissima ferret.
 “ Arbuta formavit : sociavit vitibus ulmos :
 “ Curavit pecudes : apibus sua castra dicavit..
 “ Haec dedit, ut perimant ipsum : si dicere fas est.
 “ Sed legum est fervanda fides : suprema voluntas
 “ Quod mandat, fierique jubet, parere necesse est.
 “ Frangatur potiùs legum veneranda potestas..
 “ Quàm tot congestas noctesque diesque laboris
 “ Hauferit una dies, supremaque verba parentis.
 “ Amittat vigilâsse suum : si fortè superbus
 “ Erravit in morte piger : si lingua locuta est
 “ Nescio quid titubante animo, non sponte, sed altis
 “ Expugnata malis, odio languoris iniqui :
 “ Si mens caeca fuit : iterum sentire ruinas
 “ Troja suas, iterum cogetur reddere voces ?
 “ Ardebit miserae post vulnera vulnus Elifae ?
 “ Tam sacrum solvetur opus ? tot bella, tot enses
 “ In cineres dabit hora nocens, et fervidus error ?
 “ Huc huc, Pierides, date flumina cuncta : sapores
 “ Expirent ignes. Vivat Maro ductus ubique ;
 “ Ingratusque sui : studiorumque invidus orbi,
 “ Et factus post fata nitens : quod jusserat ille,
 “ Sit vetuisse meum. Satis est post tempora vitae.
 “ Imò sit aeternus, totâ resonante Camenâ.
 “ Carmen et in populo Divi sub numine nomen
 “ Laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur.”

Nihil igitur, auctore Augusto, Varius addidit, quod et Maro praeceperat; sed summatim emendavit, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos, si qui erant, reliquerit. Hos multi mox supplere conati, non perinde valuerunt ob difficultatem: quòd omnia ferè apud eum hemistichia, praeter illud, “Quem tibi jam Troja peperit,” sensum videntur habere perfectum. Nisus grammaticus audisse se à senioribus dicebat, Varium duorum librorum ordinem commutasse, et qui tum secundus erat, in tertium locum transfuisse: etiam primi libri correxisse principium, his demptis versibus:

“ Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avenâ
 “ Carmen, et egressus sylvis vicina coëgi,
 “ Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono;
 “ Gratum opus agricolis: at nunc horrentia Martis
 “ Arma virumque cano.”

Obtrectatores Virgilio nunquam defuerunt: nam nec Homero quidem. Prolatis Bucolicis innominatus quidam rescripsit Antibucolica, duas modò Eclogas, sed insulsiſſimè *παρωδήσας*. Quarum prioris initium est:

“ Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?”

Sequentis:

“ Dic mihi, Damaeta, cujum pecus, anne Latinum?
 “ Non, verùm Aegonis, nostri sic rure loquuntur.”

Alius, recitante eo ex Georgicis, “Nudus ara, fere nudus;” subjecit, “habebis frigora, febrem.”

Est et adversus Aeneïda liber Carbilii Pictoris, titulo Aeneïdomastix. M. Vipranus eum à Mecaenate suppositum appellabat, novae *κακοζηλίας* repertorem, dicebatque neque tumidum esse, neque exilem, sed communibus verbis opus illud confecisse. Herennius vitia ejus tantum contraxit, Petilius Faustinus furta. Sunt et Q. Octavii Aviti volumina, quibus annotantur, quos et unde versus transfulerit.

Asconius Pedianus libro, quem contra obtrectatores Virgilii scripsit, pauca admodum ei objecta ponit. Et potissimum, quòd non rectè historiam contexuit, et quod pleraque ab Homero sumſit. Sed hoc crimen sic defendere assuetum ait: “Cur non illi quoque eadem furta tentarent?”

Verùm

Verùm intellecturos, facilius esse Herculi clavam, quàm Homero verfum furripere: et tamen destinâsse fecedere, ut omnia ad fatietatem malivolorum decideret†.

† The account of Virgil's Life in the Florentine Manuscript concludes here; and all common Editions of Virgil's Life said to be from "Refert etiam Pedianus," to "Platonis sententias omnibus aliis praetulit," in the common Editions of Virgil's Life said to be written by Donatus, is omitted in that.

N O T E S

O N T H E

E C L O G U E S, G E O R G I C S, and Æ N E I D,

O F

V I R G I L.

E C L O G U E T H E F I R S T.

VER. 1, 2.

“**T**ITYRE, tu †¹ patulae recubans sub tegmine †² Fagi,
 “ Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris avenâ.”

†¹. The country about Mantua runs all on a flat; and for ten or twelve miles round the city, the trees are remarkably low and small. I did not see any such thing as a great Beech, Pine, or Cypress, in all that compass. There is no Rock, or Hill, near it. So that either the face of the country must have been quite changed; or Virgil did not take the Land/kip-paintings, in his Eclogues, from his own country. They are therefore either imaginary; or copied from the Greek Writers he imitated; or taken from some other parts of Italy.

†². Fagus was the same with Φηγος, or (in the Doric manner of pronouncing it) Φαγος, among the Greeks; who reckon'd it of the Oak-kind: as Tournefort, and Linnaeus, do our Beech. The most common sort of Oaks with us the Romans call'd, Quercus; and the dusky ever-green Oak, Ilex.

VER. 6—8.

“ O Meliboeë, Deus nobis hac otia fecit ;

“ Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus † : illius aram

“ Saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.”

† The former part of this passage is more easy to be accounted for, than the latter. *Deus* was far from signifying the same in Latin, that the word *God* does in English. The Romans used *Deus* for any Superior Being, or Genius ; and metaphorically for any Emperor, Great Man, Patron, or Guide. Thus Cicero says, “ *Deus ille noster*,” of Plato (ad Att. lib. iv. Ep. 16.) ; and Lucretius (lib. v. ver. 8.) “ *Deus ille fuit, Deus*, “ *inclyte Memmi*,” of Epicurus ; and thus Silius Italicus (lib. xiii. 784.) calls Virgil himself a God :

— “ Quem, si Stygiâ non esset in umbrâ,

“ Dixissem facilè esse Deum. Non falleris, inquit

“ Docta comes Triviae : meruit Deus esse videri ;

“ Et fuit in tanto non parvum pectore numen.”

It appears from these Examples, that Virgil might very well call Augustus a God ; but when he adds farther, “ That he will frequently “ sacrifice to him at his Altar,” one is more at a loss ; for, according to Ruæus, (in Virgil’s Life, under the year 718, U. C.) they did not begin actually to worship Augustus, till, at least, five years after Virgil said this ; as well as what follows, at ver. 43 ;

“ Hic illum vidi juvenem, Meliboeë, quotannis

“ Bis senos cui nostrâ dies altaria fumant.”

Is it not possible, that Virgil might have inserted both these passages, in some later publication of his Eclogues ? Or did he forestall the Flattery of the Public ? who (according to the same Ruæus) did not generally receive Augustus among their Tutelar Gods, till the 719th year of Rome.

VER. 14.

“ Hic inter densas * corylos” ———

* The Hazle, as it is commonly render’d. Quaer. if properly ? I don’t find that Pliny ever mentions it in the class of nuts. Lib. xvi. c. 18, speaking “ *de Arborum naturâ per situs*,” having mention’d several trees which love the mountains, he then says ; “ *Descendunt etiam in* “ *plana, Cornus, Corylus, Quercus, Ornus, Acer, Fraxinus, Fagus, Car-* “ *pinus.*” Where it seems, by the company he puts the *Corylus* in, that

that he esteems it a mountain tree, but such as will grow in the plain likewise. In the same Chapter Pliny says; “*Spina nuptiarum facibus auspicatissima, quoniam inde fecerint Pastores qui rapuerunt Sabinas; ut autor est Massurius. Nunc facibus carpinus et corylus familiarissimæ.*” The Carpinus is a sort of Acer, as appears from Pliny, cap. 10. of the same book. Quær. if it is not on the account of using the Corylus for *Faces* at nuptials that Virgil says;

“*Hic corylis mixtas inter confedimus ulmos.*” Ecl. v. 3.

And again;

——— “*Vos coryli testes et flumina nymphis.*” Ver. 21.

And;

“*Phyllis amat corylos*” ——— Ecl. vii. 63.

Virgil here gives the epithet *Densas* to the Coryli.

Georg. ii. Virgil mentions the Corylus twice, viz. ver. 65.

“*Plantis eduræ coryli nascuntur*” ———

where, observe, that he ranks it among mountain trees.

And ver. 299;

“*Neve inter vites corylum fere*” ———

When Ovid reckons up the several trees which came to listen to Orpheus, he distinguishes the Corylus by the epithet *Fragilis*.

“*Et coryli fragiles*” ——— Met. lib. x. 93.

VER. 16—18.

“*Saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,*

“*De coelo tactas memini praedicere quercus:*

“*Saepe † sinistra cavâ praedixit ab ilice cornix.*”

† The late Duke of Argyle (when he was on his travels in his youth) had a dispute with Pere Colonia, the then Librarian of the Jesuits College at Lyons; in which he quoted this verse, to prove that *Sinistra* was used for unlucky. The good Father (and he was really a very good man) denied the authority of the verse, and quoted Servius for its being spurious. It is certain also, that it is omitted in one of the most ancient manuscripts of Virgil in the Vatican. What might very well make room for disputes about the meaning of this word is, that in the times of the Roman Republick, it was generally used for Lucky; and in the Augustan age, for Unlucky. Many instances may be given of each. Thus as high as in the laws of the XII Tables:

— “ Si quando duellum gravius, discordiaeve civium escunt, unus ne
 “ amplius sex menses, (nisi senatus creverit,) idem juris quod duo consules
 “ teneto : isque, Ave Sinistra, magister populi esto.” Cic. lib. de Leg.
 from the XII Tables. And as low as Plautus :

— “ Omnes ordines sub signis ducam, legiones meas, avi finistrâ,
 “ auspicio liquido, atque ex sententiâ.” Plaut. Pseud. act. ii. sub finem.

But in Augustus's time, it was used for Unlucky ; and, in particular, frequently by Ovid. “ Signa sinistra :” Trist. L. v. Ep. 8. and “ Avibus
 “ finistris.” Phil. to Dem. and for Bad : as “ Fama sinistra :” El. L. iii.
 ver. 763. And, “ Si quae est studiosa finistri :” Trist. ii. And by Virgil
 himself, if not here, at least in another part of the same work :

“ Quod nisi me quacunq̃ue novas incidere lites
 “ Ante sinistra cavâ monuisset ab ilice cornix ;
 “ Nec tuus hic Moeris, nec viveret ipse Menalcas.”

Ecl. ix. 14—16.

VER. 27—30.

“ MEL. Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi ?
 “ TIT. Libertas : quae fera, tamen † respexit inertem ;
 “ Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat :
 “ Respexit tamen, et longo post tempore venit.”

† They had a Statue of Fortuna Respiciens at Rome, and the Roman Poets often allude to her in that attitude. There is a Gold Medal of Vitellius in the Strozzi Collection at Rome, with the Goddess of Liberty on its Reverse. The Inscription is Libertas Restituta, and she is in the same attitude as the Fortuna Respiciens must have been.

Respiciere, especially when used of a Deity, signified to regard or favour any one. See Polymetis, Dial. x. Note 89.

VER. 71—74.

† “ Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
 “ Barbarus has segetes ? En quo discordia cives
 “ Perduxit miseros ! en queis consecimus agros !
 “ Inhere nunc, Meliboeë, pyros, pone ordine vites.”

† Virgil often speaks, as here, of their vines and corn together ; in the same mixed manner, as they were cultivated, of old, among the Romans. It agrees too with the mixed kind of Agriculture, used to this day in Italy ; and, particularly, in the Vale of Lombardy : where you see
 perpe-

perpetually Trees at small distances between the furrows, Vines growing up them, and Corn-field in every middle space.

So Virgil in his 4th Georgic :

- “ Quin age, et ipsa manu felices erue sylvas :
 “ Fer stabulis inimicum ignem, atque interfice messes :
 “ Ure fata, et validam in vites molire bipennem :
 “ Tanta meae si te ceperunt taedia laudis.” Ver. 332.

And Catullus :

- “ Non humilis curvis purgatur vinea rastris ;
 “ Non glebam prono convellit vomere taurus :
 “ Non falx attenuat frondatorum arboris umbram.”
 Argonaut. ver. 41.

VER. 75—77:

- “ Ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.
 “ Non ego vos posthac, † viridi projectus in † antro,
 “ Dumosa pendere procul de rupe videbo.”

† I have seen in Italy (and on the Vatican Hill near Rome, in particular) a little arch'd Cave made by the Shepherds of Evergreens ; not high enough to stand in ; and where they lye at their ease, to observe their Flocks browsing. Qu. whether it be not such a Cave, which is meant here ? Viridi is not a proper Epithet for the Inside of a natural Cave ; especially for such rocky ones as we find in Italy.



ECLOGUE THE SECOND.

VER. I.

“ **F**ormosum pastor Corydon * ardebat Alexin.”

* N. B. Virgil calls the Love between Nisus and Euryalus, Amorem Pium. Aen. v. 296. Such was this. — As Ovid in his 2^d book De Tristibus enumerates, and in other places, hints at the several Poets of his time, who had written love verses, without having suffer'd for them ; and mentions particularly Virgil's 4th Aeneid ; one may reasonably conclude, that he did not look upon the 2^d Ecl. as a love poem, much less

less a very lewd one, as is commonly imagined; otherwise he would probably have mention'd it.

The story of Nisus and Euryalus was certainly from the very beginning much admired, and esteemed as a noble pattern of true friendship and fidelity; and put in competition with the celebrated stories of Theseus and Pirithous, Pylades and Orestes. Ovid, who lived in Virgil's time, having in 4 verses (lib. i. de Trist. El. iv.) mention'd the fidelity of Theseus and Pirithous, Pylades and Orestes, tried in adversity; adds as another instance,

“ Si non Euryalus Rutulos cecidisset in hostes,
“ Hyrtacidae Niso gloria nulla foret.”

VER. 8—13.

“ Nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant;
“ Nunc virides etiam occultant spineta lacertos:
“ Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu
“ Allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes.
“ At mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustrō,
“ Sole sub ardenti resonant arbuta * cicadis.”

* I don't know how almost every body in England came to imagine, that the Cicada in the Roman Writers was the same with our Grasshopper; for their characters are different enough, to have prevented any such mistake. — † The Cicada is what the Italians now call Cicala; and the French Cigale. They make one constant uniform noise, all day long, in summer time; which is extremely disagreeable and tiresome; particularly, in the greatest heats. Their note is sharp and shrill, in the beginning of the summer; but harsh and hoarse towards the latter part of it. They are supposed by the vulgar to feed on the morning dew; and then fix on some sunny branch of a tree, and sing all day long. It is hence that this Insect is opposed to the Ant, in the old Aesopian Fables; a creature as industrious and inoffensive, as the other is idle and troublesome. Virgil calls the Cicadae, Querulae (Georg. iii. 328.) and Raucae (Ecl. ii. 12.); Martial, Argutae (lib. xi. Ep. 19.) and Inhumanae (lib. x. Ep. 58.) Their Note is the more tiresome, because in the greatest heats they sing alone:

————— “ Solus cano; me sonat omnis
“ Sylva: nec aestivis cantu concedo cicadis.”

Nemesianus, Ecl. iv. 42.

Any

Any one, who has past a summer in Italy, or in the South of France, will not think the epithet of *Inhumanae*, too severe for them; and those, who have not, may learn how extremely fatiguing they are, from what one of the best Poets in each of those countries has said of them:

- “ Percote il Sole ardente il vicin colle;
 “ E del calor, che si riflette à dietro,
 “ In modo l’aria e l’arena ne bolle,
 “ Che faria troppo à far liquido il vetro.
 “ Staffi cheto ogni augello à l’ombra molle:
 “ Sol la cicala col noioso metro,
 “ Fra i densi rami del fronzuto stelo,
 “ Le valli, e i monti afforda, e’l mare, e’l cielo.”

Ariosto, Cant. viii. St. 20.

“ Je ne pourrois être un moment dehors sans mourir; l’air est aussi
 “ chaud que dans un four allumé. Pour m’achever, je suis tout le jour
 “ étourdi d’une infinité de cigales; qui ne font que chanter de toutes
 “ côtés: mais d’un chant, le plus perçant, et le plus importun, du
 “ monde.” Racine, (in one of his Letters; from Uzes, in Languedoc,
 p. 69.)

The Cicada is much more like our Chafer, than a Grasshopper: See the figure of one in the Museum Florentinum, Vol. II. Pl. 92. N° 8.

VER. 45—55.

——— † “ Tibi lilia plenis

- “ Ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis: tibi candida Nais
 “ Pallentes violas et summa papavera carpens,
 “ Narcissum et florem jungit bene olentis anethi.
 “ Tum casia atque aliis intexens suavibus herbis,
 “ Mollia luteolâ pingit vaccinia calthâ.
 “ Ipse ego cana legam tenerâ lanugine mala,
 “ Castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amyrillis amabat.
 “ Addam cerea pruna: et honos erit huic quoque pomo:
 “ Et vos, ô lauri, carpam; et te, proxima myrte;
 “ Sic positae quoniam suaves miscetis odores.”

† I have seen Garlands carried about Florence (the Sunday before Christmas-day), which were built up in a Pyramid of Bays; and faced with Apples, Grapes, and other Fruits. This gives one some idea of Virgil’s Garland, which we can’t learn from our own, that consist wholly of Flowers and Greens.

ECLOGUE

ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

VER. I, 2.

“ MEN. * **D**IC mihi, Damaeta, cujum pecus ? an Meliboei ?
 “ DA. Non, verum Aegonis : nuper mihi tradidit Aegon.”

* Pastoral Dialogues in verse are still much practised by the Peasants in Tuscany, and other parts of Italy ; especially among the mountains ; and are call'd by them Improviso's. I heard a poetical contest of this nature at Val-Ombrosa, which, being very satyrical, put me in mind of the old Bucolics.

VER. 21, 22.

“ An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,
 “ Quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula, * caprum ?”

* “ Hircus castratus.” Vid. Martial. Lib. iii. Ep. 24.

VER. 44, 45.

“ Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,
 “ Et molli cirum est anfas amplexus * acantho.”

* See the Note upon it in Burman's Ovid. Met. xiii. ver. 701. This plant was in great esteem among the Romans, as appears by their engraving it on their cups, etc. Quaer. if not the plant which we see sometimes carved on the Torus of Pillars and on Vases. Much used likewise in gardens. Pliny, speaking of the garden of his Tuscan house, mentions “ Acanthus in plano mollis, et, pene dixerim, liquidus.” And again afterwards, “ Acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuosus.” Columella, in his Poem on Gardening, speaking of the Cinara or Artichoke, says :

“ Haec modo purpureo furgit glomerata corymbo,
 “ Myrtiolo modo crine viret, deflexaque collo
 “ Nunc adoperta manet, nunc pinea vertice pungit ;
 “ Nunc similis calatho, spinisque minantibus horret ;
 “ Pallida nonnunquam tortos imitatur acanthos.”

VER.

VER. 82, 83.

“ Dulce fatis humor, depulsis * arbutus hoedis,

“ Lenta falix foeto pecori : mihi solus Amyntas.”

* Mr. Holdsworth doubts whether *Arbutus* signifies the Strawberry tree in particular; and seems rather to have thought it was used among the Romans as a general name for small trees, or Shrubs of the Woods, bearing wild fruit.

“ Muscosi fontes, et somno mollior herba,

“ Et quae vos rarâ viridis tegit arbutus umbrâ,

“ Solstitium pecori defendite !” ————— Ecl. vii. 46.

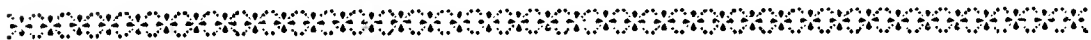
“ Inferitur verò ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida.” G. ii. 69.

————— “ Cum jam glandes atque arbusta sacrae

“ Deficerent Sylvae.” ————— G. i. 148.

“ Venit hyems ; teritur Sicyonia bacca trapetis :

“ Glande fues laeti redeunt ; dant arbusta sylvae.” G. ii. 520.



ECLOGUE THE FOURTH.

VER. 1—5.

“ **S**ICELIDES musae, paullo mājora canamus ;

“ Non omnes arbuta juvant, humilesque myricae :

“ Si canimus sylvas, sylvae sint consule dignae.

“ Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas :

“ Magnus † ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.”

† The notion of a renovation of the world, was common among the ancient philosophers. They had a tradition of what the Scripture calls, The New Heavens, and the New Earth ; and what Dr. Burnet calls, The Paradisiacal State restored to Man. This notion they had from tradition, and not by reasoning : for all of them (and the Stoics, and Platonists, in particular) asserted it roundly ; without giving any arguments for it. See Burnet’s Theory, b. iv. ch. 3.

This fourth Eclogue of Virgil was probably meant as a description of the happiness of mankind in this renewed world, under the form of a com-

D

pliment

pliment to Augustus and Pollio. As if he had said; “under your government, (ver. 10.) and such a Consul as Pollio, (ver. 11.) we begin to enjoy the happiness so long foretold 14.; and the world, under such heads, will soon be restored to its paradisiacal state,” (ver. 18—47.)

VER. 11, 12.

“† Teque adeo decus hoc ævi, te consule, inibit,
“ Pollio: et incipient magni procedere menses.”

† Virgil says the restoration of the world, or the new Golden Age, shall begin with Pollio’s consulate. Did not the Consuls enter on their office usually on new year’s day; and might not this poem possibly have been sent to him on that day, as a *Strena*, or New-year’s Gift?

It was not unusual to make such compliments, on the beginning of the new year, to great men; or on the day in which they had entered into any great office. Maffei gives us several old inscriptions, to this purpose, in a little treatise of his to Cardinal Albani, on new-years gifts, (*Gems* vol. I. p. 111.) among which are the following:

“SENATUS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS, ANNVM NOVVM FAVSTVM, FELICEM, OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

— “QVA DIE PRIMVM IMPERIVM ORBIS TERRARVM AVSPICATVS EST
“THVRE, VINO, SVPLICENT; ET HOSTIAS SINGVLI IMMOLENT; ET
“COLONIS INCOLISQVE THVS, VINVM, EA DIE PRAESTENT.”

He quotes Seneca too; who, where he is speaking of the year of Nero’s accession to the throne, says: “Quid actum sit in caelo ante diem tertium idus Octobris, Asinio Marcello, Asinio Aviolâ *Coss.* anno Novo; initio Saeculi Felicissimi.” *Maff.* p. 118.

The same compliment is very common in medals, from the time of Augustus, to that of Constantine.

VER. 45.

“Sponte sua † sandyx pascentes vestiet agnos.”

† Why does Pliny say (*Nat. Hist.* l. xxxv. c. 6. p. 424. *Edit. Elz.*) that Virgil in this place mistakes Sandyx for an Herb? as some of the writers of Dictionaries also call it, on the authority of this verse only.

VER. 46, 47.

“ Talia faecula suis dixerunt, Currite †, fufis
“ Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.”

† This seems to allude to the Song of the three Destinies in Catullus ;
the Chorus of which is ;

“ Currite, ducentes subtemina, currite, fusi.” See Pol. x. 75.

VER. 58, 59.

“ Pan etiam Arcadiâ mecum si judice certet,
“ Pan † etiam Arcadiâ dicat se judice victum.”

† “ If even Arcadia, where he was most worshiped, was to be judge.”
Thus Ovid :

“ Pana Deum pecoris veteres coluisse feruntur
“ Arcades : Arcadiis plurimus ille jugis.” Ov. Fast. lib. ii.

VER. 60.

“ Incipe, parve puer, † rifu cognoscere matrem.”

† The same thought is very prettily expressed, by a poet that preceded
Virgil.

“ Torquatus volo parvulus,
“ Matris e gremio suae
“ Porrigens teneras manus,
“ Dulce rideat ad patrem ;
“ Semihiente labello.” Catul. Epithal.

VER. 62, 63.

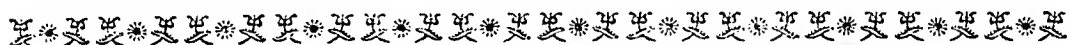
“ Qui non rifere parentes,
“ Nec Deus hunc mensa, Dea nec dignata cubili est +.”

+ “ Est figura et in numero : vel cum singulari pluralis subjungitur,
“ *Gladio pugnacissima gens Romani* ; gens enim ex multis. Vel e diverso,

“ Qui non rifere parentes,
“ Nec Deus hunc mensa, Dea nec dignata cubili est :

“ ex illis enim qui non rifere, hunc non dignatus Deus, nec Dea dignata.”
Quintil. ix. 3.

It is manifest from this passage, that Quintilian read *qui*, not *cui* : as indeed the sense of the place requires ; for the good omen arose from the smiling of the child upon the parents, not the smiling of the parents upon the child : this latter is an usual and natural expression of affection ; has nothing extraordinary in it, nor is it to be looked upon as an omen ; though the smiling of an infant newly born, and thus acknowledging its parents, might be esteemed such. But the uncommonness of construction in the phrase “*risere parentes*” puzzled the grammarians ; and this difficulty introduced the reading *cui* in Virgil, contrary to the poet’s meaning ; and in Quintilian’s quotation also, contrary to the Rhetorician’s own testimony and explication. “*Risere parentes*” is the same with “*adrisere parentes* ;” as “*volabat littus arenosum Libyæ*” is the same with “*advolat littori*,” in another place of Virgil (*Aen.* iv. 259.), where the same difficulty had long established a pointing altogether inconsistent with any sense.



ECLOGUE THE FIFTH.

VER. 1—3.

“**C**UR non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,
 “ Tu calamos inflare leves, ego † dicere versus,
 “ Hic corylis mixtas inter confedimus ulmos ?

† It was a custom among the old Roman shepherds to vye in extempore-verse. See note to *Ecl.* vii. 5. Virgil probably copied both that and this Eclogue from that practice.

When Horace invites Virgil to come and see him in the country, he tells him that he may there hear the shepherds singing verses together.

“ Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium

“ Custodes ovium carmine fistulâ ;

“ Delectantque Deum, cui pecus et nigri.

“ Colles Arcadiæ placent.” *Od.* IV. XII. 12.

The Tuscan Improvisatori now use the guitar in those exercises of wit.

I question

I question whether Horace may not speak of this Improvifo sort of poetry, in his journey to Brundisium.

————— “ Absentem *cantat amicam*
 “ Multâ prolutus vappâ nauta, atque viator,
 “ *Certatim.*” ————— L. I. Sat. v. 17.

If so, it shews that it was not unusual among others of the vulgar, as well as shepherds, to Improvifo. One of the best Improvisatori's at Florence, when I lived there, was a Stone-cutter.

VER. 38, 39.

“ Pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso,
 “ Carduus * et spinis surgit paliurus acutis.”

* “ Carduorum silvestrium genera sunt duo: unum fructicosius à terrâ
 “ statim; alterum unicaule crassius. Utrique folia pauca, spinosa, muricatis
 “ cacuminibus. Sed alter florem purpureum mittit inter medios aculeos,
 “ celeriter canescentem, et abeuntem cum aurâ. Scolymon Graeci vocant.”
 Plin. lib. xx. c. 23.

VER. 67—73.

“ Pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quotannis,
 “ Craterasque duos statuam tibi pinguis olivi:
 “ Et multo imprimis hilarans convivia Baccho,
 “ (Ante focum, si frigus erit; si messis, in umbrâ,
 “ Vina novum fundam calathis Arvisia nectar.
 “ Cantabunt mihi Damoetas, et Lyctius Aegon:
 “ Saltantes satyros † imitabitur Alpheisiboeus.”

† — “ Cum caeruleatus, et nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, et
 “ caudam trahens, genibus innixus Glaucum saltasset.” Vell. Paterc.
 lib. ii. § 85.

In the little quarrel between two low people, in Horace's journey to Brundisium, one of them begs the other (who was of a large awkward make) “To dance the Cyclops.” Lib. i. Sat. 5. ver. 63.

This sort of dances I had no notion of, till I saw something of the same kind in Italy. It is the representing of some character, and sometimes a whole story in a dance, not unlike our dumb shews; only that all the particular actions must keep time with the music.

But

But the thing that gives one the most perfect idea of these ancient dances, is a passage in Longus's Pastoral Romance ; where (at a feast, after a sacrifice to Pan) Lamon, one of the old shepherds, tells the rest the story of Pan and the Syrinx ; and Philetas gives the younger shepherds a lesson on his pipe, how to conduct their flocks by the different notes and tunes of it. " All the company," says Longus, " sat in silence, " and took a great deal of pleasure in hearing him ; till one of them, " called Dryas, got up, and begged him to play one of their brisker airs " in honour of Bacchus ; and he, in the mean time, danced the character " of a Vindemiator, or Vintager. In this dance, he flung himself into " different postures, as if he was gathering the bunches of grapes ; carry- " ing them in baskets ; flinging them into the wine-vat ; putting the li- " quor into vessels ; and drinking the must. All which he did so natu- " rally, and so expressively, that they almost thought they saw before " their eyes the vineyard, the vessels, the liquor, and Dryas taking a " hearty draught of it. The good old man having so well performed " his part ; at the close of his dance, went and saluted Daphnis and " Chloe : on which they immediately rose from their seats, and danced " the story which Lamon had been just telling them. Daphnis repre- " sented the God Pan ; and Chloe was the fair Syrinx. He made his " addresses to her ; and she only laughed at it. She runs from him ; " and he pursues her : huddling on upon the tips of his toes, the better " to imitate Pan's cloven feet. She then made all the appearance of being " quite tired with running : and (instead of getting between the reeds) " crept into the grove just by, to hide herself. On which, Daphnis " taking up Philetas's pipe (which was one of the largest and best sort) " drew a languishing sound from it, as of one in love ; a pathetic sound, " as of one eager to enjoy ; and a recalling sound, as of one that is fondly " seeking after what he has lost. All which he did so well, and in so " knowing a manner, that the good Philetas, quite astonished at it, ran to " him and kissed him ; and then made him a present of his pipe ; praying " the gods, that, after him, it might still fall into as good hands. Daph- " nis on this hung up the little pipe he had always used before, as a pre- " sent to Pan ; and then saluting Chloe, as if he had found her again " after a real flight, led his flock toward their fold for the night : and " playing all the way, on the pipe that Philetas had just given him." Amours of Daphnis and Chloe, B. ii. sub fin.

Virgil here speaks of a feast just like this; and of the Pan or Satyr-dance; where the shepherd Menalcas promises to keep an annual festival, in memory of one of his departed friends.



ECLOGUE THE SIXTH.

VER. 1, 2.

“**P**RIMA † Syracosic dignata est ludere versu,
Nostra, nec erubuit sylvas habitare, Thalia †².”

† I have heard a great genius observe that Virgil is very sparing in his commendations of other poets; and scarce ever does it, unless he is forced.

He hints at Theocritus here, because he had taken so much from him, and his subject led to it; and does the same by Hesiod, for the same reasons:

“Afcraeumque cano Romano per oppida carmen.” Georg. ii. 176.

He never speaks a single word of Homer: and indeed could not do it, where some would have had him, because of the Anachronism. See note on ver. 64. posth.

†² It appears hence, and from her dress, that Thalia was the muse of Pastorals as well as of Comedies. See Pol. viii. 33.

VER. 3—5.

“Cum canerem reges et praelia, Cynthus aurem

“Vellit, † et admonuit: Pastorem, Tityre, pingues

“Pascere oportet oves, deductum dicere carmen.”

† Among the Great Duke’s gems (Mus. Flor. vol. ii. pl. 22. fig. 2.) is one with a hand holding an ear, by the tip of it; with this inscription, MNHMONETE. Thus Seneca:

“Ad huncce bellè accessit Hercules, et auriculam ei tetigit.” Apoth. Claudii, p. 801. ed. Schotti.

VER.

VER. 43, 44.

"His adjungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
 "Clamassent: ut litus, Hyla†, Hyla, omne sonaret."

† This story, as it is told at large in Flaccus's Argonautics, shews how just Virgil is in what he says here.

VER. 48.

"Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros†."

† At this verse begins the famous MS. of Virgil, in the Lorenzo Library at Florence; authorized by one of the Consuls, and dated by him in the fifth century.

Whenever I may have occasion to quote it for the future, I shall call it, The Florentine Manuscript.

VER. 55—60.

—————"Claudite nymphae,
 "Dictae nymphae, nemorum jam claudite saltus:
 "Si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris
 "Errabunda bovis vestigia. Forsitan illum,
 "Aut herbâ captum viridi, aut armenta secutum,
 "Perducant aliquae stabula ad† Gortynia vaccae."

† The medals of the people of that town are marked with a cow or bull; Lord Pembroke's Medals, II. 34, 8, inscribed ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ. Gortyna was a city of Crete; the country of Pasiphaë, who is here spoken of.

VER. 64—71.

"Tum canit errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum
 "Aonas in montes ut duxerit una fororum;
 "Utque viro Phoebi chorus affurrexerit omnis:
 "Ut† Linus haec illi divino carmine pastor,
 "Floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro,
 "Dixerit: Hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Musae,
 "Ascraeo quos ante feni: quibus ille solebat
 "Cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos."

† Virgil has been blamed, very ridiculously, for not saying any thing of Homer in his sixth Aeneid (637—677.) where, if he had said any thing of him, he must have put him in Elysium before he was born.

It

It seems more just to complain, that he has not once mentioned him in all his works. He seemed to have had a fair opportunity here, and another in the fourth Ecl. (ver. 55.) But he *then* had no obligations at all to him.

And have not the poets he mentions in both these places some relation to Pastoral Poetry? and might not the mentioning of an Epic Poet, be improper in both? Here he names only Hesiod, and Linus; and before, the same Linus, Orpheus, and Pan.

VER. 74—78.

“ Quid loquar? aut Scyllam Nisi†, quam fama secuta est,
 “ Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstis,
 “ Dulichias vexasse rates, et gurgite in alto
 “ Ah timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis?
 “ Aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus?”

† So Propertius:

“ Quid mirum in patrios Scyllam faevisse capillos?
 “ Candidaque in faevos inguina versa canes?”

Lib. IV. El. iv. ver. 40.

And Ovid:

————— “ Scylla, patri cano furata capillos,
 “ Pube premit rabidos inguinibusque canes.”

Am. lib. III. El. xii. ver. 22..

This is one of the very few stories, in which the poets of the Augustan age disagree with themselves: for Ovid in his *Metamorphosis*, lib. viii. ver. 150; and Virgil, in his *Georgics*, lib. i. ver. 404; speak of this very Scylla's being turned into a bird.

ECLOGUE THE SEVENTH.

VER. 1—5.

“**F**ORTE sub argutâ confederat ilice Daphnis,
 “ Compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrsis in unum :
 “ Thyrsis oves, Corydon distentas lacte capellas.
 “ Ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo :
 “ † Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.”

† This Eclogue, as the third before, seems to be an imitation of a custom among the shepherds of old, of vying together in extempore verse. At least it is very like the Improvisatori at present in Italy ; who flourish now, perhaps, more than any other poets among them ; particularly in Tuscany. They are surprizingly ready in their answers (“ respondere parati,”) and go on octave for octave, or speech for speech alternately (“ alternis dicetis ; amant alterna Camaenae,” Ecl. iii. 59.) In both these Eclogues the second speaker seems obliged to follow the turn of thought used by the first ; as at present the second Improvisatore is obliged to follow the rhyme of the first.

At Florence I have heard of their having Improviso Comedies. There were Improvisatori of this kind too, in the earliest ages of Rome ; for before Livius Andronicus endeavoured to make any thing of a regular play, “ Compositum temere ac rudem alternis jaciebant,” says Livy (2. U. C. 391.) It is very remarkable that they were Tuscans too, who brought this method to Rome. Ibid.

VER. 25, 26.

† “ Pastores hederâ crescentem ornata poetam
 “ Arcades, invidiâ rumpantur ut ilia Codro.”

† The Ivy-crown is mentioned frequently by the ancients, as worn by the poets in those days.

————— “ Accipe jussis
 “ Carmina coepta tuis ; atque hanc sine tempora circum
 “ Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros.” Ecl. viii. 13.

————— “ Seu

————— “Seu condis amabile carmen,
“Prima feres hederæ victricis præmia.”

Hor. (to Julius Florus) lib. I. ep. iii. ver. 25.

“Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macrâ.”

Juvenal, Sat. vii. ver. 29.

————— “Pallidum Pyrenen
“Illis relinquo, quorum imagines lambunt
“Hederæ sequaces.” ————— Persius in Prol.

————— “Enthea vittis
“Atque hederâ redimita cohors.” —————

Statius, lib. I. Sylv. ii. ver. 249.

“Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,

“Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi :

“Nunc hederæ sine honore jacent.” —————

Ovid. de Art. Am. iii. ver. 411.

It is as plain from them that the poets wore these ivy-crowns as signs of their being inspired by Bacchus.

“Quid possunt hederæ Bacchi dare?” —————

Martial, lib. i. ep. 44.

“Si quis habes nostris similes in imagine vultus,

“Deme meis hederas, Bacchica ferta, comis :

“Ista decent lætos felicia signa poetas.”

Ovid. Trist. lib. I. El. vi. ver. 3.

Pliny, speaking of the white Hederæ, and afterwards of the black, says,
“Simili modo in nigrâ, alicui et semen nigrum, alii crocatum ; cujus co-
“ronis poetæ utuntur : foliis minus nigris ; quam quidam Nyssam, alii
“Bacchicam vocant.” Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 34.

The Laurel-crown was, properly, the ornament of great warriors : (as Apollo says in Ovid, when he makes the Laurel his tree :)

“Tu ducibus Latii aderis, cum læta triumphum

“Vox canet, et longæ visent Capitolia pompæ.”

Met. i. ver. 561.

And was given, perhaps, sometimes to Epic Poets, and those of the higher class ; because they celebrated great warriors and heroes. Thus Statius (who had written epic poems, as well as odes) speaks of his having both the Laurel, and Ivy-crowns.

————— “Fugère meos Parnasia crines
 “Vellera: funestamque hederis irrepere taxum
 “Extimui, trepidamque (nefas) arefcere laurum.”
 Statius (speaking of the death of his father) Lib. V. Sylv. iii. ver. 9.

And fays of his father (who had carried the prize, in these different kinds of poetry too) that he had both these crowns.

—— “Specieque comam subnexus utrâque.” Ibid. ver. 115.

VER. 29—32.

“Setosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, parvus
 “Et ramosa Mycon vivacis cornua cervi:
 “Si proprium hoc fuerit, levi de marmore tota
 “Puniceo † stabis furas evincta cothurno.”

† It is certain that some of the huntresses of old wore Cothurni Purpurei, from Aen. i. 337.

It was a custom among the Heathens, as it is at present among the Roman Catholics, to dress up their statues on festivals, or out of a particular devotion. This is meant probably of that custom.

VER. 37, 38.

“Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,
 “Candidior cynnis, hederâ †¹ formosior †² albâ.”

† “More beautiful than Ivy,” to us may seem but an odd simile. It might sound otherwise to an Italian, whose country abounds with evergreens; most of them of a rusty and disagreeable colour: whereas Ivy is of a clear, lively green. They used it in the most beautified parts of their gardens: Pliny, speaking of his garden, and of the Hippodrome (which seems to have been one of the prettiest things in it) fays; “Platanis circumcitur; illae hederâ vestiuntur: utque summae suis, ita imae alienis frondibus virent.” (L. v. ep. 6.) Horace compares young beauties to Ivy, and old women to dead withered leaves. (Lib. i. Od. 25. Stanz. ult.)

†² As Virgil calls *Hedera Alba* here, he calls it, *Nigra* in his second Georgic (258) and *Pallentes Hederas* elsewhere. (G. iv. 124.)

Pliny speaks of three sorts of Ivy: “Est candida, et nigra Hedera, tertiaeque quae vocatur Helix. Est aliqua fructu tantum candido, alia et folio.” (Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. c. 34.)

VER. 45—48.

“Muscosi fontes, et somno mollior herba,
 “Et quæ vos rarâ viridis tegit *¹ arbutus umbrâ,
 “*² Solstitium pecori defendite : jam venit aestas
 “Torrida ; jam lacto turgent in palmitæ gemmæ.”

*¹ “Arbutus sive Unedo fructum fert difficilem concoctioni, et stomacho
 “inutilem.” Plin. l. xxiii. c. 8.

“Aliud corpus est terrestribus fragis, aliud congeneri eorum Unedoni,
 “quod solum pomum simile fructui terræ gignitur. Arbor ipsa fruti-
 “cosa ; fructus anno maturescit ; pariterque floret subnascens, et prior
 “coquitur. Mas sit an foemina sterilis, inter autores non constat. Po-
 “mum inhonorum, ut cui nomen ex argumento sit, unum tantum edendi.
 “Duobus tamen hoc nominibus appellant Graeci, Comaron et Memecy-
 “cydon. Ex quo apparet totidem esse genera et apud nos. Alio nomine
 “Arbutus vocatur. Juba autor est quinquagenum cubitorum altitudine
 “in Arabia esse eas.” Plin. lib. xv. c. 24. This Unedo is what we call
 the Winter-Strawberry. At Naples it is called Sorvo Piloso. — Quaer.
 If the other sort, called by Pliny Arbutus, is not what the Italians call
 Legno Santo. Virgil gives the Arbutus the epithet Horrida, and makes
 hurdles of it. — Arbuteae Crates. And again ;

————— “Crates et molle feretrum
 “Arbuteis texunt virgis.” ——— Aen. xi. ver. 64.

Georg. ii. he engrafts the Nut upon it. Eclog. iii.

“Dulce fatis humor, depulsis arbutus hoedis.”

This passage the commentators explain to be meant, of its shade : but I think it ought rather to be understood of its brouze : and if so, the Arbutus cannot here mean the Winter-Strawberry.

Again, Virgil speaks here of the “rara umbra Arbuti,” which cannot be understood of the Winter-Strawberry. Again, Georg. iii. Virgil speaks of the Arbuta as brouze for goats.

————— “Jubeo frondentia capris
 “Arbuta sufficere.” ———

N. B. Notwithstanding the Arbutus and Arbutum are so frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, that it seems to be as common as any plant in the country, it must be observed that Pliny, who gives a description

scription of every tree and shrub, not only in Italy, but in all other known parts of the world, makes no mention of this, except accidentally as another name for the Unedo; and, therefore, it is reasonable to believe that this was not the name of any particular species of trees (unless as it was sometimes used synonymously for the Unedo) but a general name for Winter shrubs; and Arbutum for berries. Quaer. If Arbuta, therefore, may not rather signify in general Silvestria Poma, or any sort of wild Winter fruits, except Acorns. Virgil in several places seems to use it in that sense; as,

———— “Cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae
“Deficerent filvae.” ——— Georg. i. ver. 148.

Again;

“Glande fues laeti redeunt: dant arbuta filvae.” ii. 520.

Again, speaking of the bees;

———— “Pascuntur et arbuta passim.” iv. 181.

Ovid speaks of the Goddess Carne touching the doors of a house
“Arbuteâ fronde:”

“Protinus arbuteâ postes ter in ordine tangit

“Fronde, ter arbuteâ limina fronde notat.”

Fast. lib. vi. ver. 155.

as an enchantment.

“Arbuta Poeniceo fieri matura colore.” Lucret. lib. v. ver. 939.

———— “Pomoque onerata rubenti

“Arbutus.” ——— Ovid. Met. lib. x. ver. 101.

“Arbuteos foetus montanaque fraga legebant.” Lib. i. ver. 104.
speaking of the Golden Age.

Again, speaking of Io, he says;

“Frondibus arbuteis et amarâ pascitur herbâ.” Lib. i. ver. 632.

“Nec tibi castaneae, me conjuge, nec tibi deerunt

“Arbutei foetus, omnis tibi serviet arbos.” Lib. xiii. ver. 820.

———— “Tegit arbutus herbam,

“Ros maris, et lauri, nigraque myrtus olent.”

Art. Amat. lib. iii. ver. 689.

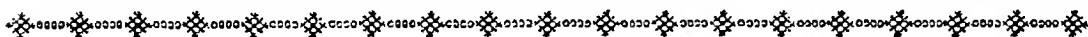
where he plainly speaks of it as a shrub.

“Impune

“Impune tutum per nemus arbutos!”

“Quaerunt latentes.” ——— Hor. lib. i. Od. 17.

*² It is manifest from Pliny that Solstitium was used for the Summer Solstice only, and Bruma for the Winter Solstice. “Democritus talem “futuram hyemem arbitratur qualis fuerit Brumae dies, et circa eum “terni; item Solstitio, aestatem.” Plin. l. xviii. c. 26.



ECLOGUE THE EIGHTH.

VER. 26—28.

“**M**OPSO Nisa datur: quid non speremus amantes?
 “Jungentur jam gryphes equis, aevoque sequenti
 “Cum canibus † timidi venient ad pocula damae.”

† I have heard a very nice critic as to versification, the late Mr. Auditor Benson, observe “that Virgil in this passage chuses rather to infringe “grammar than to make a rhyme.” Virgil uses the same expression again,

“Timidi damae, cervique fugaces.” Georg. iii. 539.

The ear even of Horace was not so nice as that of Virgil; for he does not scruple to say,

“Timidae natarunt aequore damae.” Lib. I. Od. ii. 11.

VER. 47—50.

“Saevus † Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem
 “Commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater:
 “Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
 “Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque, mater.”

† There were two Cupids, eminent among all the multitude of them of old; one of which was called, The Good Cupid; and the other, The Bad Cupid. Virgil here, evidently, speaks of the latter of these.

ECLOGUE

ECLOGUE THE NINTH.

VER. 2.—6.

“ **O** Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri
 “ (Quod nunquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
 “ Diceret : haec mea sunt ; veteres migrate coloni.
 “ Nunc victi, † tristes, quoniam fors omnia versat,
 “ Hos illi (quod nec bene vertat) mittimus hoedos.”

+ These two epithets Burman declares he can hardly digest, and would therefore read it thus,

“ Nunc victi, tristis quoniam fors omnia versat ;

But there is no need of making any alteration. For that rule “de Epithetis non multiplicandis,” is a mere dream of grammarians ; nor shall we find that the best poets took any notice of it.

For what shall we say to these verses of Lucretius ?

“ Hinc fessae pecudes pingues per pabula laeta
 “ Corpora deponunt, et candens lacteus humor
 “ Uberibus manat distentis.” Lib. i. 258—260.

And to this of Virgil ? Georg. iv. 425.

“ Jam rapidus torrens sitientes Sirius Indos”
 “ Ardebat.”

Burman himself will furnish us with more examples of the like nature from Virgil in his note to Georg. i. 40. See also Miscell. Observat. Critic. tom. i. p. 10. et G. J. Vossius de Conf.

VER. 33—36.

————— “ Me quoque dicunt
 “ Vatem pastores, sed non ego credulus illis.
 “ Nam neque adhuc Varo videor nec dicere † Cinna
 “ Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.”

† This is, probably, meant of that unfortunate poet, who was murdered by mistake, in the tumult, after Julius Caesar’s death.

Ainsworth speaks of no less than three Roman poets of this name, who may all, very fairly, be reduced to this one. The Cinna, who was so fatally

fatally mistaken by the mob; another Cinna, a contemporary of Hortensius; and who, according to Catullus, was nine years writing his poem, called Smyrna: and a third excellent poet contemporary with Virgil. Now all these characters are as applicable to the Cinna that was murdered in 710 U. C. as to any other. He was certainly a contemporary with Virgil, who was then, at least twenty-six years old; and who, probably, had written most of his pastorals before that age; for Ovid says, that Virgil wrote his pastorals when young;

“Phyllidis hic idem tenerosque Amaryllidis ignes

“Bucolicis juvenis luferat antè modis.” Trist. lib. ii. ver. 538.

And Virgil himself says the same more strongly:

“Carmina qui lusi pastorum; audaxque juvenâ,

“Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.” Georg. iv. 565.

“Cinna must also have been a contemporary of Hortensius, who was born in 641, and died in 704 U. C. and consequently of Catullus, who died a year only after Hortensius.

VER. 60, 61.

“Hic ubi densas
“Agricolae * stringunt frondes: hic, Moeri, canamus.”

* A grove, I suppose, in which the peasants strip off the leaves: Father Catrou has mistaken the meaning; and so has Ruæus, where he says, in his note on this place: “Vel quae colligantur in fasciculum: ut hic, et Georg. i. 317.”

“Fragili jam stringeret hordea culmo.”

where Virgil speaks of reaping, not binding up in sheaves.

The word, Stringo, is often used by Virgil; but never, I believe, in that sense.

ECLOGUE THE TENTH.

VER. 1—3.

“**E**XTREMUM hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem.
 “ Pauca meo Gallo *, fed quae legat ipfa Lycoris,
 “ Carmina funt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?”

* Gallus excelled in love-fongs, and wrote a poem to his miftrefs under the name of Lycoris, as we learn from Ovid:

“ Nec fuit opprobrio celebraffe Lycorida Gallo;
 “ Sed linguam nimio non tenuiffe mero.” Trift. lib. ii.

He mentions him again in other places; and particularly, Lib. iv. Eleg. ult. where, having fpoken of Tibullus, he adds:

“ Succellor fuit hic tibi, Galle; Propertius, illi:
 “ Quartus ab his ferie temporis ipfe fui.”

VER. 16.

“ Noſtri nec poenitet illas +.”

+ Martyn thinks theſe words can be explained by an Hypallage, and have the ſame force, as, “ Nec illarum nos poenitet:” but I believe we ſhall not find any approved writer, who uſes ſuch an Hypallage. And, indeed, I think, ſuch Hypallages are nothing elſe than the dreams of grammarians, and veils to cover their ignorance. See the very learned Dr. Clarke on Hom. Il. 4. 566. The ſenſe, then, of this paſſage I take to be this: “ Neither have we been a diſgrace to Paſtoral Poetry; but have ſufficiently adorned it by our Poems.” For, it is evident, Gallus exerciſed himſelf in Paſtoral Poetry as well as Virgil, from what follows, ver. 50, 51.

VER. 62, 63.

“ Jam neque † Hamadryades rurſum, nec carmina nobis
 “ Ipſa placent: ipſae rurſum concedite ſylvae.”

† Does Hamadryades, in general, ſignify any thing more than companions of the Dryads? See Pol. D. 15. N. 59.

VER.

VER. 73, 74.

“ Gallo, cujus amor tantum mihi crescit in horas,

“ Quantum vere novo viridis se subjicit † alnus.”

† This sort of simile is also used by Horace :

“ Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo

“ Fama Marcelli.” ——— Lib. I. Od. xii. ver. 46.

The tree, which Virgil chuses to mention in particular, is very well chosen. Scarce any tree growing faster than a young Alder, “ viridis alnus ;” especially in the spring-shoot, “ vere novo.”

N O T E S
O N T H E
G E O R G I C S*.

MR. Holdsworth had designed for many years, to publish an edition of Virgil's Georgics, with his notes to them. His death, and the frequent ill state of his health in the interval, prevented his carrying this design into execution. There is part of the preface which he intended to prefix to it; and several little strictures (probably toward a Dissertation on the Georgics) among his papers; which, though only strictures, as they are his, may deserve a place here.

* VIRGIL'S GEORGICS are generally allowed to be the most correct of all his works; and yet, I believe, there is no part of them so much neglected, or so little read. And the reason is plain, because there is none so difficult to be understood. This difficulty does not, as I apprehend, arise from the poet's manner of expressing himself more obscurely in this poem than in his others; for if that were true, it would not then deserve the character it bears. But it seems rather owing, partly to the nature of the subject, and partly to the commentators, who have undertaken to explain it. The subject in itself may, perhaps, appear easy, as it chiefly relates to different parts of husbandry, and common affairs of life. But then we must consider that the lower and more humble the subject, the more necessary were metaphors to raise and ennoble it; which some of the commentators have not sufficiently observed, but have explained their Author in a too dry grammatical way. Again, we must consider that many of those things which Virgil treats about are liable to little changes in the same age, and much more in such different ages; and that every country has its own manner
of

of culture, and makes use of different instruments. This renders the subject much more difficult than it appears at first sight. And the commentators having been of different countries may probably have been biassed too much by their own fashions, and consequently must have mistaken Virgil in many places, for want of being better informed in the husbandry and particular usage of the country for which his system is calculated.

In short, I look upon this piece as a fine old passage which had grown dark and a little obscure by length of time; but has suffered much more by those who have attempted to clean it, and wipe off that little dust which it must unavoidably have contracted by age. Yet notwithstanding all this it still continues a fine piece; and by what remains well preserved, we may easily judge, what the whole must have been in its original beauty; and when every part of it was well understood.

Beside the delicacy of expression in the Georgics, we ought particularly to remark the transitions from one precept to another, which are managed with such exquisite art, notwithstanding the number of them, as not to break the thread of the poem. And to prevent the Reader's being tired with precepts, interludes and decorations at proper distances are judiciously interspersed, and those so well assorted, that though many of them are very foreign to the subject, they seem to belong to it, and flow from it; and produce an agreeable variety, at the same time that they serve to compose one entire regular piece.

Lest the inculcating precept upon precept might prove tiresome to the Reader, the poet takes care not to encumber his poem with too much business, but relieves the subject with some variety or transition.

Mr. Addison admires Virgil's great art in his manner of treating his precepts; that they fall in after each other by a natural unforced method; and shew themselves in the best and most advantageous light. They are so finely wrought together in the same piece, that no coarse seam discovers where they join. As in a curious brede of needlework one colour falls away by such just degrees, and another rises so insensibly, that we see the variety without being able to distinguish the total vanishing of the one from the first appearance of the other.

Democritus had given this title to a treatise on agriculture, as appears from Columella, lib. XI. c. iii.

“Democritus in eo libro, quem Georgicon appellavit.”

The Georgics are the least read, and the least understood of all Virgil's works. — How falsely has it been imagined, that the commentators have discovered more beauties than Virgil intended!

The Georgic (to use the words of Terence) is, "Corpus solidum et fucci plenum."

Mr. Addison concludes this poem to be the most complete, elaborate, and finished piece of all antiquity.

After this particular account of the beauties of the Georgics, I should, in the next place, endeavour to point out its imperfections, if it has any. But though I think there are some few parts in it not so beautiful as the rest, I shall not presume to name them, as rather suspecting my own judgment than I can believe a fault to be in that poem which lay so long under Virgil's correction, and had his last hand put to it.

Mr. Pope, in the first note on the nineteenth book of the Odyssey, makes the following observation on the general characters of Homer and Virgil. Homer, says he, is like those painters of whom Apelles used to complain, that they left nothing to be imagined by the spectator, and made too accurate representations; but Virgil is like Timantes in Pliny. "Timanti plurimum adfuit ingenii, in omnibus operibus ejus intelligitur plus semper quam pingitur." — And again, "Ostendit etiam quae occultat." — This character is particularly verified in his Georgics.

I have heard Mr. Holdsworth mention, in conversation, the following strictures, in relation to the Georgics.

The style of each book of the Georgics is different from all the others. That of the First is plain; of the Second, various; of the Third, grand; and of the Fourth, pleasing.

Columella's work is much the best comment on the Georgics.

I wonder whence Seneca came to speak so slightly of Virgil's exactness in his Georgics; but this I am sure of, that the more I have looked into the manner of agriculture used at present in Italy, the more occasion I have had to admire the justice and force of his expressions; and his exactness even in the minutest particulars.

Mr. Holdsworth here probably had an eye to the following passage in Seneca. "Virgilius noster, qui non quid verissimè, sed quid decentissimè diceretur, aspexit; nec agricolas docere voluit, sed legentes delectare." Lib. XIII. Ep. lxxxvii.

Pliny also speaks but slightly of Virgil. "Nos oblitterata quoque scrutabimur; nec deterrebit quarundam rerum *humilitas*. Quanquam videmus

“ videmus Virgilium, praecellentissimum vatem, eâ de causâ hortorum dotes
“ fugisse: e tantisque quae retulit, flores modò rerum decerpisse,” etc.
Lib. XIV. prooem. p. 67.

The particular for which Pliny blames Virgil is the time for sowing
millet: how unjustly, see Columell. II. ix. and Pliny himself, Nat.
Hist. XVIII. vii.

Columella talks of Virgil in a stile very different from these passages
in Pliny and Seneca. “ Haec autem consequemur, si verissimo vati velut
“ oraculo crediderimus.” L. I. c. iv.

“ Vir eruditissimus, ut mea fert opinio.” Columell. lib. I. c. iii. (of
Virgil.)

“ Ideoque Virgilius cum et alia, tum et hoc de feminibus praeclarè sic
“ differuit :

“ Vidi ego lecta diu,” etc. Id. II. ix. 12.

“ Sequeris autem novalia non solum herbida, sed quae plerumque vidua
“ sunt spinis ; utamur enim saepius auctoritate divini carminis :

“ Si tibi lanitium curae est,” &c.

(From Virgil's Georg. iii. 384.) Id. VII. iii. 9.

“ Sed Georgicum carmen affirmat nullam esse praestantiorè medi-
“ cinam,

“ Quam si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum

“ Ulceris os ; alitur vitium, crescitque tegendo.”

“ Itaque referandum est, etc. Id. VII. v. 10. Et ne decedamus ab
“ optimo vate,

“ Vere novo terram,” etc. Georg. I. 43. Id. II. 2.

He never differs from Virgil, but in one single point, in which he says
he and the old writers in agriculture in general were mistaken : “ Virgi-
“ lius, et Saferna, Stolonesque, et Catones.” Id. IV. 11.

Speaking of bees, in particular, he says ; “ Hyginus, veterum aucto-
“ rum placita secretis dispersa monumentis industriè collegit ; Virgilius,
“ poeticis floribus illuminavit ; Celsus utriusque memorati adhibuit mo-
“ dum.” Id. IX. ii. 1. — (Yet how reserved in his poetical excursions
even on that subject! See *ibid.* III.)

GEORGIC THE FIRST.

VER. 1—5.

“ **Q**UID faciat laetas fegetes: quo † fidere terram
 “ Vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adjungere vites,
 “ Conveniat: quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
 “ Sit pecori: apibus quanta experientia parcis:
 “ Hinc canere incipiam.” —

† Virgil proposes the Stars as part of his subject here; and says elsewhere:

—— “ Tam sunt Arcturi fidera nobis.
 “ Hoedorumque dies servandi, et lucidus Anguis;
 “ Quàm quibus in patriam ventosa per aequora vestis,
 “ Pontus et ostriferi fauces tentantur Abydi.” Ver. 207.

Ovid, who wrote his *Fasti* chiefly for the use of the countrymen and farmers, mentions them also in his proposition to that poem:

“ Lapſaque ſub terras, ortaſque ſigna canam.”

VER. 5—9.

—— “ Vos, ô * clariffima mundi
 “ Lumina, labentem coelo quæ ducitis annum:
 “ Liber et alma Ceres, veſtro ſi munere tellus
 “ Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit ariſtâ,
 “ Poculaque inventis Acheloïa miſcuit uvis.”

* It cannot, I think, be doubted, notwithstanding what Commentators ſay, but that Virgil means the Sun and Moon by — “ Vos, ô clariffima,” etc. Varro, in the beginning of his *Agriculture*, invokes twelve Gods, whom he calls “ duodecim Deos Conſentes;” ’tis probable that Virgil invokes the ſame remarkable number, which cannot be made out without reckoning the Sun and Moon. And though all Virgil’s twelve Gods are not the ſame as Varro’s, yet they both agree in invoking principally the Sun and Moon, Ceres and Bacchus; and both give the ſame reaſons for their invocations. It cannot indeed well be imagined, when the Poet employs ſo much of his firſt book on the influences of the Sun and Moon, that he ſhould omit to invoke them. The objection, from the want of a copulative, is of little force, the conjunction being frequently omitted by the

the best Authors, particularly by Virgil himself within ten verses ———
 “ Ipse nemus linquens,” etc.

VER. 18—20.

“ Adfis, ô Tegeæ favens : oleæque Minerva
 “ Inventrix, unæque * puer monstrator aratri :
 “ Et teneram ab radice ferens, Sylvane, cupressum.”

* In a medal of Caracalla ; the reverse represents Triptolemus drawn by dragons ; and sowing, as Buonarroti supposes. See his Medaglioni, P. 423.

Ovid, lib. III. de Trist. El. viii. describes Triptolemus in this attitude :

“ Nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem conscendere currus,
 “ Misit in ignotam qui rude semen humum.”

VER. 21—23.

“ Diique Deæque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri ;
 “ Quique novas alitis * nonnullo semine fruges,
 “ Quique fatis largum caelo demittitis imbrem.”

* “ Non ullo” must certainly be the true reading ; — for hereby are only meant Plants which grow of themselves without our trouble of sowing them, “ nullis hominum cogentibus,” as he expresses it at the beginning of the 2^d book. These he distinguishes from the Satis, in the following verse.

VER. 24—31.

“ Tuque adeo †, quem mox quæ sint habitura Deorum
 “ Consilia, incertum est ; urbisne invisere, *¹ Caesar,
 “ Terrarumque velis curam ; et te maximus orbis
 “ Auctorem frugum, tempestatumque potentem
 “ Accipiat, cingens maternâ tempora myrto :
 “ An Deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautæ
 “ Numina sola colant : tibi serviat ultima *² Thule,
 “ Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis.”

† This was not so strain’d a compliment in those times, as it may appear now. It might not be much more than what we say of every good man at his death, “ That he is gone to Heaven.” May not this be the meaning of what Columella says of Virgil himself ?

“ Siderei vatis referens præcepta Maronis.” De Cult. 434.
 Siderei, now in Heaven ; i. e. among the Constellations.

At least it grew to be a common compliment to the Emperors afterwards. — See Lucan's Bombast on Nero, in the beginning of his Pharsalia; where he begs him to get into the chariot of the Sun. — Val. Flaccus talks of Vespasian's getting up among the Constellations too, in the entrance of his Argonautics. — Statius says as much of Domitian, whilst living; and would fain place him in the chariot of the Sun too, in another part of his works. (Sylv. iv. 1. 3. — ib. iii. 138.)

Heroes (such as Hercules, Perseus, etc.) were supposed by the Heathens to be actually become Constellations. They might therefore as well say of an Emperor, that he would be a Star, as that he was a great Hero.

Horace ridicules this compliment, when given to bad or mean persons :

—— “ Sive mendaci lyrâ

“ Voles sonari: Tu pudica, Tu proba,

“ Perambulabis astra fidus aureum.”

Epod. xvii. 41. of the infamous Canidia.

* After invoking twelve sorts of Deities, Virgil annexes Augustus to them. — Freinshemius, in his Supplement to Q. Curt. tells us, that, in the Theatre where Philip celebrated public shews just before he was murdered, there were the effigies of twelve Deities exquisitely wrought; and that there was a thirteenth, which represented Philip in nothing inferior to the rest. And then adds, that this contempt of his mortal condition was quickly revenged. See book Ist, just preceding Philip's Death. —

† Was not this call'd the Τρισκαίδεκάς Θεός? — Ὅταν καὶ τὸν Ἐλεε ἐψησάτο βωμον, ὡς Τρισκαίδεκάς Θεο. Philostratus, Epist. lxx. Ed. Lips. 1709.

* As Virgil is here complimenting Augustus with dominions as God of the Sea, we must suppose that he means by his Thule, “ ultima pars orbis mari adeunda.” — Where this was, according to the opinion of the Antients, is not agreed upon by Geographers. But it is most probable that it meant Iceland. Strabo tells us of an author who mentions a country in that part of the world, though the knowledge of it was again lost in his time. His account is as follows; lib. i. speaking of the Description of the Earth by Eratosthenes, he says: “ Latitudinem terrae definiens à Meroe μεσημβρινῶς usque ad Alexandrinum, “ pronunciat esse μυριάς, ἐνθεν δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλεσπόντου περὶ οὐκισμυχίλιν ἐκάστον σαδίας, “ εἰτ' εἰς Βορρῶθεν πεντακισχίλιν, εἰτ' εἰς τὸν κυκλὸν τὸν διὰ Θέλης (ἣν φησὶ Πυθέας ἀπο “ μὲν τῆς Βρεταννικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλεῖν ἀπεχεῖν πρὸς Ἀρκίον, ἐγγύς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας “ Σαλατίνης) ἄλλης ὡς μυριάς χίλιν πεντακοσίας.”

’Tis true that Strabo ridicules this account given of Thule by Pytheas, and denies that there was any such place as Thule, because they had no knowledge

knowledge of it in his time. His words are these, as in the translation :
 “ Quis autem mentis compos intervallum quod a Borysthene ad Thulen
 “ ponit pro vero judicabit? Cum et Pytheas, qui Thules historiam retulit,
 “ homo mendacissimus sit inventus: Et qui Iberniam Britannicam viderunt
 “ nihil de Thule dicant, sed alias quasdam parvas circa Britanniam insulas
 “ commemorent.”——Immediately afterwards, he says: “ Qui è Britannîâ
 “ mediâ non amplius iv stadiorum progressus millia terram inveniat cujus
 “ diversa sit habitationis ratio, nempe ad Hiberniam; ut ulteriora ista in
 “ quae ille (Pytheas) Thulen rejecit, non jam habitari possint.”

Again, lib. ii. Strabo repeats the account of Thule given by Pytheas.—
 “ Pytheas Massiliensis circa Thulen Britannicarum Insularum Septentrion-
 “ alissimam ultima ait esse, ubi Tropicus æstivus Arctici Circuli vicem
 “ gerit. De reliquis nihil narrat, neque quod insula sit Thule, neque
 “ utrum eò usque habitationes pertingant, ubi Tropicus pro Arctico est.
 “ Ego autem illum septentrionalem finem multo propius meridiem versus
 “ existimo. Qui enim hodie terras perlustrant ultra Hiberniam nihil
 “ possunt referre, quae non longe versus Septentrionem ante Britanniam
 “ jacet, planè ferorum hominum domicilium, et propter frigus malè in-
 “ colentium, ibi ergo finem constituendum censeo.”

Again Strabo, lib. iv. at the latter end of his account of Britain, says :
 “ Circa Britanniam sunt cum aliae parvae insulae; tum magna, Hibernia;
 “ versus Septentrionem juxta Britanniam porrecta, latior quam longior.
 “ De hac nihil certi habeo quod dicam, nisi quod incolae ejus Britannis
 “ sunt magis agrestes,” etc. Then he adds: “ Magis etiam obscura est
 “ Thules historia ob tam longinquum situm, omnium enim quarum fe-
 “ rantur nomina maximè versus Septentrionem esse hanc dissitam aiunt.”

From these several passages it appears, that neither the North part of
 Scotland (as Sir Robert Sibbald would have it), nor Ireland, nor any of
 the smaller Islands round Britain, could be the Thulè of the Antients :
 but that they reckon'd it much farther North. 'Tis not surprizing that
 Strabo should have no knowledge of it, when he had so little information
 even of Ireland, as appears from his situation and description of it.—
 And when he tells us that, “ ulteriora ista, in quae Pytheas Thulen rejecit,
 “ non habitari possint.” But he confesses, lib. ii. that he never travelled
 that way, not even so far as into Gaul; and what he relates was only
 upon hearsay; and upon so bad authority, that he declares in his account
 of Ireland: *Ταῦτα δ' ἔγω λεγόμεν ὥς ἐκ ἐχούλης αξιοπιστὲς μαρτυραὶ.* lib. iv. Py-
 theas, being a Massilian, might have opportunities of being better in-
 form'd: and that he was rightly inform'd is now manifest.—Strabo

himself, when he is condemning Pytheas, owns at the same time that his account was very judicious; and that, supposing there was such a country as Thulé, they must probably live in the manner as Pytheas describes: “ Quod ad caeli rationem et mathematicam attinet contemplationem videtur non ineptè eorum locorum descripsisse proprietatem; quae frigidae appropinquant plagae,” etc. lib. iv.

All the Poets and other Authors, who mention Thule, speak of it as the uttermost part of the world towards the North; and as Britain in Virgil's time was esteemed part of the Roman dominions, and as Augustus received tribute from thence, Virgil in this compliment must extend his view further. And as he subjects Maximum Orbem to him, as God of the Earth; so he gives him the utmost bounds of the Sea, as a God of that Element.

VER. 32—35.

“ Anne novum tardis fidus te mensibus addas,
 “ Quâ locus Erigonen inter †, Chelaeque sequentes
 “ Panditur: ipse tibi jam brachia contrahit ardens
 “ Scorpius, et coeli justâ plus parte reliquit.”

† With how great propriety Virgil has chosen this place for Augustus among the Constellations; see Pol. D. ii. N. 51. and that part of the Text, which the Note relates to.

VER. 36—40.

† “ Quicquid eris; (nam te nec sperent Tartara regem,
 “ Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido:
 “ Quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos;
 “ Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem)
 “ Da facilem cursum, atque audacibus annue caeptis.”

† The connexion of the sense seems to be thus — “ Whether you will
 “ be a God on Earth, on the Seas, or of Heaven, (for any part of Hades
 “ is too severe a Post of Honour for so mild a Prince, tho', if we believe
 “ the Greek Poets, the place has its charms too,) grant me your Patronage,” etc.

VER. 43—46.

“ Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus humor
 “ Liquitur, et Zephyro putris se gleba resolvit;
 “ Depresso incipiat jam tum mihi taurus aratro
 “ Ingemere, et sulco attritus splendere vomer.”

* The beginning of Spring, according to the Roman Kalendar, was vii id. Feb. but, not to confine the beginning of ploughing precisely to a day, Virgil proceeds to explain his "Ver novum" to mean, as soon as the severity of Winter begins to abate. —

—— "Gelidus canis cum montibus humor

"Liquitur," etc. —

Columella understands this passage in this manner, Lib. XI. c. ii. where, alluding to this verse "Vere novo," — he says, "Novi autem veris principium non sic observare rusticus debet quemadmodum astrologus, ut expectet certum diem illum qui veris initium facere dicitur: sed aliquid etiamumat de parte hyemis, quoniam consumptâ brumâ jam intepescit annus, permittitque clementior dies opera moliri." — Virgil likewise more fully declares this to be his meaning in a few verses after, where he specifies the time for ploughing different sorts of land.

—— "Ergo age, terrae

"Pingue solum primis extemplo à mensibus anni." Ver. 64. etc.

The "primus mensis" was January. So Columella in the same place, "Poscit igitur rusticus ab idibus Januariis (ut principem mensem Romani anni observet) auspicari culturarum officia." — And again a little after, — "Ab Idibus Januariis ficos et pingues agros tempestivum est proscindere; nam et uliginosi et mediocris habitus sub aestate vereve agendi sunt."

VER. 47—49.

"Illa feges demum votis respondit avari

"Agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora * sensit:

"Illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes."

* Of this passage Pliny thus says. "Quarto feri fulco Virgilius existimatur voluisse, cum dixit optimam esse segetem, quae bis solem, bis frigora sensisset." L. XVIII. c. xx.

Columella frequently uses "secundo, tertio, quarto fulco," for so many times ploughing, or turning up the ground; particularly lib. II. c. xiii. he says, "Semina, quae quarto fulco feruntur, in jugeribus viginti quinque desiderant bubulcorum operas cxv. nam proscinditur is agri modus quamvis durissimi quinquaginta operis, iteratur quinque et viginti, tertiat et conferitur xl." where manifestly the sowing is the fourth Sulcus.

In

In Virgil's rule, "*Bis quae solem*," etc. not only direction is given for plowing four times, but the reason included for so doing; that both heat and cold mellow the ground. Virgil in other places hints at the same effects of heat and cold.

In the second Georgic, speaking of planting young vines, he says,

——— "*Terram multo ante memento*
"*Excoquere.*" ——— Ver. 260.

And,

"*Ante supinatas aquiloni ostendere glebas.*" — Ib. 261.

And,

——— "*Optima putri*
"*Arva solo, id venti curant gelidaeque pruinae.*" Ib. 263.

Columella expressly ascribes this virtue to the sun and frost. L. V. c. ix. where, giving instruction about planting olives, he says, "*Ipsis*" "*scrobes praeparantur anno ante; vel, si tempus non largitur, priusquam*" "*deponantur arbores, stramentis incendantur scrobes, ut eos ignes putres*" "*faciat, quos sol et pruina facere debuerat.*"

Varro having given directions, lib. I. c. xxx. for the early plowings in the Spring, that is, in cold weather, tells us, c. xxxv. "*Quid inter solstitium et caniculum faciendum sit.*" And expressly orders at that time; "*Arationes absolvere; quae eò fructuosiores fiunt, quo calidiore terrâ aratur.*" — And then adds, "*Cum profcideris offringi oportet, id est, iterare ut frangantur glebae.*" As he had before directed in the very same words for the early plowing; so that he must mean two summer plowings, as well as two winter or spring.

Pliny speaks of deep stiff land at his Tusculanum, which required nine times plowing. Lib. V. epist. vi.

VER. 50—53.

"*At prius *¹ ignotum ferro quàm *² scindimus aequor,*
"*Ventos *³ et varium coeli praediscere morem*
"*Cura sit, ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum:*
"*Et quid quaeque ferat regio, et quid quaeque recuset.*"

*¹ Varro, lib. I. c. v. treating of the parts of agriculture, says, "*Agri-*" "*culturae quatuor sunt partes summae: è quibus prima cognitio fundi,*" "*solum, partesque ejus quales sint. Secunda, quae in eo fundo opus*" "*sunt ac debeant esse culturae causâ. Tertia, quae in eo praedio co-*" "*lendi*

“lendi causâ sint facienda. Quarta, quo quicquam tempore in eo fundo fieri conveniat.” These four heads he subdivides into more. Virgil observes the same method very artfully.

*² This was the proper term for breaking up ground, as appears from Varro. “Terram cum primùm arant, proscindere appellant.” Lib. I. c. xxix.

*³ Columella, citing this passage of Virgil, says, “Verissimo vati velut oraculo crediderimus.” Lib. I. c. iv.

VER. 56—59.

——— “Nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,
“India mittit ebur, molles sua *¹ thura Sabaei?
“At Chalybes *² nudi ferrum, virofaque Pontus
“Castorea *³.” ———

*¹ “Sabaei propter maximam fructuum copiam otiosi socordesque videntur.” Strabo, l. XVI. p. 778.

Pliny gives a long and very particular account of the tree which produces Thus, lib. XII. c. xiv.

*² “Chalybes nudi,” in opposition to the “molles Sabaei.” The Vulcans are represented naked by the painters and statuaries, as well as by the poets.

*³ A strong medicine; and, in particular, a strong soporific: so Lucretius;

“Castoreoque gravi mulier sopita recumbit.” Lib. vi. ver. 794.

It is still much used in medicines; and especially in nervous cases: and as the Romans had it from Pontus, we now have our best from Muscovy, and the most northern countries.

VER. 63—70.

——— “Terrae
“Pingue *¹ solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni
“Fortes invertant tauri: glebasque jacentes
“Pulverulenta coquat maturis *² folibus aestas.
“At si non fuerit tellus *³ foecunda, sub ipsum.
“Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere fulco:
“Illic officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae;
“Hic sterilem exiguis ne deferat humor arenam.”

Columella

*¹ Columella giving directions “quo tempore campi arandi sunt,” lays down this rule: — “Colles pinguis foli, peractâ fatione trimestri, mensæ Martio, si vero tepor coeli, siccitasque regionis suadebit, Februario statim proscindendi sunt. Deinde de Aprili medio usque in solstitium iterandi tertiadique.” Lib. II. c. iv. — And afterwards at the end of the chapter, gives the same instruction about ploughing poor land, and that for the same reason as Virgil. “Graciles clivi non sunt aestate arandi, sed circa Septembris calendas, quoniam si ante hoc tempus proscinditur effœta & sine succo humus, aestivo sole peruritur, nullasque virium reliquias habet. Itaque optimè inter Calendas et Idus Septembris aratur, ac subinde iteratur, ut primis pluviis æquinoctialibus conferi possit.”

*² The word *Maturus* denotes ripeness and perfection, as a man is said to be *Maturus* when he is come to his full vigour; and so the sun may be very properly said to be, in the midst of Summer, when he goeth forth in his strength. Petronius, who frequently imitates Virgil in his poem on the Civil War, expresses the same thought by a synonymous term, when speaking of the snow on the Alpes not being melted by the greatest heats, he says;

———— “Non folis adulti

“Manfuefcit radiis.” ———

The rendering *Maturus* by *Maturantibus* (as Ruæus does) quite loses the beauty of this thought.

*³ Columella says, “Macerrimi et aridi agri post aestatem, primo Autumno, arandi et subinde conferendi.” Lib. XI. c. 2.

VER. 71—78.

“Alternis idem tonsas cessare novales,
 “Et segnem patiere situ durefcere campum.
 “Aut ibi flava seres mutato *¹ fidere *² farra;
 “Unde prius *³ laetum siliquâ quassante legumen,
 “Aut tenues foetus viciae, tristisque *⁴ lupini
 “Sustuleris *⁵ fragiles calamos, sylvamque sonantem.
 “*⁶ Urit enim lini campum feges, urit avenae:
 “Urunt Lethæo perfusa papavera somno.”

*¹ This may possibly mean, “post alterum mensem,” according to the manner of cultivating in the Campania of Naples, where they give their
 “land

land very little rest. — Columella observes; “*Viciam fabam, et lupinum, novissimis temporibus, post coactos alios fructus tolli posse.*” Lib. XI. c. ii. — If we understand “*mutato fidere,*” as Ruæus does; — “*converso anno,*” then the land must lie fallow for a year, and this rule differs little from the former, “*alternis cessare.*” — Whereas Virgil seems to mean that, in case the farmer cannot afford to let his ground lie fallow, then he must sow it with such seed as manures the land; or if he is tempted, or has occasion to sow flax, &c. he must well dung his land; and then concludes, that such change of seed is in some measure equivalent to letting the land rest:

——— “*Sic quoque requiescunt.*”

The word *Sidus* cannot properly be applied to the sun, and, therefore, cannot be used to signify a year. But it means either a sign in the zodiac or some other constellation, and in that sense Virgil often uses it to signify a month or part of the year. As *Aen. IV. 309.* “*Hyberno fidere.*” — And in the first verse of the *Georgics,*

“*Quo fidere terram vertere.*”

If it be objected, that a month is too little time from reaping Lupins, etc. to the sowing of corn; we may be justified by the expression, “*mutato fidere,*” to allow near two months (*viz.*) from the sun’s entering one sign to his near leaving the next. And this time may be sufficient, and, I believe, is agreeable to the present practice in Italy, especially near Naples.

*² The white wheat is called *Carosella*. — “*Granum rutilum si, cum diffissum est, eundem colorem interiorem habet, integrum esse non dubitamus. Quod extrinsecus albidum, intus etiam conspicitur candidum, leve ac vanum intelligi debet. Nec nos tanquam optabilis agricolis fallat filigo (the whiteness of the bran); nam hoc tritici vitium est; et quamvis candore praeestet, pondere tamen vincitur.*” Col. Lib. II. c. ix.

*³ Columella says, “*Lupinus maximè ex iis quae feruntur, juvat arvum.*” — And again; “*Sunt etiam qui putent fabam vice stercoreis fungi; quod sic ego interpretor, ut existinem non rationibus ejus pinguescere humum, sed minus hanc quam caetera semina vim terrae consumere. Nam certum habeo frumentis utiliore agrum esse, qui nihil, quam qui istam filiquam proximo anno tulerit.*” Lib. II. c. x.

Legumen is a general word, but in this place, as is evident from what follows, one kind only is meant, that is, the *Faba*, as chief of the Legumes. So Pliny:

“Sequitur natura leguminum inter quae maximus honos fabae.” Lib. XVIII. c. xii. — “Laetum,” because (as Pliny says in the same place) “faba solum, in quo fata est, laetificat stercoreis vice.” — And that we are to understand the Faba here by Legumen, is clear from another passage in Pliny :

“Virgilius alternis cessare arva suadet, et hoc, si patiantur ruris spatia, “utilissimum proculdubio est. Quod si neget conditio, far ferendum, “unde et lupinum, et aut vicia, aut faba sublata sint, et quae terram “faciant laetiores.” Lib. XVIII. c. xxi. — Also in another place : “Segetem stercoreant fruges lupinum, faba, vicia.” Lib. XVII. c. ix.

* “Lupinum ab omnibus animalibus amaritudine sua tutum.” Plin. Lib. XVIII. c. xiv.

* The Trifolium Lupinus is not our Lupin ; but that seed, which they lay a-soak so long in water (to get rid of its bitterness,) and even sell it so in the streets in Italy. It is but a very insipid thing, at best. The Faselus of the Romans is our Lupin.

* Lupins were used to be sown (as they are still) for three different purposes, either to ripen for seed ; or to feed cattle when green ; or to manure land by ploughing them in before they were ripe. Virgil must necessarily in this place, according to the thread of his discourse, mean the first sort, i. e. Lupins, which grew to be ripe. And therefore the word “fustuleris” is here very expressive ; “fragiles calami,” and “fylla sonans” denote likewise and enforce this meaning. Varro, Lib. I. c. xxiii. speaks of Lupins sown purposely to manure poor ground. “Quaedam etiam ferenda, non tam propter praesentem fructum, quam in annum prospicientem, quod ibi subsecta atque relicta terram faciunt meliorem. Itaque lupinum, cum necdum siliculam cepit, et nonnunquam fabam, si ad siliquas non ita pervenit, ut fabam legere expediat, si ager macrior est, pro stercore inarare solent.

* Our farmers, in many places, use a like term. When any thing is blighted, they say, It is scorched.

The Poet does not hereby prohibit the sowing of flax and oats and poppies, as is manifest, ver. 212, where he prescribes the time for sowing them ; but he bids the countrymen observe, that these sorts of seed do not manure and enrich the land as Legumes do, but on the contrary burn it up ; and, therefore, when he sows corn after them, which he allows may be done, the land ought first to be well dunged, being to be looked upon as, “arida et effoeta.” — These two words make this passage more intelligible than is commonly imagined.

“Lini

“ Lini semen, nisi magnus est ejus in ea regione quam colis proventus, et pretium proritat; ferendum non est, agris enim praecipue noxium est.” Col. lib. II. c. x. — It is plain, notwithstanding what some commentators say, that Columella understands this passage of Virgil in the sense as I have explained it above: for, having quoted these two verses, he adds, “ neque enim dubium quin et iis feminibus infestetur ager, sicut etiam milio et panico. Sed omni solo, quod praedictorum leguminum segetibus fatiscit, una praefens medicina est, ut stercore adjuves, et absumptas vires hoc velut pabulo refoveas.” Lib. II. c. xiv.

VER. 79—83.

“ Sed tamen *¹ alternis facilis labor arida tantum
 “ Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat solo; neve
 “ Effoetos *² cinerem immundum jactare per agros.
 “ Sic quoque mutatis quiescunt foetibus arva,
 “ Nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.”

*¹ Virgil speaking above, ver. 71, of ground lying fallow, uses this word *alternis*. And therefore, I suppose, the commentators explain the word in the same sense here. But it may be observed that it is there joined with *cessare et novale*, and therefore there can be no dispute in that place about the meaning of it. I cannot think that it is to be taken in the same sense here, or that it has any relation to lying fallow, but to the alternate sowing of the seed just before mentioned. For the Poet is now speaking of those, who could not afford, or were unwilling, to let their ground lie fallow:

“ Aut ibi flava feres,” etc.

He advises such to sow Bar immediately after beans, vetches, or lupines, because such pulse enrich the ground, and serve instead of manure. Then he bids them beware of sowing flax, oats, or poppies, because such seeds burn and dry the land. However, he allows even those to be sowed alternately, provided proper care be first taken to dung the land well, which it must require, being thus dried and exhausted:

————— “ Arida tantum
 “ Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola, neve
 “ Effoetos cinerem immundum jactare per agros.”

The following verse shews, I think, plainly, that the Poet substitutes this change of feed instead of lying fallow, saying it serves in some measure to the same purpose as the rest :

“ Sic quoque mutatis requiescunt foetibus arva.”

And then, for the encouragement of those who can let their land lie fallow, he concludes, that the farmer ought to consider that some benefit accrues to him, even whilst his land is untilled :

“ Nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.”

This, I think, makes the whole connexion clear.

*² “ Transpadanis cineris usus adeo placet, ut anteponant fimo jumentorum.” Plin. lib. XVII. c. ix.

VER. 84—93.

“ Saepe etiam steriles *¹ incendere profuit agros,
 “ Atque levem *² stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis.
 “ Sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae
 “ Pingua concipiunt : sive illis omne per ignem
 “ Excoquitur vitium, atque exfudat inutilis humor :
 “ Seu plures calor ille vias, et caeca relaxat
 “ Spiramenta, novas veniat quâ succus in herbas :
 “ Seu durat magis, et venas astringit hiantes :
 “ Ne tenues pluviae, rapidae potentia solis
 “ Acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.”

*¹ Virgil is so concise in his rules, that he seldom uses two different phrases to express the same thing : and, therefore, probably, two sorts of burnings are meant here ; but it does not follow that Bakeburning (as Dr. Martyn imagines) is one of them. I rather think that he means, by “ steriles agros,” burning bushes, weeds, and brambles on ground which had long lain unmanured, and then stubble, as in the second verse.

*² The burning the stubble, etc. upon the land, is still practised in Italy, and begins in the month of August, the day after St. Laurence ; and various reasons are still given for doing it. Fontanini, in his Antiquities of Orta, speaking of the life of Cardinal Ferdinand Nuptio, gives us a remarkable instance of the regard still paid to the foregoing verses, and what an influence they had in continuing the custom of burning the
 Campagna

Campagna of Rome. — “ Jo. Maria Lancisus, qui apud Clementem
 “ Undecimum Pont. Max. non parum gratiae et auctoritatis sibi compa-
 “ raverat, ad avertendum ardentissimum aestum ex incendio stipularum
 “ urbi imminentem, Pontifici suavit, imò etiam persuasit, ut publico edicto
 “ stipulas agri Romani amplius incendi vetaret. Interim accidit fortè
 “ fortuna (Card.) Nuptium de rebus suum munus spectantibus ad Ponti-
 “ ficem adire, ex cujus ore, quum decreti mox vulgandi consilium acce-
 “ pisset, illud pro candore animi sui probare non potuit. Morem com-
 “ burendi agri Romani stipulas longè antiquissimum; optimosque effectus,
 “ qui inde consequerentur, ostendit; recitatis extemplo (decem hisce)
 “ Virgilii carminibus; quibus Pontificem à sententiâ facilè revocavit.”
 Antiquitat. Hortae, lib. III. c. ii.

† It might be from this custom that the Poets take their frequent si-
 milies from corn-burning. Virg. Aen. II. ver. 304. — Ov. Ep. XV. ver.
 9. and in several other places.

They never do this, but when there is a brisk wind; they stand to the
 windward and set fire to the stubble; and it is surprising to see, in how
 little a time it runs over a whole field of corn. You plainly see the
 fire gain and run on continually, though at a considerable distance. We
 saw it in August, 1741, in the south of France, to perfection: as it was
 the hottest season of the year, and as they had no rains there for three
 or four months, every thing was so dry that the fire ran with its greatest
 rapidity.

VER. 94—99.

“ Multum adeo, *¹ rastris glebas qui frangit inertes,
 “ Vimineasque *² trahit crates, juvat arva; neque illum
 “ Flava *³ Ceres alto nequicquam spectat Olympo:
 “ Et qui, profcisso quae fuscitat aequore terga,
 “ Rursus in obliquum verso *⁴ perrumpit aratro:
 “ Exercetque *⁵ frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis.”

*¹ Quær. If *rastra* is any where joined with *trahere*? I believe not.
 It was, as I imagine, a hand instrument, as a rake.

*² Our countrymen would scarce understand what is meant by *Vimi-
 neae Crates*; but such are still used in Italy, more than harrows, for
 smoothing land. — They first break the clods with bats, and then lay it
 smooth by drawing hurdles over it, which Columella expresses thus: —

“ Glebas

“Glebas farculis resolvere, et inductâ crate coequare.” Lib. II. c. xviii. The breaking clods with bats is practised in some parts of England in stiff ground, and is termed Balling.

*³ This thought, perhaps, is taken from some celebrated painting or bas-relief. — † Much in the manner, I suppose, that she is represented in the picture, answering this place, in the famous Vatican Virgil. See Pol. VIII. 111.

— Φιλέῃ δὲ ἑσέφρων Διμήτρει. Hesiod. Op. et Dies, ver. 300.

*⁴ I observed before, verse 50, on the word Scindimus, that Virgil used the proper term of art. Perrumpit, if not the proper term, is at least of the same importance, as we learn from Varro: “Quod primâ aratione glebae grandes solent excitari; cum iteratur, offringere vocant.” Lib. I. c. xxix. — Columella expresses this plowing by, “Transversis adversisque fulcis.” Lib. III. c. xiii.

*² “Compluribus iterationibus sic resolvatur vervaetum in pulverem, “ut vel nullam vel exiguam desideret occasionem cum feminaverimus.” Col. Lib. II. c. iv.

Exercet and Imperat are metaphors taken from military discipline.

VER. 100—103.

“Humida *¹ solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas,
“Agricolae: hiberno laetissima pulvere farra,
“Laetus ager: nullo tantum se *² Mysia cultu
“Jactat, et ipsa suas mirantur *³ Gargara messes.

*¹ Ovid makes Solstitium to signify expressly the summer solstice only, and Bruma the winter: for, complaining that all time during his banishment seemed long, “et lentis passibus ire;” he thus expresses himself,

“Nec mihi solstitium quicquam de noctibus aufert,
“Efficit angustos nec mihi bruma dies.”

De Trist. Lib. V. El. xi.

† Fluvius Novanus *omnibus solstitiis* torrens, *Brumâ* ficcatur.” Plin. Lib. II. c. ciii.

*² Columella mentions Mysia and Libya, “uti largis abundantes frumentis.” Lib. III. c. viii.

*¹ As there was little good husbandry in Mysia, and their good crops were owing to their climate, the Poet very prettily adds,

—— “ Ipse suas mirantur Gargara messes.”

VER. 104—110.

“ Quid dicam, jacto qui semine cominus *¹ arva

“ Insequitur, cumulosque ruit male pinguis *² arenae?

“ Deinde *³ fatis fluvium inducit, rivosque sequentes?

“ Et cum exultus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,

“ † Ecce, supercilio clivosi tramitis undam

“ Elicit: illa cadens raucum per levia murmur

“ Saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.”

*¹ It appears by this that balling was repeated after sowing. They turned the earth over the seed with the plough, and then broke the clods which remained. — Varro observes that this breaking of clods after sowing was practised only upon little farms, not upon such extensive lands as were in Apulia. “ Segetes non tam latas habent ut in Apuliâ, id genus “ praedii per farritores occare solent, si quae in porcis grandiores relictæ “ sunt glebae.” Lib. I. c. xxx.

*² I cannot think, with Ruæus, that Virgil ever uses Arena for any sort of land indifferently. — The instances produced by Ruæus himself shew the contrary. The lands of Aegypt and Arabia, though fat and rich, were loose; and Columella compares the land of Aegypt to “ Cinis soluta.” Lib. II. c. ii. ver. 25.

Virgil is here speaking of dry land, which wanted water, and therefore might properly be called Arena: and, “ male pinguis,” as not being loose like the land in Aegypt, but having some parts so clotted together, as required to be broken to pieces.

*³ See observations on Iliad XXI. ver. 289, Mr. Pope’s translation.

† This is particularly well practised in Italy at present; at least in gardens. I have seen of them there, which (from a great channel, cut directly from the place, where the water wells, and veined into a vast number of little ones) are supplied with water round every the minutest bed in it, from only taking up the hatch at the reservoir.

This was used in their gardens too of old:

“ Est mihi foecundus dotalibus hortus in agris:

“ Aura foveat; liquidæ fonte rigatur aquae.” Ov. Fast. V.

Et

“ Et dare quas *fitiens* jam bibat hortus aquas.” Id. de Pont. I.

“ Irriguæ dabitur non mihi *fulcus* aquæ.” Id. Fragm. ver. 166.

——— “ Puteusque brevis, *nec recte movendus*,

“ In tenues plantas facili diffunditur haustu.” Juv. Sat. III.

“ Jam resonant frondes; jam cantibus obstrepat arbos;

“ I procul, O Dorida, primumque reclude canalem;

“ Et sine jamdudum sitientes irriget horros.”

Calphurnius, Ecl. II. ver. 97.

VER. 113, 114.

——— “ * Quique paludis

“ Collectum humorem bibulâ deducit arenâ?”

* Who drains the collected moisture of the marsh from the soaking sand. Dr. Martyn. — Quaer. If “ bibulâ arenâ” may not rather mean, sand thrown on moist ground and mixed with it; in order to correct it, and suck up the superfluous moisture?

VER. 118—124.

“ Nec tamen (haec cum sint hominumque boumque labores

“ Versando terram experti) nihil improbus * anser,

“ Strymoniaeque *¹ grues, et amaris *² intuba fibris

“ Officiunt, aut umbra nocet. Pater ipse colendi

“ Haud *³ facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem

“ Movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda:

“ Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno.”

* Virgil speaks of the geese, as a troublesome bird; and very pernicious to the corn. They are still so, in flocks, in the Campania Felice; the country which Virgil had chiefly in his eye, when he was writing his Georgics:

*¹ “ Strymona sic gelidum, brumâ pellente, relinquunt

“ Poturae te, Nile, grues.” Lucan V. 711.

See other places of the same Author.

*² “ Est et erraticum intubum, quod in Aegypto Cichorium vocant.” Plin. lib. XIX. c. viii. This is still called Cichorio at Rome, and is very much eaten by the common people, and is esteemed a very wholesome salad.

salad. But the outside being remarkably bitter, they are obliged to strip off the skin and therewith the fibres (which are the bitterest part) in order to make it eatable. In the season of the year one sees people stripping this cichory at every herbstall in Rome: and, it is probable, that this is hinted at by Virgil in his "amaris fibris." — Pliny celebrates it as a wholesome herb, lib. XX. c. viii.

*³ See Hesiod Op. et Dies, from verse 42 to 52.

"Surely there was some tradition even among the Heathens of God's curse, that man should eat his bread in the sweat of his face." Sharrock's Hist. of Vegetables, c. i.

VER. 127, 128.

———— " * Ipsaque tellus
" Omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat."

———— * Καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρ ἄρα
'Αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον. Hesiod. Op. et D. ver. 118.

VER. 133, 134.

" Ut varias * usus meditando extunderet artes
" Paulatim." —————

* This is usually rendered here *Experientia*, but I should rather take the word in its vulgar sense, for use and conveniency: for Virgil certainly means that man being left to himself, the necessities of life forced him to rack his thoughts and industry to discover, by little and little, that variety of arts we have in the world.

It may likewise signify — frequent trial, or experiments — for in that sense Virgil uses the same word, Georg. II. ver. 22.

———— " Quos ipse viâ sibi repperit usus."

"Meditando, extunderet, paulatim:" Every word requires an emphasis.

VER. 143.

" Tum * ferri rigor, atque argutae lamina ferrae."

* How much more beautiful are these expressions than if he had said, "ferrum rigidum et arguta ferra?"

VER. 145.

——— “ Labor omnia vicit

“ Improbis.” ———

* Continuus.

“ Ingenti fruor, improboque somno,

“ Quem nec tertia saepe rumpit hora ;

“ Et totum mihi nunc repono, quicquid

“ Ter denos vigilaveram per annos.” Mart. Lib. XII. Ep. xviii.

VER. 147—149.

“ Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram

“ Instituit : cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae

“ Deficerent fylvae, et victum * Dodona negaret.”

* “ Primis frugibus altrix Dodona.” Lucan. Lib. VI. ver. 426.

VER. 150—154.

“ Mox et frumentis labor additus : ut mala culmos

“ Effet robigo, segnisque *¹ horreret in arvis

“ Carduus : intereunt segetes, subit aspera fylva,

“ Lappaeque *² tribulique : interque nitentia culta“ Infelix *³ lolium et steriles dominantur *⁴ avenae.”

*¹ Dr. Martyn well observes, that *Horret* is very properly applied to the Thistle, which is horribly armed all over with prickles. His interpretation of *segnis* is not so easy. He ventures, he says, with Mr. Benson, to translate it *lazy*, believing Virgil called the Thistle lazy, because none but a lazy husbandman would suffer so pernicious a weed to infest his corn. This is a new sort of metaphor I am not acquainted with. — May not *segnis* be put by way of apposition to *horreret*? a worthless good-for-nothing weed, looking fierce and making a terrible figure, is a good contrast.

*² Tribulus is a sort of thistle, so called probably ἀπὸ τριῶν βολῶν : not that it has only three points, but which ever way it points, it shews three spears. In like manner as the Tribulus used in war, and described by Vegetius, lib. IV. c. xxiv.

It

*¹ It is a common opinion in Italy that the Loglio, (or Gioglio, as the country people usually call it,) if mixed with the corn in making bread, especially that sort which grows upon the mountains, will make people mad. — Quaer. If the like opinion might not have prevailed formerly, and occasion this epithet, *infelix*. — * et † They are both like corn; which is the worse, because the Lolium, in particular, is of a malignant nature. The ancients thought it bad for the eyes.

“ Et careant loliis oculos vitiantibus agri;

“ Nec sterilis culto furgat avena solo:

is part of Ovid's prayer, *Fast.* I. ver. 691.

“ Mirum est lolio victitare tritam vili tritico.

“ P. Quid jam? S. Quia luscitiosus. P. Aedepol tu quidem

“ Caecus, non luscitiosus.” *Plaut. Mil. Glor.*

The modern Italians have yet a worse notion of it. They say of a Melancolico, “ A mangiato di pane con loglio” — “ Da questi mali effetti del loglio, abbiamo un proverbio che dice, Io non dormo nel loglio: che significa, Io non son malordo.” Note on *Malmantile Racquistato*, Cant. VI. Stan. 25.

*⁴ Pliny in his chapter, “ De vitiis frugum,” says, “ Primum omnium frumenti vitium avena est, sicut ipsa frumenti sit instar. Soli maximè coelique humore hoc evenit vitium.” *Hist. lib. XVIII. c. 17.*

VER. 160—166.

“ Dicendum et quae sint duris agrestibus arma:

“ Quae sine, nec potuere feri, nec furgere messes.

“ Vomis et inflexi primum grave robur aratri,

“ *¹ Tardaue Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra,

“ *² Tribulaue, traheaeque, et iniquo pondere *³ ratri:

“ Virgea praeterea *⁴ Celei vilisque supellex,

“ Arbuteae crates, et mystica * vannus Iacchi.”

*¹ The common waggons in Italy, especially in Virgil's own country, are still very heavy and move slow. Virgil gives dignity to them, and makes them worthy a place in his poem, by making them sacred to Ceres, alluding to the waggons used at her solemn feasts at Eleusis. The verse is suitable to the pompous procession; and, as Mr. Pope finely observes, on a like occasion —

“ The line too labours, and the words move slow.”

With such majesty Virgil speaks, when he only orders the husbandmen to provide harvest-carts!

*² Pliny, reckoning up the different sorts of instruments made use of to rub out corn, mentions the *Tribulum* among others. “*Messis alibi tribulis in areâ, alibi equarum gressibus exteritur, alibi perticis flagellatur.*” Lib. XVIII. c. xxx.

See Monf. Thevenot’s account of the sledge, now made use of in Persia, for rubbing corn out of the ear, in his *Voyages*.

See likewise a description and draught of the same in Paul Lucas’s *Journey from Constantinople to Adrianople*, Tom. I. chap. xxiv. of his *Second Voyage*.

*³ That the ancients commonly made use of rakes with iron teeth appears by a passage in Col. lib. II. c. xi.; where, giving instructions about the sowing *Medica*, he says: “*Quod ubi feceris, ligneis rastris, id enim multum confert, statim jacta semina obruantur: nam celerrimè sole aduruntur. Post sationem ferro tangi locus non debet. Atque, ut dixi, ligneis rastris farriendus, et identidem runcandus est.*”— This repetition of a particular instruction about covering *Medica* with wooden rakes shews that iron ones were commonly used for covering other feed.

*⁴ See the account of *Celeus* the father of *Triptolemus*, Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 507.

* The persons, who were initiated into any of the ancient mysteries, were to be particularly good: they looked upon themselves as separated from the vulgar of mankind; and as dedicated to a life of singular virtue and piety. This may be the reason that the Fan or Van (the *Mystica Vannus Iacchi*) was used in initiations: The instrument that separates the wheat from the chaff, being as proper an emblem as can well be, of setting apart the good and virtuous, from the wicked or useless part of mankind.—† In the drawings of the ancient paintings by Bellori, there are two that seem to relate to initiations; and each of them has the *Vannus* in it. In one of them, the person that is initiating stands in a devout posture, and with a veil on, the old mark of devotion; while two, that were formerly initiated, hold the Van over his head. In the other, there is a person holding a Van, with a young infant in it. The latter may signify much the same with the Scripture-expression of entering into a state of virtue “as a little child,” (Mark x. 15.) as the Van itself puts one in mind of another text, relating to a particular purity of life; and the separation of the Good from the Bad. “Whose Fan is in his hand, and he shall tho-
roughly

“roughly purge his floor; and will gather the Wheat into his garner,
“but the Chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable.” Luke iii. 17.

VER. 169—174.

“Continuo in fylvis magnâ vi flexa domatur
“In burim, et curvi formam accipit ulmus *¹ aratri.
“Huic à stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
“Binae *² aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso,
“Caeditur et tilia ante jugo levis, altaque fagus,
“*³ Stivaque, quae currus à tergo *⁴ torqueat imos.”

*¹ In the kingdom of Naples they sometimes call all the wood of the plough from the point of the handle to the share *Ventale*, by corruption from *Dentale*; but properly it is that part only to which the share is fixed.

The share is called *Gomere*, and is made with two corners jutting out, and rising in the middle with a back called *Schena*.

The plough used in seed-time is made with two ears, or side-boards, called *Orecche*, which are necessary to turn the earth over the seed when sown.

*² *Palladius* [one of the old Writers on Agriculture], speaking of the instruments of husbandry, describes two sorts of ploughs, the *Simplicia* and *Aurita*, and tells us, that the use of the latter was to raise the ridge higher and make a deeper furrow, in order to throw off the water in a flat deep country. “*Aratra Simplicia: vel, si plana regio permittit, Aurita, quibus possint contra Stationes humoris hyberni Sata celsiore fulco attolli.*” *Lib. I. Tit. 43.*

*³ *Stiva* is rather a foot-board on which the Ploughmen in Italy, even at this day, usually stand to guide the plough. 'Tis probably so called à *Stando*. — *Vid. Columella, l. I. c. ix. 2.* “*In re rusticâ nullo minus opere fatigatur prolixior, quia in arando stivae pene rectus innititur.*”

—— “*Innixus stivae arator.*” *Ovid. Met. l. VIII. 44.*

Buris is that part of the plough which the ploughman holds.

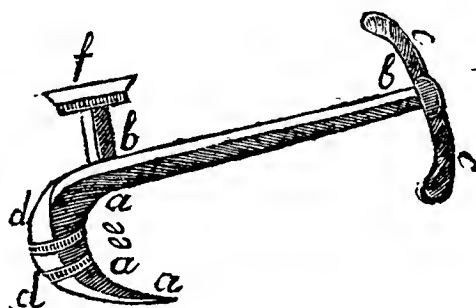
*⁴ *Q.* If this does not mean when the plough comes to the end of a furrow? for then the ploughman is chiefly employed, “*torquere aratrum:*” and then, in the kingdom of Naples, he twists the cord round a stick fixed to the handle, and sits upon it, in order the better to turn the plough. See *Columella*.

“*Magnâ*

“Magnâ vi domatur ulmus—Alta fagus caeditur—Currus torqueat”—are all expressions used to ennoble the description.

This description of a plough, according to Servius's interpretation of it, would not deserve great commendation, being, I think, if we believe his comment, very lame; for he makes the Poet omit entirely a principal part of the plough, which is the share, and describe another part twice, making *Buris* and *Stiva* to signify the same thing, viz. the crooked part of the plough, which is that which the ploughman holds.

* I never yet could understand Virgil's description of the Plough in use in his time, so perfectly as I could wish; and the best way of coming at the entire meaning of it, would be by a figure of the old ploughs: but there was such a variety of them used at different times, and in different parts of Italy, that the figure ought to be of one used near his time, and in the country about Naples; as he had that country chiefly in his eye, whilst he was writing his *Georgics*.—† Mr. Holdsworth had the model of one made in wood, whilst he was last in Italy; which is at present in the hands of his particular friend, Mr. Jennens of Leicestershire. I have a drawing of an antique plough; from a brass figure, in the Jesuits College, at Rome: which was published in the late edition of Virgil, by Mr. Sandby. Though I don't know the exact time or place in which it was made, every part of it seems to me to have something to answer it in Virgil's description. It may not be improper to insert both the description and the figure in this place; that every one may judge, how far I may be right, or how far I may have been mistaken.



I take all the bending part of the wood, or the plough-tail, (marked *a*) to be what Virgil calls *Buris*:—*b*, the Pole, or Temo:—*c*, the two pieces that go over the necks of the oxen; which he calls *Aures*:—*d*, the plough-share, *Dentale*:—*e*, the two clouts of iron, to fasten the plough-share, *Dorfa*:—and *f*, the handle of the plough, or *Stiva*.

VER. 178—180.

“ Area *¹ cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro,
 “ Et vertenda manu, et cretâ solidanda tenaci;
 “ Ne fubeant herbae, neu pulvere victa *² fatiscat.”

*¹ Varro gives the following instructions: “ Aream esse oportet solidâ
 “ terrâ pavitam, maxime si est argilla, ne aestu paeminosa, in rimis ejus
 “ grana oblitescant, et recipiant aquam, et ostia aperiant muribus ac for-
 “ micis.” Lib. I. c. li.

*² Fatiscere signifies sometimes to chop or cleave; and sometimes like-
 wise to be fatigued, or worn out: in this place it may be understood in
 its largest sense, in both meanings.

VER. 183.

“ Aut † oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae.”

† This was the vulgar opinion. Galen knew otherwise: and the
 microscope has fully discovered it in our times. See Derham's *Physico-*
Theol. p. 92. note (m).

VER. 185.

——— “ Populatque ingentem farris acervum
 * Curculio.”———

* The common people at Lyons use the name of Gourguillon for a
 small brown fly, in shape like a beetle, which is frequently found in
 beans: in the other parts of France, they call it Calendre; in English,
 Weevil. — Pliny calls this creature Gurgulionem, lib. XVIII. c. xxx.

Q. If this worm is not so called from its shape being formed like the
 gullet, which the word signifies in its primary signification? — See the fi-
 gure of it in Redi, Tab. xv.

VER. 193—196.

*¹ “ Semina vidi equidem multos medicare ferentes;
 “ Et nitro prius et nigrâ perfundere amurcâ;
 “ Grandior ut foetus filiquis fallacibus effet,
 “ *² Et quamvis igni exiguo properata maderent.”

*¹ Though Virgil uses the general word Semina, yet by the reasons
 alledged, “ Grandior ut foetus,” etc. he seems to mean Legumes only;
 and though Varro, lib. I. c. lvii. says, that Wheat was sometimes medi-
 cated,

cated, yet he intimates that this was done rarely; and that it was chiefly practised for Legumes: — and Columella, lib. II. c. x. makes this passage relate to the Bean only. “*Priscis autem rusticis, nec minus Virgilio, prius “ amurcâ vel nitro macerari fabam, et ita feri placuit.*” And then adds these two verses, “*Laetior ut foetus,*” etc. putting *Laetior* instead of *Grandior*.

*² These two verses in most of the editions are very ill pointed. There ought to be a full stop at *Maderent*, and only a comma at *Effet*. The mistake is owing to the not understanding the second verse, the meaning of which is undoubtedly this; That one advantage arising from steeping beans in nitrous water is that they boil the sooner and grow tender over a little fire. — *Palladius* mentions the same effect: “*Graeci asserunt fabae “ semina aquâ pridie infusa citius nasci, nitratâ aquâ respersa cocturam non “ habere difficilem.*” Lib. XII. *De re rust.* Tit. i. — Q. If *Maderent* will not admit the construction, becoming tender? — *Columella* uses the word *Madescere* in the same sense on the like occasion, lib. XI. c. iii. where, giving directions how to manage the cabbage-plant in transplanting it, he adds: “*Haec res efficit, ut in cocturâ celerius madescat;*” that is certainly, that it may be tender with less boiling.

VER. 197—200.

“ *¹ *Vidi lecta diu, et multo spectata labore,
“ Degenerare tamen; ni vis humana quotannis
“ Maxima quaeque manu legeret: sic omnia fatis
“ In pejus ruere, ac retro sublapſa referri.*”

*¹ This latter part of the precept, *Columella* observes, is more extensive. “*Hoc non tantum de feminibus leguminum, sed in totam agriculturionis rationem dictum esse, intelligendum est.*” Lib. III. c. x. And to the same purpose, Lib. II. c. ix. in both which places he quotes these four verses.

*² *Columella*, Lib. II. c. ix. having given instructions “*de medicandis “ feminibus,*” proceeds thus: “*Illud deinceps praecipendum habeo, ut “ demessis segetibus jam in areâ futuro femini consulamus. Optimam “ quamque spicam legere oportet, separatimque ex eâ semen reponere.*” And much more to this purpose. And then adds: “*Quia frumenta de- “ generant, nisi cura talis adhibeatur.*” And concludes: “*Ideoque “ Virgilius cum et alia, tum et hoc de feminibus praeclare sic differuit: “ Vidi ego lecta diu,*” etc.

VER. 204—207.

“ Praeterea tam sunt * Arcturi sidera nobis
 “ Hoedorumque dies fervandi, et lucidus Anguis;
 “ Quam quibus in patriam ventosa per aequora vectis
 “ Pontus et ostriferi fauces tentantur Abydi.”

* Pliny calls Arcturus, Orion, and the Hoedi, “ horrida sidera.” Lib. XVIII. c. xxviii. And Ovid, describing the terrors of his banishment, says:

“ Saepe ego nimboris dubius jactabar ab Hoedis,
 “ Saepe minax Steropis fidere pontus erat,
 “ Fuscabatque diem custos Erymanthidos ursae.”

Trist. lib. I. Eleg. ult.

Ovid declares, in the same Elegy, that he was in the Adriatic going into banishment in December.

VER. 210—211.

“ Exercete, viri, tauros, ferite hordea campis,
 “ Usque sub * extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem.”

* This must certainly mean, “ to the very beginning of the time properly called Bruma,” not to the end of it, as commonly rendered; for during that time no tillage was to be undertaken, which Virgil means by his Intractabilis. — ’Tis evident from Cato, Varro, and Columella, that the Romans were very scrupulous of sowing or tilling their ground in the dead of Winter. — Columella particularly, lib. XI. c. ii. speaking of the latter end of the month of December, says: “ His diebus qui religiosius rem rusticam colunt, nisi si vinearum causâ pastines, negant debere terram ferro commoveri. Itaque quicquid citra id genus effici potest, id ab his comprehenditur, ut olea legatur, et oleum conficiatur,” etc. — “ Nonnulli etiam legumina ferunt.” Then proceeding from the Calends of January to the Ides, he says: “ Per hos quoque dies abstinent terrenis operibus religiosiores agricolae, ita tamen ut ipsis kalen. Januariis auspiciandi causâ omne genus operis instaurent. Caeterum differant terrenam molitionem usque in proximas idus.” — According to the common acceptance of this verse, the word Intractabilis, which is very significant, would be very improper, to say no worse of it: and therefore, to avoid the force of it, Ruæus renders it only Durae. — “ Usque sub extremum imbrem,” may perhaps carry this image in it; till you come

near or under the very skirts of the Winter-showers. — What Columella observes above, “Nonnulli etiam legumina ferunt,” explains what Virgil says afterwards, ver. 227.

“Si verò viciamque feres,” etc.

About these sorts of seed, which are of less consequence, they were not so scrupulous. They did venture sometimes to continue sowing them till the middle of Bruma.

VER. 212—214.

“Necnon et lini fegetem et cereale papaver

“Tempus humo tegere; et *¹ jamdudum incumbere aratris:

“Dum *² ficcâ tellure licet, dum *³ nubila pendent.”

*¹ This adverb is commonly joined to express great ardency, and Em-pressement, as the French call it. — See other parts in Virgil; and Lucan iv. 545.

———— “Nec plura locuto

“Viscera non unus jamdudum transigit ensis.”

*² Whilst the ground still continues dry. — This is well observed, especially with respect to Hordeum. — “Hordeum nisi solutum et ficcum locum non patitur,” says Columella, lib. II. c. ix. And again: “Siligo et far adorem post continuos imbres, si necessitas exigat, quamvis adhuc limoso et madente solo sparseris, injuriam sustinent. Ordeum, si luto commiseris, emoritur.”

*³ Because the sooner it rains after sowing the better. — “Ut femina confita rigataque imbris celeriter prodeant et confirmentur ante hiemis violentiam.” Col. lib. II. c. xi.

VER. 215, 216.

“Vere fabis fatio: tum te quoque, medica *¹, putres.

“Accipiunt fulci, et milio venit annua *² cura.”

*¹ “Locum, in quo medicam proximo vere saturus es, proscindito circa Calendas Octobris; et eum totâ hieme *putrescere* finito.” Col. lib. II. c. xi.

*² Annua, on account of Medica before named; which, as Columella asserts: “Cum semel feritur, decem annis durat.” Lib. II. c. xi. —

Cura

Cura too requires its particular emphasis; for Columella observes of it: "Frequenter exigit farritionem et runcationem, ut herbis liberetur." Lib. II. c. ix.—And Palladius directs: "Ut herbis liberetur assidue." Lib. IV. Tit. 3.

VER. 217, 218.

* "Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
"Taurus, et adverso cedens canis occidit astro."

* Commentators are much divided about the reading and explanation of this passage. The common reading is Adverso; which not being well understood, Ruæus and others read Averso, but still are puzzled in explaining it. In my opinion, the whole difficulty lies in their making Canis the nominative case to Occidit, whereas I think it the genitive, the second verse relating to Taurus as well as the first, and then the whole will run thus: "Cum candidus Taurus aperit annum auratis cornibus, et occidit cedens adverso astro Canis."—The design of these two verses is to shew the proper season for sowing Milet, and perhaps Medica too, which, in my opinion, Virgil says is from the 1st of April to the Ides or 13th of the same month. That the beginning of April is signified by the first verse, "Candidus auratis," 'tis generally agreed; and I think that the Ides are plainly meant by the latter, "Cum Taurus occidit." But, to set this matter in a clear light, let us enquire what was reckoned the time of the setting of Taurus, and what the proper season for sowing Milet. Columella, lib. XI. De re rustica, c. ii. (which is a sort of Farmer's Almanack) says: "Pridie idus Aprilis Suculae celantur." The stars in the Bull's head are hid from us the 12th of April. And, in the same chapter, directing what is to be done at the beginning of April, he says: "Milii quoque et Panici haec prima satio est, quae peragi debet circa Idus Aprilis." Here we find Columella and Virgil agree very exactly, both as to the beginning and end of the season for sowing Milet. The one directs simply as a Farmer, the other as a Poet. And as Virgil adorns his first verse by an allusion to the ancient sacrifices, in Candidus and Auratis Cornibus; and by the latter expression points out the two bright stars which tip the horns of Taurus; and likewise hints at the etymology of the name Aprilis in the word Aperit: so he beautifies the second verse from the natural enmity between the Bull and Dog; and represents the Bull when setting as yielding to his adversary the Dog, who still remains above as it were victorious. (See the Bull and the Dog on the Farnesian

Globe.) — Taking the two verses thus, the expressions are very poetical, and yet the construction easy, without distorting any word from its proper signification, or changing a letter.

Palladius likewise, in his month Aprilis, tit. I. says, “Aprilī mense in
“areis, quas ante, sicut diximus, praeparasti, medica ferenda est.” And,
tit. II. “Nunc locis mediocriter siccis milium ferimus et panicum.”

Hesiod speaks of the setting of the Pleiades, and their flying the fury of Orion, as Virgil of the Bull yielding to the Dog.

Εἴτ' ἂν Πληιάδες, σθένος ὄρεμον Ωρίωνος

Φεύγασαι, πίπλωσιν ἐς ἡεροειδέα πόντον. Op. et Dies, lib. II. ver. 237.

As Virgil before takes in the whole season for barley sowing, from the autumnal equinox to the fall of the winter rains; and directs the season for flax, and poppy, as long as it continues dry after the equinox; so likewise here he sets down both the beginning and ending of the seed-time for beans, medica, and millet.

VER. 219—224.

“At si triticeam in messē robustaque farra
“Exercebis humum, folisque instabis aristis:
“Ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur *¹,
“Gnosiaque *² ardentis decedat stella coronae;
“Debita quam fulcis committas femina, quamque
“*³ Invitae properes anni spem credere terrae.”

*¹ Columella, in his tenth book of Agriculture, which is a poem on gardening, mentions these two constellations together in imitation of Virgil, and expressly declares, that he means the setting of the Pleiades in the morning, which he intimates to be near the beginning of winter:.

“Expectetur hiems, dum Bacchi Gnosius ardor
“Aequore caeruleo celetur, vertice mundi,
“Solis et adversos metuant Atlantides ortus.”

Columella in another place, explaining this passage of Virgil, tells us expressly, That this is about the ninth of the Calends of November. “Absconduntur Atlantides altero et trigesimo die post autumnale aequinoctium, quod fere conficitur nono kalend. Octob. Propter quod intelligi debet tritici satio dierum sex et quadraginta ab occasu Vergiliarum, qui
“fit

“fit ante diem nonum kal. Novemb. ad brumae tempora.” Lib. II. c. viii.

*² The brightest star of the Crown is the first of that constellation that sets, and therefore, perhaps, this ought to be rendered, “Ardenſque de-
cedat ſtella Gnoſſae coronae.” — Or it may be, that the whole conſtel-
lation is termed *ardens*, becauſe it appears all the hot months.

*³ Several commentators have miſtaken the meaning of this epithet. Virgil does not apply it to the earth as unwilling to receive feed at any time till forced by the plough, but he uſes this word to enforce the meaning of Properes — As if he ſhould ſay, that when the huſbandman haſtens to ſow before the proper ſeaſon, the earth, at ſuch time, receives the feed unwillingly, for fear ſhe ſhould diſappoint the huſbandman, and not repay what is committed to her truſt. The words Debita, Committere, and Credere, ſhew that Virgil alludes to a truſt. — In the ſecond Georgic, ver. 460, Virgil gives the earth the character of Juſtiſſima.

VER. 227—230.

“ Si verò *¹ viciamque feres, vilemque *² faſelum,
“ Nec Peluſiacae curam aſpernabere *³ lentis ;
“ Haud obſcura cadens mittet tibi ſigna Bootes :
“ Incipe, et ad medias ſementem *⁴ extende pruinās.”

*¹ “ Viciae duae ſationes ſunt ; prima quam pabuli cauſa circa aequi-
noctium autumnale ſerimus ; ſecunda quam menſe Januario, vel etiam
“ feriùs, jacimus ſemini prognerando.” Col. lib. II. c. xi.

*² “ Circa finem Septembris faſeolus ad eſcam ſeritur. Nam ad prae-
cipendum ſemen ultimâ parte Octobris, circa kalendas Novembris melius
“ obruitur.” Lib. XI. c. ii. — Virgil means only the latter ſowing, what
is intended for feed.

*³ Martial calls the Lens, Niliacam ; and “ Peluſia munera :” and ſays of it, that it was “ vilior algâ :” and to ſhew how vile and contemptible the Faba was, he ſays in the ſame place, “ Carior illa fabâ.”

“ Accipe Niliacam, Peluſia munera, lentem ;
“ Vilior eſt algâ, carior illa fabâ.” Lib. XIII. Ep. ix.

*⁴ What I have remarked above, ver. 211, ſhews this word to be very expreſſive.

VER. 259—263.

“Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber ;
 “ Multa, *¹ foret quae mox caelo properanda sereno,
 “ *² Maturare datur : durum procudit arator
 “ Vomeris obtusi dentem, cavat arbore lintres ;
 “ Aut pecori signum, aut numeros † impressit acervis.”

*¹ Columella directs the doing of these in the month of January, during the time that they were hindered from other work. “Mense Jan. ridicis vel etiam palis conficiendis idoneum tempus est.” Lib. XI. c. ii.—And afterwards, “His etiam diebus maturi agni, et reliqui foetus pecudum, nec minus majora quadrupedia caractere signari debent.” — Virgil’s advice is more general.

*² As the genuine signification of Maturus is ripe, as fruit which comes leisurely to perfection, so Maturare is opposed to Properare — doing a thing in perfection, to hurrying it over slovenly.

† The Caesars impressed their whole names, at once, on their grants and letters ; and this was so common, that even the shepherds impressed their names on their cattle :

———— “Vivi quoque pondera melle
 “ Argenti coquito, lentumque bitumen aheni,
 “ Impressurus ovi tua nomina ; nam tibi lites
 “ Auferet ingentes lectus possessor in arvo.”

Calphurnius, Ecl. V. ver. 85. See Georg. III. ver. 158.

This was a sort of Printing ; and I wonder much how they came not to find out that art sooner : for it was as easy to impress a whole line, as two words ; and a page, as a whole line. Had they gone but these two easy steps farther, it would have been just what the Chinese Printing is now.

VER. 264—265.

“Exacuunt alii vallos, furcasque bicornes,
 “ Atque * Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti.”

* Tria sunt genera praecipuè Salicis, Graecae, Gallicae, Sabinae,
 “ Quam plurimi vocant Amerinam.” Col. lib. IV. c. xxx.

VER. 266, 267.

“Nunc facilis rubeâ texatur fiscina virgâ :

“Nunc * torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite faxo.”

* The Romans used to dry their corn on a kiln, before they ground it : and it is probable that they were obliged by an old law to do it : for Pliny tells us, “Numa instituit far torrere, quoniam tostum cibo salubrius esset. Id uno modo confectum statuendo, non esse purum ad rem divinam nisi tostum.” L. XVIII. c. ii. And Ovid, speaking of the Fornacalia, says :

“Facta Dea est Fornax ; laeti fornace coloni

“Orant, ut fruges temperet illa suas.” Fast. lib. ii.

And Festus. — “Fornacalia feriae institutae sunt farris torrendi gratiâ ; quod ad fornacem, quae in pistrinis erat, sacrificium fieri solebat.” By which it is plain, that the Fornax, and Bakehouse, were differently used. They first dried their corn, then ground it, and then baked it ; the poorer sort on the hearth, the richer at the bakehouse. Virgil speaks only of the two former, which, he says, may be done in wet weather, when they are hindered from working without doors. The latter must be done as there is occasion, whether wet or dry ; and therefore cannot be supposed to be mentioned here. — That it was a custom among the antients, to bake their bread in cakes upon the hearth, is plain from Ovid. Fast.

“Suppositum cineri panem focus ipse parabat,

“Strataque erat tepido tegula quassa solo.”

This we gather likewise from the widow's cake in the Scriptures. — In Wales, and several other places, they still make bread in this manner. Varro expressly directs the drying, and grinding or pounding of Far, in the winter, in order to have it ready for use, as occasion required : “Far quod in spicis condideris per messem, et ad usus cibatus expedire velis, promendum hieme, ut in pistrino pisetur ac torreatur.” Lib. I. c. lxiii. And again ; “Messum far promendum hieme in pistrino ad torrendum, quod ad cibatum expeditum esse velis.” C. lxix.

VER. 268—272.

“Quippe etiam festis quaedam exercere diebus

“Fas et jura sinunt : rivos deducere nulla

“Religio

“ Relligio vetuit, fegeti praetendere sepem,

“ Infidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,

“ Balantumque * gregem fluvio mersare salubri.”

* Balantum has its beauty in this place, because sheep on washing bleat more than ordinarily : and Salubri is added, as Columella observes, because it was not allowed to wash sheep on holidays, unless Medicinæ gratiâ.

VER. 273—275.

“ Saepe oleo tardi costas agitator afelli

“ Vilibus aut onerat pomis ; *¹ lapidemque revertens

“ *² Incusum, aut atrae massam *³ picis urbe reportat.”

*¹ I very much question whether Virgil means here a mill-stone. Ovid in his account of the Vestalia in his Fasti calls “ Mola scabra et pumicea,” which is a proper description of the roughness of a mill-stone, but “ lapis “ incusus” gives us but an imperfect idea of it, and, I think, does by no means answer. Quaer. If it may not rather mean a mortar, or such like hollowed stone, in which the poorer people used to break their corn after they had dried it ? as appears by what is said before ;

“ Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite faxy.”

It is manifest, by the whole passage, that the poet is speaking here of the poorer sort of country people.

“ Ante inventum molarum usum, frumenta in pilâ comminuebantur. “ Pilae autem erant vasa concava, in quae antiqui siccata frumenta immissa pinsebant.” Rosini Antiq. Rom. lib. I. c. xiv.

*² The consumption of pitch formerly was very great, for pitching the inside of their vessels or jars for keeping wine, etc. as appears from several places in Columella ; particularly lib. XII. c. xviii. et xx.

VER. 281, 282.

“ Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio * Ossam

“ Scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum.”

* This sort of versification is very noble and beautiful, when used in a proper place. And it is manifest from that verse in the third book of the Aeneid, ver. 211.

“ Insulae Ionio in magno,”

that

that Virgil sometimes purposely affected that irregularity, otherwise he would certainly have said, "Insulae in Ionio magno," but the Hiatus makes it sound more grand.

VER. 289, 290.

" * Nocte leves stipulae melius, nocte arida prata

" Tondentur : noctes lentus non deficit humor."

* " Noctibus roscidis foenum secari melius." Plin. lib. XVIII. c. xxviii.

VER. 291, 292.

" Et quidam feros hiberni ad luminis ignes

" Pervigilat, ferroque faces * inspicat acuto."

* Quaer. If not torches cut in that manner on purpose to look into furnaces? — Cato calls them Faculas, c. xxxvii.

VER. 293—296.

" Interea longum cantu solata laborem

" Argute conjux *¹ percurrit pectine telas :

" Aut dulcis *² musti vulcano decoquit *³ humorem,

" Et *⁴ foliis undam *⁵ tepidi despumat aheni."

*¹ In great farms formerly they had looms to make the necessary cloaths for their labourers, as appears from several passages in Varro; and Columella, lib. XII. c. iii.

*² Hereby is meant the making Defrutum, or Sapa; and in this short description Virgil hints at the most remarkable circumstances observed in making it; and uses the epithet Dulcis, because they chose commonly the sweetest wine for it. — " Mustum quam dulcissimi saporis decoquatur," says Columella, lib. XII. c. xxi. treating of the Defrutum.

*³ Because the watery particles evaporated. — Virgil in this verse,

—— " Vulcano decoquit humorem,"

affects the stile of Lucretius, which is very proper to the subject.

*⁴ Pliny, speaking of this very subject, tells us, that the people strictly observed this nicety of using leaves to take off the scum. " Non nisi foliis " despumandum; quia si ligno contingatur vas, adustum ac fumosum fieri " putant." Lib. XVIII. c. xxxi.

*⁵ Because done over a gentle fire, which was not to touch the furnace with the flames. — “Levi primum igne et tenuibus admodum lignis, quae cremia rustici appellant, fornacem incendemus, ut ex commoda multum ferveat,” &c. Col. lib. XII. c. xix.

VER. 297.

“At rubicunda *¹ Ceres medio *² fucciditur aestu.”

*¹ “Antequam ex toto grana indurescant, cum rubicundum colorem traxerunt, messis facienda est.” Col. lib. II. c. xxi.

*² So “Supponat,” ver. 348. The compound is used, in both places, expresses the manner of reaping. See Varro, lib. I. c. I.

VER. 302.

“Invitat † genialis hiems, curasque resolvit.”

† Alluding to their Saturnalia, which answered to our merry time of Christmas.

They had their Christmas jests too;

“Postulat ecce novos ebria Bruma sales.” Mart. pref. to lib. XIII.

———— “Jocos Decembris.” Id. X. 85.

It was a time of debauch;

———— “Et toto vinum nescire Decembri.” Juv. Sat. VII.

And of feasting;

———— “Acceptus geniis December.” Ov. Fast. III.

See the last poem in Statius's Sylv. lib. I.

VER. 304, 305.

“Ceui pressae cum jam portum tetigere carinae,

“Puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere * coronas.”

* Suetonius mentions this custom. “Forte Puteolanum finum praeter-
“vehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrinâ, quae tantum quod ad-
“pulerat, candidati, coronatique, et thura libantes fausta omina et laudes
“congefserant,” etc. In Aug. c. xcvi.

VER. 316—321.

“ Saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis
 “ Agricola, et *¹ fragile jam *² stringeret hordea culmo,
 “ Omnia *³ ventorum concurrere praelia vidi,
 “ Quae gravidam late fegetem ab radicibus imis
 “ Sublime expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro
 “ Ferret hiems culmumque levem, stipulasque volantes.”

*¹ This epithet is very proper. Columella, speaking of barley, says,
 “ Ubi paulum maturuerit, festinantius quàm ullum aliud frumentum deme-
 “ tendum erit, nam et fragili culmo, et nullâ vestitum paleâ, granum ejus
 “ celeriter decidit.” Lib. II. c. ix.

*² See in Pliny and others the several ways of reaping. — See Ecl.
 IX. 61. note. — Quæ. If Stringeret does not imply the reaping in haste?

*³ The Poet takes occasion here to observe, that the regular seasons
 are frequently interrupted by storms, etc. Pliny in the same manner,
 after having discoursed “ de temporibus ferendi,” proceeds thus — “ Cum
 “ omnia haec statis sideribus coeloque affixis constant, interveniunt motu
 “ stellarum (i. e. by the planets) grandines, imbres, et ipsi non levi ef-
 “ festu, ut docuimus, turbantque conceptae spei ordinem. — Ideo Virgilius
 “ errantium quoque siderum rationem ediscendam praecipit, admonens
 “ observandum frigidae Saturni stellae transitum.” Lib. XVIII. c. xxv.

VER. 328—333.

“ Ipse pater, media nimborum in nocte, † coruscâ
 “ Fulmina molitur dextrâ: quo maxima motu
 “ Terra tremit: fugere ferae, et mortalia corda
 “ Per gentes humilis stravit pavor: ille flagranti
 “ Aut Atho, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Ceraunia telo
 “ Dejicit: ingeminant Austri, et densissimus imber.”

† This is supposed to be taken from some ancient painting. See
 Pol. VI. 36.

VER. 335—337.

“ *¹ Hoc metuens, coeli *² menses et sidera ferva;
 “ *³ Frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet:
 “ Quos ignis coeli Cyllenius erret in orbes.”

*¹ By these three verses Virgil advises the countrymen to observe the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the other constellations, and likewise the planets. — That Pliny understood him in this sense, I think, plainly appears from the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter of his eighteenth book. See note *³ on ver. 318. *ante*.

*² A very pretty expression for the twelve signs.

*³ This epithet is given to Saturn, because he was supposed by the ancients to preside over cold. The Aegyptian priest in Lucan, explaining to Caesar the different powers of the heavenly bodies, says;

“Frigida Saturno glacies et zona nivalis

“Cessit; habet ventos, incertaque fulmina. Mavors.”

Phars. X. 205.

VER. 347—350.

———— “Neque ante

“Falcem maturis quisquam *¹ supponat aristis,

“Quam Cereri, tortâ redimitus tempora *² quercu,

“Det motus incompósitos et *³ carmina dicat.”

*¹ See second note on ver. 297.

*² The worship here directed must be different from the Ambervalia, just before mentioned by Virgil. For that feast, we find, was,

———— “Extremae sub casum hiemis;”

whereas this was just before harvest, when they adorned themselves with garlands of oak.

I have seen the Florentine peasants in the month of July dancing and singing, in the *manner here described*, crowned with garlands of oak.

*³ Horace tells us, that Poetry in Italy began first at their harvest feasts. Lib. II. Ep. i. ver. 139.

“Agricolae prisca, fortes, parvoque beati,

“Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo

“Corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,

“Cum fociis operum pueris, et conjuge fidâ,

“Tellurem porco, Sylvanum lacte piabant;

“Floribus et vino genium memorem brevis aevi.

“Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem

“Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.”

VER.

VER. 379, 380.

“ *¹ Saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
 “ Angustum formica terens iter ; et bibit *² ingens
 “ Arcus.” —

*¹ The emphasis, as I take it, is to be laid upon *saepius*. The observation relating to the hurry ants are in, against bad weather ; when they run out and in, and carry their eggs backward and forward, several times.

“ Imperfecto completitur aëra gyro
 “ Arcus, vix ullâ variatus luce colorem,
 “ Oceanumque bibit.” Lucan. Pharf. lib. IV. ver. 79.

Where the bow is represented as dark, and cloudy, and imperfect ; portending an inundation.

It is now a common opinion that the rainbow sometimes portends fair weather, at other times rain. The like opinion prevailed among the ancients ; and when the bow appeared dark and watery at either end towards the horizon, then they said, “ bibit arcus.” — Plautus makes one of his actors, on seeing a crooked old woman drinking, say very humorously ;

“ Ecce autem bibit arcus, pluet, credo, herclè hodie.”

Curcul. act. I.

Seneca in his Nat. Quaest. lib. I. cap. vi. confirms what is said, that the rainbow sometimes portended rain, sometimes fair weather. —

VER. 388, 389.

“ Tum cornix * plenâ pluviam vocat improba voce ;
 “ Et sola in siccâ secum spatatur arenâ.”

* Servius reads it, *raucâ*. — Pliny observes of the Corvi, “ Pessima eorum significatio, cum glutunt vocem, velut strangulati,” lib. X. c. xii.

VER. 393, 394.

“ Nec minus ex * imbri soles et aperta ferena
 “ Prospicere, et certis poteris cognoscere signis.”

* Dr. Martyn reads *eximbres*, thinking this more poetical than the common reading ; and says it is certain that Virgil's meaning could not be,

be, that these observations are to be made during the rain, etc. With submission, I think that "ex imbri" does not necessarily signify whilst it actually rains, but rather immediately after a shower. During which interval one may judge whether the bad weather is like to continue, or not. Virgil here gives us prognostics of the latter; and Prospicere plainly intimates something future; and shews Virgil's meaning to be, when the weather is not quite settled, but going to change from bad to good. We find too afterwards, vers. 413, that the showers are but just over, when the ravens foretell a change, and promise fair weather:

——— "Juvat imbribus actis
"Progeniem parvam dulcesque revifere nidos."

VER. 395—397.

"Nam neque tum stellis acies obtusa videtur,
"Nec fratris radiis obnoxia surgere Luna:
" * Tenuia nec lanae per caelum vellera ferri."

* These fleecy thin clouds are signs of rain: "Si nubes ut vellera
"lanae spargentur multae ab oriente, aquam in triduum praefagiunt."
Plin. lib. XVIII. c. ult.

As Virgil and Pliny call these thin clouds, "vellera lanae;" so Ovid likens a fleece, carded by Arachne, to a cloud.

——— "Repetitaque longo
"Vellera molliat nebulas aequantia tractu."
Met. lib. VI. ver. 21.

VER. 418, 419.

——— "Jupiter humidus† Austris
"Densat, erant quae rara modo; et, quae densa relaxat."

† See Pol. xiii. 71.

VER. 430, 431.

"At si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem
"Ventus erit: vento semper rubet aurea * Phoebe."

* The common epithet given to the Moon is Argentea; on this occasion the Poet more properly and very prettily calls her Aurea.

VER.

VER. 432—435.

“ Sin ortu in *¹ quarto (namque is certissimus auctor)
 “ *² Pura, neque obtusis per coelum cornibus ibit;
 “ Totus et ille dies, et qui nascentur ab illo
 “ Exactum ad mensem, pluviâ ventisque carebunt.”

*¹ “ Quartam Lunam maximè observat Aegyptus. Si splendens ex-
 “ orta puro nitore fulserit, serenitatem; si rubicunda, ventos portendere
 “ creditur.” Plin. lib. XVIII. cap. ult.

*² M. Annaeus Seneca has quoted this passage at large in his 3^d *Sua-*
foria, and all the editions of that author have it, “ Plena, neque obtusis.”
 Yet, notwithstanding this ancient and good authority, we find in all
 printed copies of Virgil the word *Pura* substituted instead of *Plena*. 'Tis
 pretended indeed by And. Schottus, that in Mss. of Seneca, he found
 the word, as in the printed copies of Virgil, *Pura*; and contends that it
 ought to be so. But, besides the testimony of the best editions of that
 author, it seems evident, from the whole tenor of Seneca's discourse, that
 he read the word *Plena*; and the chief stress of his argument depends upon
 it. And therefore I make no doubt but this is the genuine reading; and,
 with submission, I think it likewise far preferable to the other. For *Pura*
 conveys no idea to us more than “ neque obtusis cornibus;” but *Plena*
 does. The whole of Virgil's observation is this: When on the first ap-
 pearance of a New Moon the horns are dim, and the space within
 the horns dark and black, then we are threatened with bad weather. But
 on the contrary, when on the fourth day of the Moon the horns appear
 sharp, and the space between them so bright (as may be observed in a
 clear sky) that the whole circle or face of the Moon is plainly distinguish-
 able, which is the purport of *Plena*, then it portends good weather.

Any one may easily perceive, that the word in this place is very ex-
 pressive, and the opposition between “ *Luna plena*” and “ *in ortu quarto*”
 enlivens the thought; and therefore, I suppose, 'tis admired by Seneca as
 a shorter, more easy, and happier expression than what he quotes from
Fuscus Arellius: “ *Luna, five plena lucis suae est splendensque, pariter*
“ affurgit in cornua:” which is dull and languid in comparison of Virgil,
 and contains no more in such a number of words than Virgil has expressed
 in one, but yet may serve as a good comment upon him. This seeming
 inconsistency between *Plena* and *Ortu quarto* might probably at first oc-
 casion the adulteration; some acute critics imagining, that *Plena* could by

no means suit the Moon when but four days old. 'Tis true indeed it cannot in the common sense, but in the Poet's it does. And if this was the occasion of the alteration, I hope what appeared to them a solecism will be thought a real beauty.—† I have often observed this appearance spoken of by Mr. Holdsworth, and that sometimes on the third and fifth days of the New Moon, as well as on the fourth. Virgil had, no doubt, often seen the same; but he instances in the fourth, as its being a surer sign of fair weather than any of the other; (“namque is certissimus auctor.”) It may be a surer sign in Italy too, than it is with us; for I have scarce ever found it to hold good, as to its prediction, in our moister air and more inconstant climate.—Mr. Holdsworth's reason for altering the word *Pura*, depends wholly on the reading of the verse in Seneca. It might perhaps be said, on the other side, that Valerius Flaccus, in a verse (in which he seems to have had this line of Virgil in his eye) uses the word *Pura*: it is in the second book of his *Argonautics*:

——— “*Micat immutabile coelum;
Puraque, nec gravido furrexit Cynthia cornu.*”

But an imitation is not near so full a proof, as a quotation; and of the two, Val. Flaccus is farther removed from the time of the first edition of Virgil's works, than Seneca.

VER. 461—463.

“*Denique, quid Vesper ferus velat; unde ferenas
Ventus agat nubes; quid * cogitet humidus Auster;
Sol tibi signa dabit.*”———

* The Poet here speaks of the South-Wind as a person having the command over the watery corner, and meditating whether he should bring rain upon the earth or not; and supposes that, by frequent observations on the Sun, one may discover his designs and enter into his thoughts.

——— “*Quid cogitet humidus Auster.*”

Dr. Martyn, in a note on this verse, tells us, that Pierius says, some would fain read, “*Quid cogat et humidus Auster;*” but that most of the antient Mss. have *Cogitat*.

Again, at the end of the 4th Georgic, he publishes some remarks, which he says were sent him, after the publication of the third Georgic, by the learned Edward King, Esq; in a letter dated from Bromley in Kent. Among which is this following: “I never could be reconciled to, *Quid*
“*cogitet*

“cogitet humidus Auster. I had rather read Cogat et, or Concitet, “(contra omnes Codices) than Cogitet.”

For my part, I see no difficulty in animating the winds; Cogitet. There is no doubt but the ancients often described the winds as persons, which alone sufficiently justifies the use of the word Cogitet. And as the southerly wind generally produces cloudy dark weather, and, as Virgil says in another place, “Contristat caelum,” may it not very properly be represented in a thoughtful posture, like an old pensive fellow, on a damp gloomy day?—In this sense Cogitet is an expression, which to me appears not only easy; but truly poetical, and very beautiful.——† See also Polymetis, xiii. 13. on the passage.

VER. 471—473.

—— “Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
“Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
“Flammarumque globos * liquefactaque volvere faxes?”

* The Academy of Sciences at Naples, who may well be supposed to be proper judges of a just description of a burning mountain, take occasion to applaud this passage, in the account they published of the eruption of mount Vesuvio, which happened in the year 1737. They seem to think these words convey a truer and more lively idea of the torrents of a burning mountain, than any of the formal descriptions given by Virgil's interpreters, or other writers: The matter thrown out at such times being, as they observe, really liquid or melted stone. They particularly condemn Ruæus's note on this passage, as not agreeable to Virgil or the truth; and quoting his words, they add this angry censure: “Ex quibus “manifestum est aptissimam Poetae phrasin imperiti hominis temerario “judicio in praeposteram explicationem esse deductam.”——See their commentary De Vesuvii conflagratione, published at Naples, 1738. p. 47. See likewise Borelli, De Incend. Aetn. p. 69.

VER. 476—479.

“Vox quoque per lucos vulgò exaudita filentes
“Ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris
“Vifa sub obscurum noctis: pecudesque locutae,
“* Infandum! sistunt amnes, terraeque dehiscunt.”

* Virgil seldom or never mentions such incredible stories, without an exclamation to denote his not giving too much credit to the report.

M

serve,

ferve, that the exclamation is the most proper that could be used on the occasion.

VER. 481—483.

* “ Proluit infano contorquens vortice fylvas
 “ Fluviorum rex Eridannus, camposque per omnes
 “ Cum stabulis armenta tulit.”——

* This is a short but noble description of the inundations of the Po: of which Virgil, who lived in the neighbourhood, must frequently have been an eye-witness. The first verse flows with strength and fury; and the irregularity of Fluviorum adds a beauty in describing the violence of a torrent that knows no bounds. Lucan, lib. VI. expatiates more minutely on the damages done by the same river; but, according to custom, he knows not where to leave off. And though he has commonly too much rage, yet in this place, for want of judgment, he is very tame; where his fury, if ever, might have been pardonable. — “ Tum flumina toto Transit,” is a very calm way of breaking down bounds, and overflowing a country.

VER. 484—486.

—— “ Nec tempore eodem
 “ Tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces,
 “ Aut puteis manare cruor cessavit; et altè
 “ Per noctem resonare lupis * ululantibus urbes.”

* The sound of this word, especially according to the foreign pronunciation, is expressive of its sense. 'Tis very mournful, and cannot be uttered without howling.

VER. 489—492.

† “ Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
 “ Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi:
 “ Nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro
 “ Emathiam et latos * Haemi pinguescere campos.”

† See Mr. Holdsworth's Dissertation on this passage.

* A large extent was given to this mountain, by the Antients; and at this day 'tis called by the Italians, Catena mundi.

VER.

VER. 498—500.

“ Dii † patrii Indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque mater,
 “ Quae ‡ Tuscum Tiberim *, et Romana Palatia fervas,
 “ Hunc saltem everfo juvenem succurrere facclo
 “ Ne prohibete !” ———

† Beside less mistakes, our Mr. Dryden has made a very gross one, in his translation of this passage. Virgil, by the Dii Patrii here, means the great Triad of deities first received all over the East; and afterwards, successively, in Greece and Italy. These the ancient writers in general (from Herodotus quite down to Macrobius) usually call by the title of Θεοὶ Παῖρῶσι, or Dii Patrii. There is an endless variety of opinions, who these three deities were, who were so much revered in the East; and particularly in the island of Samothrace: but among the Romans it is evident enough, that the three deities received as the three supreme, were Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva: and therefore Virgil adds the word Indigetes, to fix it to the Θεοὶ Παῖρῶσι, or the three great supreme gods, received as such in his own country. Indigetes here is much the same as Nostri in Juvenal; where he is speaking of these very deities, (Sat. III. ver. 145.) They are therefore no less personages than Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (the three supreme, among all the gods of the Romans), whom Dryden here represents Virgil as calling,—“ Home-born deities; of mortal birth.”

‡ Mr. Holdsworth seems to have thought (as appears in a note, which he has left imperfect), that there were two temples of Vesta in Rome; and that this verse may point out the situation of each: one on the banks of the river; and the other, near the gate of the Palatine Hill.

* Virgil speaks of Tuscany and Rome almost as if they were both upon the same footing, here and in other places; chiefly out of complaisance for his great patron Maecenas, who was descended from the old race of the kings of that country.

VER. 509—513.

“ Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum :
 “ Vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes
 “ Arma ferunt : saevit toto Mars impius orbe :
 “ Ut cum carceribus sese effudère quadrigae,
 “ * Addunt se in spatia.” ———

* Dr. Martyn owns this to be the common reading, but chooses to follow Heinſius and Ruæus in reading, “Addunt in ſpatio:” which he takes to ſignify, “They increaſe their ſwiftness in the ring; or run faſter “and faſter.” As if Virgil meant (as he ſays Grimoaldus underſtands him), that the longer horſes run in a courſe, they faſter they go. With ſubmiſſion, I think the Poet has no ſuch thought in view: what he chiefly intends in this compariſon, at leaſt in this part of it, is, as I take it, the eagerneſs and fury of horſes, when they firſt find themſelves at liberty, as ſoon as the barrier is removed. To this he compares the mad licentiouſneſs of the world, which he had before deſcribed, when looſed from the reſtraint of laws, upon the death of Cæſar. “Effundere ſe carceribus” answers to “ruptis legibus,” and “addunt ſe in ſpatia,” to the firſt impetuouſity of regained liberty or licentiouſneſs. In the foot-race, Aen. V. Virgil calls this firſt Impetus, “Corripere ſpatia:”

———— “Signoque repentè

“Corripiunt ſpatia audito, limenque relinquunt.”

In which place 'tis plain, from “ſigno audito” and “limen relinquunt,” that “corripiunt ſpatia” can relate only to the firſt Impetus after ſtarting. Dr. Martyn underſtands “corripere campum” in the ſame manner, Georg. III. ver. 103.

“Cum præcipiti certamine campum corripuere:”

which he well tranſlates, “when the chariots have ſeized the plain.” I think, “addunt ſe in ſpatia,” or “addunt ſe ſpatio,” ſignifies much to the ſame purpoſe; and therefore I take one of theſe to be the true reading. The chief difficulty lies in the word Addunt. Let us then only ſuppoſe it to be Dant, and then the expreſſion would be eaſy, “dant ſe in ſpatia,” they give themſelves a looſe. Addunt may be taken in the ſame ſenſe, and with more force; for as this prepoſition (in compoſition) not only implies nearneſs, but one of its known powers is to enforce; ſo here it has both ſignifications, and expreſſes not only their ſtarting together as Quadrigæ, but ſerves to give a greater emphasis: and its intent is to ſhew with what violence they jointly ſeize the field.

GEORGIC THE SECOND.

VER. 4—6.

“ **H**UC †, pater, ô Lenæe: tuis hic omnia plena
 “ Muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumnus
 “ Floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris.”

† This was either part of an antient prayer to Bacchus, or is new made, for the use of the countrymen, by Virgil, in the same manner as Ovid has made one for them in his Fasti. They first desire him to favour them with his looking toward them, which they thought occasioned the fertility of their vines; and next to favour them with his actual presence among them in their labours, at the vintage.—Mr. Holdsworth observes, that Montfaucon has some figures relating to the latter, in his Antiquities. He was called Lenæus from this, as Ruæus observes, and Mr. Holdsworth proves from Diodorus Siculus. — Τὸν δὲ ἐν Διόνυσον ἐπελθούλα μὲν εἰς ἀπὸ πέντε παῖδας τὴν οἰκομένην διδάσκει τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀμπέλης, ἢ τὴν ἐν ταῖς λήνοις ἀπόθλιψιν τῶν βοτρυῶν, ἀφ’ ἧς Ἀθηναῖον αὐτὸν ὀνομαδῆναι. Diodor. Sic. p. 138.

Virgil reminds the husbandmen of praying to Bacchus toward the close of this book, as well as in the entrance on it. See ver. 529.

VER. 9—11.

“ Principio arboribus varia est natura creandis:
 “ Namque aliae, nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae
 “ Sponte * fuâ veniunt.”——

* Varro, lib. I. c. xl. says, “ Semen, quod est principium oriendi, duplex; unum, quod latet nostrum sensum; alterum, quod apertum.” And then proceeds: “ Latet, si sunt semina in aëre, ut ait Physicus “ Anaxagoras,” etc.

The antients might perhaps be of opinion, that all plants had not seed: Virgil seems to favour that opinion, by his “ Non ullo semine,” G. I. 22. but that does not seem to be his meaning here. He mentions one (viz. Genista) which he must know to have seed; and therefore I rather believe, he means self-sown plants, and adds,

—— “ Nullis hominum cogentibus,”——

to explain his meaning.

“ Arbores,

“Arbores, quas naturae debeamus, tribus modis nascuntur; sponte, aut femine, aut ab radice,” etc. Pliny, lib. XVI. c. xxxii. And, in the beginning of the following book, he says: “Natura arborum, terrâ marique sponte suâ provenientium, dicta est: restat earum, quae arte et humanis ingeniis fiunt verius quam nascuntur.”

VER. 14.

“Pars autem * posito surgunt de femine.”——

* Posito, according to Catrou, in this place signifies fallen naturally:

—— “Positas ut glaciēt nives

“Puro numine Jupiter.”

Hor. lib. III. od. x.

I see not any occasion of limiting the word to that meaning, but understand it in the common sense. Virgil certainly intends to bring under this head, all trees raised from seed set by hand; which he properly calls natural propagation, being so, or at least dictated by nature; whereas under the next class, he reckons up only such methods of propagation as are purely the inventions of art, and discoveries made by experience. — Under this first class are comprehended, 1st, Trees that grow “sponte suâ,” as explained above: 2dly, Trees raised from seed set, or sown: 3dly, All trees raised or growing from the suckers of the roots. — These three sorts he repeats again from ver. 47 to 60, and shews how they may be improved, and what disadvantage there ensues by leaving them to nature. — I take therefore “posito de femine” to signify seed “set by hand,” or set regularly as in nurseries; in opposition to those just before mentioned, which he says,

—— “nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae

“Sponte suâ veniunt.”——

And such trees as are raised from seed set by hand, belong properly to this class of trees raised naturally; for though art is employed therein, yet nature shewed the way.

—— “Hos natura modos primùm dedit.”——

Virgil afterwards makes use of the same expression, “Positis feminibus,” speaking of vine-layers planted out:

“Seminibus positis, superest deducere terram

“Saepius ad capita.”——

355.

When

When Virgil speaks of seed scattered naturally, or sown by hand without attention, or regularity, he makes use of the word *jaētis*:

“ Jam quae *feminibus jaētis* se sustulit arbos
 “ Tarda venit,” etc. 57.

He observes that seed sown in that manner must degenerate, and therefore advises to set them regularly, as in nurseries:

———— “ Omnes
 “ Cogendae in fulcum.” 62.

VER. 16.

* *Aesculus, atque habitae Graiis oracula quercus.*”

* There is a species of oak in Spain, that bears a sweet acorn, which the people eat as commonly as chestnuts. *Quaer.* If not the *Aesculus*? and how called there?

VER. 17—19.

“ Pullulat ab radice aliis densissima fylva;
 “ Ut cerasis, ulmisque: etiam *Parnassia* † *laurus*
 “ Parva sub ingenti matris se subjicit umbra.”

† Strictly speaking, our Laurel is the *Lauro*, or *Lauro Regio*, of the Italians; and our Bays, their *Alloro*: but our Poets, as well as theirs, use the words indifferently. *Laurus* was used too by the Roman writers indifferently, for the Laurel, and Bays. Pliny, speaking of the *Laurus*, says: “ Duo ejus genera tradit Cato: *Delphicam* et *Cypriam*: *Delphicam*, “ aequali colore, viridiorem, maximis baccis, atque è viridi rubentibus: “ hâc victores Delphis coronari, et triumphantes Romae. *Cypriam* esse “ folio brevi, nigro, per margines imbricato, crispam.” Nat. Hist. lib. XV. c. xxx. sub initio.

It was the *Laurels* or *Laurus Delphica*, with which their Poets were crowned:

———— “ Sume superbiam
 “ Quaesitam meritis, et mihi *Delphicâ*
 “ *Lauro* cinge volens, *Melpomene*, comam.”

Hor. lib. III. od. xxx. ver. 16.

And it is hence the same Poet calls it *Laurea Apollinaris*, lib. IV. od. ii. 9. and Virgil here *Parnassia*.

VER.

VER. 23, 24.

“ Hic *¹ plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum
 “ Deposuit fulcis ; hic stirpes *² obruit *³ arvo.”

*¹ Not shoots or suckers from the foot of the tree, but slips from the young branches. — The word *Tenero* being added, inclines me to prefer this meaning. Besides, Virgil comes afterwards, in a more proper place, to speak of the planting out of suckers, ver. 53, etc.

*² Pliny speaks of this way of planting figs: “ *Optimè quidem nascitur ficus, si vastiore ramo pali modo exacuto adigatur altè, exiguo super terram relicto capite, eoque ipso arenâ cooperto.*” Lib. XVII. c. xvii. — This is very well expressed by *Obruit*.

*³ “ *Arvum dicitur quod aratum necdum fatum est.*” Var. De re rust. lib. I. c. xxix.

VER. 28, 29.

“ Nil radice egent aliae ; summumque putator
 “ Haud dubitat terrae referens mandare * cacumen.”

* Some plants may be set reversed with their heads downwards ; and that this was known and practised formerly is plain from Columella, who gives particular orders not to plant olives so. — “ *Taleae ferrâ praecidantur, atque earum plagae utràque parte falce leventur, et rubricâ notentur ; ut sic quemadmodum in arbore steterat ramus, ita parte imâ terram, et cacumine caelum spectans deponatur. Nam si inversa mergatur, difficulter comprehender ; et cum validius convaluerit, sterilis in perpetuum erit.*” Lib. V. c. ix. — And ; “ *Opuli melius cacuminibus in arbusculo protinus deponuntur.*” Lib. V. c. vi.

VER. 30, 31.

“ Quin et caudicibus sectis, mirabile dictu,
 “ Truditur è sicco * radix oleagina ligno.”

* I observed about Olioules, which is within a league of Toulon, and likewise on the road from Toulon to Hieres, that most of the olive-trees are shoots from the old stocks which suffered in the year 1709 ; some of which had their heads cut off, others were cut down to the ground on that account. Most of these old stocks seem in appearance to be dead
 and

and look like rotten stumps, and yet bear very flourishing young trees shooting out all round them.

† The same is often as surprizing in our old willows ; of which I have seen several (and particularly some in the Garden-Island in St. James's Park) which send down a tap-root from their heads through the trunk, that often seems entirely decayed ; and so form a young tree on an old stock, which looks as flourishing as the other does rotten.

VER. 40, 41.

“ O decus, ô famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
“ Maecenas ; * pelagoque volans da vela patenti.”

* Ruæus has observed a seeming contradiction between this and what follows ; but Virgil means that he is going to enter upon a vast extensive subject, and by what follows declares that he will only enter or touch upon it, not launch into the deep, but keep within bounds. How extensive this subject was he again declares the last verse but one of this Georgic :

“ Sed nos immensum spatium,” etc.

In such a variety as the subject afforded, it required great art and judgment to choose what should be most proper, and digest the instructions into an agreeable order. He has hinted several of his precepts by one word only. And, that he might not be tiresome by dictating too many rules one after another, he has interspersed beautiful descriptions, and interwoven proper digressions.

Volans, flying along with me, and hovering over me as my good Genius. This is more poetical than as Ruæus interprets it.

VER. 47, 48.

“ Sponte suâ quae se tollunt in luminis * auras,
“ Infoecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt.”

* Notwithstanding the several quotations brought by Dr. Martyn from Lucretius in favour of Oras, yet since Auras is equally intelligible, and as it is allowed that the best Mss. and editions read it so, I would prefer that reading ; not only on account of what is urged by Fulvius Urfinus, but likewise because Virgil concludes a verse but just before with Oram, ver. 44.

VER. 55, 56.

“ Nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant,
 “ Crescentique adimunt foetus, * uruntque ferentem.”

* Parch, kill — So,

———— “ Penetrabile frigus adurat.”

G. I. 93.

And again,

“ Urentes culta capellas.”

G. II. 196.

VER. 63, 64.

“ Sed truncis * oleae melius, propagine vites.
 “ Respondent, solido Paphiae de robore myrtus.”

* Columella, having given directions about making nurseries of olives, and transplanting young olive-trees from the nursery to the olive-yard, says: “ Quod si cum eâ terrâ planta non convenit, tum optimum est omni
 “ fronde privare truncum; atque levatis plagis, fimoque et cinere oblitis,
 “ in scrobem vel fulcum deponere. Truncus autem aptior translationi est,
 “ qui brachii crassitudinem habet: poterit enim longe majoris incrementi
 “ et robustioris transferri.” — From this account it is plain Columella thought this the securer way of propagating olive-trees: and this is now much practised about Trivoli. — N. B. Truncus was used to denote not only the body, but the limbs of a tree, as appears from Columella, lib. V. c. vi. where, describing the Tabulata of trees for vines to spread on, he says: “ Hoc enim nomine usurpant agricolae ramos truncosque promi-
 “ nentes,” etc.

Columella, in the book De Arboribus, cap. xvii. says: “ Melius trun-
 “ cis quam plantis olivetum constituitur.” And then gives directions:
 “ Oportet autem arbusculam deponere ita rectam, ut quod a scrobe exti-
 “ terit in medium sit.”

VER. 67, 68.

———— “ Etiam ardua * palma

“ Nascitur, et casus * abies visura marinos.”

* Q. If this ought not to be construed thus? “ Palma nascitur etiam
 “ ardua; item Abies:” i. e. they may be planted out, when they are tall large trees. This I take to be Virgil’s meaning; and is finely expressed. ’Tis certain that this is commonly practised with firs: Q. whether the palm will bear it? In the 4th Georgic, Virgil confirms what he says here;
 and

and makes his Corycius Senex put in practice, what he here mentions as feasible:

“ Ille etiam feras in versum distulit ulmos,

“ Eduramque pyrum,” etc.——

Pliny mentions the transplanting the Abies with roots above eight cubits long: “ Apud autores certe invenitur, abietis planta cum transferretur, octo cubitorum in altitudine; nec totam refoffam, sed abruptam.” Lib. XVI. c. xxxi.

VER. 69—72.

“ Inferitur *¹ vero ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida,

“ Et steriles platani malos gessere valentes :

“ Castaneae fagus, ornusque incanuit albo

“ Flore *² pyri: glandemque fues fregere sub ulmos.”

*¹ Pliny mentions this passage, lib. XV. c. xv. “ Virgilius insitam nucibus arbutum, malis platanum dicit.”

The cutting off the last letter at the end of the verse adds a beauty to the epithet given to Arbutus.

*² Palladius, in his book De insitione, has a long article about the pear-tree, which begins thus :

“ Germine cana pyrus niveos haud invida flores

“ Commodat,” etc.——

These epithets are probably given in imitation of Virgil’s “ incanuit albo” —and relate, one to the tree, the other to the flower.

VER. 74—77.

—— “ Quà se medio trudent de cortice gemmae,

“ Et tenues rumpunt tunicas, angustus in ipso

“ Fit nodo finis: huc aliena ex arbore germen

“ Includunt, *¹ udoque docent *² inolescere libro.”

*¹ It seems to me that by Udo is meant the plaistering used in inoculation; from whence this sort of grafting was as often called Emplastratio as Inoculatio; as appears from Columella, lib. V. c. xi. where, speaking of several ways of grafting, he says: “ Tertium genus est insitionis, quo arbor ipsas gemmas cum exiguo cortice in partem sui delibratam recipit, quam vocant agricolae Emplastrationem, vel ut quidam Inoculationem.” — And then describes this inoculation thus: “ Alterius arboris, quam Em-

“ plastraturus es, nitidissimum ramum eligito; et ejusdem spatii corticem
 “ circumcidito, et materiam delibrato; deinde in eam partem quam nuda-
 “ veris praeparatum Emplastrum aptato; ita ut alterae delibratae parti
 “ conveniat: Ubi ita haec feceris, circa gemmam bene alligato, cavetoque
 “ nè laedas ipsum germen. Deinde commissuras et vincula luto oblinito;
 “ spatio relicto, ut gemma libera vinculo non urgeatur.”

*² Columella commonly uses the word *Coalescere* on this subject; but, lib. V. c. x. he uses *Inolescere*; probably from Virgil.

VER. 78, 79.

“ Aut rursus enodes trunci * refecantur, et altè
 “ Finditur in solidum cuneis via: deinde feraces
 “ Plantae immittuntur.” —

* “ Arborem, quam inferere voles, ferrâ diligenter exsecato; eâ parte,
 “ quâ maximè nitida et sine cicatrice est.” Col. lib. V. c. xi.

VER. 83, 84.

“ Praeterea genus haud unum, nec fortibus *¹ ulmis,
 “ Nec *² falici *³ lotoque, nec Idaeis *⁴ cyparissis:”

*¹ Columella, lib. V. c. vi. De ulmariis faciendis, says thus: “ Ulmo-
 “ rum duo esse genera convenit, Gallicum et vernaculum: illud *Atinia*,
 “ hoc nostras dicitur. Est autem *Atinia* ulmus longè laetior et procerior
 “ quam nostras, frondemque jucundiorē bubus praebet: quâ cum assidue
 “ pecus paveris, et postea generis alterius frondem dare institueris, fasti-
 “ dium bubus affert.” — This may serve likewise to explain Virgil’s
 “ frondibus ulmi,” ver. 446. posth.

*² “ Tria sunt genera praecipuè *Salicis*, *Graecae*, *Gallicae*, *Sabinae*,
 “ quam plurimi vocant *Amerinam*.” Col. lib. IV. c. xxx.

*³ The celebrated *Lotus* was an African tree; but, as Pliny tells us, they had the *Lotus* too very common in Italy, but very different from the other: “ Et ipsam Italiae familiarem, sed terrâ mutatur.” — Again he says, the differences between the several sorts consisted chiefly in the fruit. — That the African was as large as a bean, and grew thick like myrtle; but the fruit of the Italian was like a cherry. Plin. lib. XIII. c. xvii.

*⁴ Pliny says of the cypress: “ Duo genera earum — *Meta* in fastigium
 “ convoluta, quae et foemina appellatur: Mas spargit extra se ramos de-
 “ putaturque et accipit vitem,” etc. lib. XVI. c. xxxiii. See likewise in the same chapter, the reason of the epithet *Idaeis*.

VER.

VER. 85, 86.

“ Nec pingues unam in faciem nascuntur olivæ,
“ Orchades *, et radii, et amarâ pausia baccâ.”

* Columella reckons up ten different sorts of olives: Virgil names only three of them. It cannot be known for certain by what names they are called at present; but this may be collected, from passages in Columella, that the Orchis and Radius were large olives, and used chiefly for eating; the Pausia, a small olive, used commonly to make oil. — “ Pausiæ oleum saporis egregii — Orchis et Radius melius ad escam quàm in liquorem stringitur. — Omnisque olea major fere ad escam, minor oleo est aptior.” Lib. V. c. viii. And again lib. XII. c. xlvii. — From this account, it may not be amiss to suppose, that the Orchis answers to the Spanish olive, Radius to the streaked olive such as that of Languedoc, and Pausia to the Lucca or Florence olive. — N. B. Columella, in this description of the several sorts of olives, says, *Bacca jucundissima est Pausiæ;* whereas Virgil distinguishes it by “ amarâ baccâ:” in order to reconcile them, we must suppose, that Virgil speaks of the berry before it is pressed; and the more bitter that is, it usually makes the sweeter oil, in which latter sense Columella calls it *Jucundissima*.

VER. 91—96.

“ Sunt Thiasiae vites, sunt et Mareotides *¹ albæ;
“ Pinguibus hæc terris habiles, levioribus illæ.
“ Et passio * Pfythia utilior, *² tenuisque lageos
“ Tentatura pedes olim, vindturaque linguam;
“ Purpureæ *³, preciaque: et quo te carmine dicam,
“ *⁴ Rhaetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis.”

*¹ “ Dixit Virgilius Thasias, Mareotidas, et Lageas, compluresque externas, quæ non reperiuntur in Italiâ.” Plin. lib. XIV. c. iii.

The Alexandrian or Mareotic wine from the lake Mareotis, near the city Alexandria in Aegypt, was much celebrated and very strong. Horace, speaking of Cleopatra, says:

“ Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
“ Redegit in veros timores.” Lib. I. Od. xxxvii.

Strabo, speaking of Alexandria and the Lacus Marcia, says: *Εὐοινία τε ἐστὶ περὶ τὰς τόπους, ἃς καὶ διαχρίσθαι πρὸς παλαιῶσιν τὸν Μαργαῶτιν οἶνον,* lib. XVII.

“ Quæ

“ Quae Graeculae vites sunt, ut Mareoticae, Thasiae, Psithiae, sicut
 “ habent probabilem gustum, ita nostris regionibus et raritate uvarum, et
 “ acinorum exiguitate, minus fluunt.” Col. lib. III. c. ii.

* The *Vino Santo* is now made much in the same manner as the wine from the grape *Psythia* here mentioned was made formerly. They gather the grapes when ripe, and spread them abroad, or hang them up, for some time, to dry; and when they are become in some degree Raisins, they press them; and the juice, inspissated by the evaporation of the watery parts, makes a very rich wine.

*² Pliny, treating of the different sorts of wine, says: “ Vinum tenue
 “ et austerum celerius per urinam transit, tantoque magis capita tentat.”
 Lib. XXIII. c. i.

*³ *Purpureae* must signify here a particular species of grapes; for Pliny says expressly, that Virgil has enumerated fifteen different kinds of grapes; and we shall not find this number right without reckoning the *Purpurea* for one: “ xv omnino generibus uvarum nominatis, tribus
 “ oleae, totidem pyrorum.” Plin. lib. XIV. Prooem.

That *Precia* was the name of a particular grape appears from the same author: “ *Preciae* duo genera magnitudine acini discernuntur, quibus
 “ materies plurima, uvaeque ollis utilissima; folium apio simile.” Lib. XIV. c. ii.

“ *Mediocri* quoque solo foecundae, sicut *pretiae* minor et major.” Col. Lib. III. c. ii.

*⁴ The *Vino Santo*, and *Aromatico*, both excellent wines, are still made near the *Lago di Garda* and *Lago di Como*, and in the *Valteline*, all which were within the territories of the antient *Rhaeti*; for thus Strabo describes them: “ *Rhaeti* usque in *Italiam* protenduntur, supra *Veronam*
 “ et *Comum*.” Lib. IV.

Servius tells us, that Cato celebrated the *Rhaetian wine*, and that Catullus condemned it. And he fancies that, as it was disputed whether this was a good wine or not, Virgil expresses himself in the manner he does on purpose to leave the matter still undecided.

I rather believe that, as 'twas a favourite wine of Augustus, he means, he knows not how to celebrate it sufficiently. And though he says this out of complaisance to his Prince, yet still has that regard to the general taste as to give the preference to the *Falernian*.

The excellence of this wine is generally allowed. Tibullus calls the
 “ *Falernus ager Bacchi cura*.”

——— “ *Bacchi cura Falernus ager*.”

Lib. I. Ecl. ix.

Dionysius

Dionysius Halicarnassæus, speaking of the wines of Albano, says: "Excepto Falerno, caetera omnia vina bonitate longè superat." Lib. I.

And Varro: "Quod far conferam Campano? Quod triticum Appulo? Quod vinum Falerno? Quod oleum Venafro?" Agricul. lib. I. c. ii.

"Falernus ager" and "Vinum Falernum" are taken sometimes in a more extensive, sometimes in a more limited sense. In the former sense, it reached from the Volturnus quite to the Liri; taking in the Maffic hills, now called Monte Marso, or Montagne della Rocca.

VER. 97—100.

"Sunt etiam Ammineae vites, *¹ firmissima vina;
 " *² Tmolus et affurgit quibus, et rex ipse *³ Phanaeus,
 " Argitisque *⁴ minor: cui non certaverit ulla,
 " Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare per annos."

*¹ Firmissima are wines which will keep; not liable to be prickt, or grow flat. Columella often uses this epithet for wines; particularly book the XIIth, in opposition to Vina languentia. That the Amminea vitis had this good quality in an eminent degree is evident likewise from the same, lib. XII. cap. xix. where, speaking "de pluribus generibus conditurarum quibus vinum confirmatur," he prefers the Amminea vitis as the most effectual: "Quaecunque vini nota sine condimento valet perennari, optimam esse eam censemus, nec omnino quicquam permiscendum, quo naturalis sapor ejus infusceretur. Id enim praestantissimum est, quod suapte naturâ placere poterit. Caeterum cum aut regionis vitio, aut novellarum vinearum, mustum laborabit, eligenda erit pars vineae (si est facultas) Ammineae; si minus, quam bellissimi vini, quaeque erit et vetustissima, et minimè uliginosa."

*² On the famous base at Pozzuoli, dedicated to Tiberius, on which are fourteen figures in grand relief, representing so many cities or provinces of Asia (with their proper attributes, and the name under each figure), that of Tmolus is represented as a Bacchus.

This mountain was fruitful in wines even to a proverb; as appears by Ovid:

"Africa quot fegetes, quot Tmolia terra racemos,
 " Quot Sicyon baccas, quot parit Hybla favos."

Lib. IV. de Ponto, Eleg. penult.

And Strabo says: "Sardibus imminet mons dives," lib. XIII. p. 625.—
 "Tmolus vino excellit," lib. XIV. p. 637.—In the Pembroke collection

is a bust of Tmolus crowned with grapes and vine-leaves. And Canini, in his *Iconografia*, plate XLIX, gives us a medal in the cabinet of Monsig. de Massimi, representing an old man crowned with a garland of grapes, with this inscription, ΤΜΟΛΟΟ. The reverse, he says, is a figure holding in its right hand an inclined vase, with an inscription, partly defaced, ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩ. — Canini very justly remarks, that by this medal is represented the excellency of the wines of Mount Tmolus, near the city of Sardis. — This may serve likewise to explain the latter part of this verse — “Et Rex ipse Phanaeus:” — for by this is probably meant that Phanaeus had, or at least deserved, for his excellent wines, the same honours of statues and medals as well as Tmolus. In that sense the Ipse is very emphatical.

Plutarch, and after him Tzetzes, place Tmolus in the number of the Kings of Lydia.

*³ Phanaeus Rex signifies undoubtedly Chian, from Phanae, a promontory of Chios. See Stephanus Byzant. Φάνου, Ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Χίου ὅι οἱ οἰκήτορες, Φαναῖοι. — Servius says of “Rex ipse Phanaeus — De Lucillio” hoc tractum est, qui ait, Χῖός τε δυνάστης; that is, οἶνος.”

*⁴ Columella says of this: “Terrae mediocritate laetatur, nam in pingui nimis viribus luxuriat; in macrâ, tenuis et vacua fructu venit. “Amicior jugo, quam arboribus; sed etiam in sublimibus fertilis vastis materiis et uvis exuberat, humillimis tabulatis aptior.” Lib. III. c. ii.

VER. 101—104.

“Non *¹ ego te, mensis *² et Diis accepta secundis,
 “Transferim, *³ Rhodia; et tumidis, * bumaste, racemis.
 “*⁴ Sed neque quam multae species; nec nomina quae sunt,
 “Et numerus: neque enim numero comprehendere refert.”

*¹ Having mentioned some of the most celebrated grapes for making wine, he descends to such as were used only for eating. And by this transition, “Non ego transferim,” seems to insinuate, that though these were excellent in their kind, yet were not to be had in equal esteem with the others, which were more necessary for life. Columella reckons the Bumastus, and Rhodia, among the grapes for eating.

*² ——— “Alteris
 “Te mensis adhibet Deum.”

Horat. ad Augustum, lib. IV. od. v.

*³ Probably,

*³ Probably, a very large full grape; and therefore used for deserts. Pliny mentions it with the *Uva uncialis*, so called, as he observes, “à pondere acini,” lib. XIV. c. iii.

* Bumastus is the very large red sort of grapes, that they give you so perpetually in their deserts in Italy, and particularly at Florence. It has its name from its shape; each grape being like the teat of a cow: Varro half latinises the word, and calls it *Bumamma*.

* “Tument mammarum modo bumasti.” Plin. lib. XIV. c. i.

*⁴ Columella, quoting this passage, says: “Universae regiones, regionumque pene singulae partes habent propria vitium genera, quae consuetudine sua nominant; quaedam etiam stirpes cum locis vocabula mutaverunt; quaedam propter mutationes locorum à qualitate sua discesserunt, ita ut dignosci non possint. Ideoque in hac ipsa Italia vicinae etiam nationes nominibus earum discrepant, variantque vocabula.” Lib. III. c. ii.

VER. 116, 117.

——— “Sola India *¹ nigrum

“Fert ebumum, folis est thurea virga *² Sabaeis.”

*¹ Virgil uses this epithet for distinction sake, and it is in this place very necessary, the black ebony being the only sort valued. — “Duo genera ejus; rarum id, quod melius, arboreum, trunco enodi, materie nigri splendoris, ac vel sine arte protinus jucundi: Alterum fruticosum, cythi modo, et tota India dispersum.” Plin. lib. XII. c. iv.

Lucan makes Meroë in Aethiopia the Mother of Ebony:

——— “Nigris Meroë foecunda colonis,

“Laeta comis Ebeni.”——— Pharfal. lib. X. 303.

Virgil seems in several places to use India in the larger sense, to signify Aethiopia, or any very hot country, as well as India properly so called.

*² “Ad meridiem ultima è regionibus, quae habitantur, Arabia est: in qua sola omnium nascuntur thus, myrrha,” etc. Herod. Thalia.

“Thura, praeter Arabiam, nullis; ac ne Arabiae quidem universae: in medio ejus ferè sunt Atramitae, pagus Sabaeorum; capite regni Sabota, in monte excelsa; à quo octo mansionibus distat regio eorum thurifera, Saba appellata.” Plin. lib. XII. c. xiv.

VER. 118—125.

“ Quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno
 “ Balsamaque, et baccas semper frondentis acanthi?
 “ Quid nemora *¹ Aethiopum, molli canentia lana?
 “ *² Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia *³ Seres?
 “ Aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos,
 “ Extremi sinus orbis? Ubi aëra vincere *⁴ summum:
 “ Arboris haud ullae jactu potuere sagittae:
 “ Et gens *⁵ illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris.”

*¹ Pliny, lib. XIII. c. xiv. adds to the passage quoted by Ruæus; That what the woods of Aethiopia produce much more resembles wool, than that of Arabia or the Indies: that it is contained in pods resembling a pomegranate, and that the tree is like the pomegranate-tree. — “ Propior tamen huic naturae lanae; majorque folliculus, granati modo mali: Similesque et inter se arbores ipsae.”

*² See an account of Silk in Monf. Rollin's Antient History, vol. X. last section.

*³ Silius Italicus makes the Seres the farthest people of the world eastward:

———— “ Jam Titan equos jungebat Eois
 “ Littoribus, primique novo Phaëtonte relecti.
 “ Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis.”

At the beginning of the 6th book.

*⁴ Q. Curtius gives this account of the woods of India: “ Alexander Poro amneque (Hydaspe) superato ad interiora Indiae processit. Sylvae erant prope in immensum spatium diffusae, procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus umbrosae: Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitem flexi in humum rursus, quâ se curvaverant, erigebantur; adeo ut species effet non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex suâ radice generatae.” Lib. IX. § 2. — And a little before, speaking of the Indian arrows, he says, they were so great and heavy; that upon Alexander's attacking Porus's army on a sudden; their arrows were of little use to them. — “ Ne sagittarum quidem ullus erat Barbaris usus; quippe longae et praegraves, nisi prius in terrâ statuerint arcum, haud satis apte et commodè imponuntur.” Lib. VIII. § 47.

*⁵ Lucan;

* Lucan, speaking of the Indians, says :

————— “ fortior arcus:
“ Nec puer, aut senior, lethales tendere nervos
“ Segnis.” ————— Lib. VIII. 295.

VER. 126, 127.

“ Media fert tristes succos tardumque *¹ saporem
“ Felicis *² mali *.” —————

*¹ “ Citreis odor acerrimus, sapor asperrimus.” Plin. lib. XV. c. xxviii.

*² That the *Malum citreum* is here meant appears plainly from Pliny, who has given us an account of the *Malus Assyria* or *Medica*, lib. XII. c. iii. which is agreeable to this description of Virgil’s. And he declares in another place, that this *Medica* is the *Citrea malus*: for he says, lib. XV. c. xiv. “ *Malorum plura sunt genera. De citreis cum suâ arbore diximus; Medica autem Graeci vocant, Patriae nomine.*”

* I take it that Virgil here means the orange-tree, which was first brought into Italy, from Media, in his time. — As it was not yet generally known in Italy, he describes it by its likeness to a tree well known there, the laurel-tree. “ Its leaves,” says he, “ resemble the leaves of that; but “ have a finer and more diffused smell; and it is almost always beautified “ with flowers.” Pliny calls the orange-tree *Malus Medica* (as above); and his account of it agrees extremely with this in Virgil.

† Fracastorius has a very pretty description of the same, which may be worth inserting here :

“ Sed neque carminibus neglecta filebere nostris,
“ Hesperidum decus et Medarum gloria Citre
“ Sylvarum: si forte sacris cantata Poëtis,
“ Parte quoque hâc Medicam non dedignabere Musam.”
“ Sic tibi fit semper viridis coma; semper opaca,
“ Semper flore novo redolens: sis semper onusta
“ Per viridem pomum sylvam pendentibus aureis.” Siph. I. 2.

VER. 136—139.

“ Sed neque *¹ Medorum sylvæ, ditissima terra,
“ Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,

“Laudibus † Italiae certent : non Bactra, neque Indi,
 “Totaque thuriferis Panchaia pinguis *² arenis.”

*¹ Observe with what art he introduces the praises of Italy, and his compliment to Caesar; making the thread of his discourse lead him to it, without seeming to have it in his view.

† Compare this with Denis of Halicarnassus's Elogium of Italy, lib. I. c. viii. § 5.—Pliny, lib. III. c. v. and lib. XXXVII. c. xiii.—and Solin. c. viii.

*² Columella, speaking of the land of Numidia and Aegypt, calls it “*terram pinguibus arenis putrem veluti cinerem solutam.*” Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 149, 150.

“Hic ver assiduum, atque alienis mensibus aestas;
 “Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis * pomis utilis arbos.”

* This, as Ruæus observes, is generally thought an hyperbole, but without reason; for besides what Varro mentions, lib. I. c. vii. “*De malo biferâ in agro Consentino,*” several other authors assert the same, as sufficient justifications of the poet. And I remember to have seen a vine at Ischia, which I was assured bore grapes three times in the year; and is therefore called *Uva di tre volte l'anno*. It had ripe grapes in August; others turning, which would be ripe in October; and others quite green and small, which I was informed would be ripe in December or January.—This corresponds with what Pliny affirms, lib. XVI. c. xxvii. “*Vites quidem et triferæ sunt, quas ob id infanas vocant; quoniam in iis aliæ maturescunt, aliæ turgescunt, aliæ florent.*” — But, without enlarging further upon such singular instances affirmed by other authors, we may observe that when Virgil mentions this particular in honour of the Italian climate, he expresses himself more modestly and accurately than other authors do. He does not affirm that the trees are *Biferæ*, or *Bis parturit arbos*, which perhaps may be doubted, but “*bis pomis utilis.*”——This is certainly true of the fig, which they have in great plenty, especially about Naples, at two distant seasons of the year; (viz.) at the usual time, at the latter end of August, or September; and likewise in May, thence called, from the season, *Fico di Pascha*. I was informed at Cava near Naples, which place is celebrated for its figs, that they cover their trees with mats all the winter, by which means the small figs, which remained green on the tree in the autumn, are preserved, and ripen in the spring as soon as the trees begin to shoot, and produce those forward figs.

Columella,

Columella, lib. X. reckons the *Ficus* among the *Arbores biferæ* :

“ Tunc præcox biferâ descendit ab arbore ficus.”

VER. 154.

* “ Squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis.”

* This verse is admirably well adapted to express the thought.”

VER. 155, 156.

“ Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem :

“ † Tot congesta * manu præruptis oppida saxis.”

† Virgil, in his panegyric on Italy, among other instances of the happiness of that country, mentions their having so many towns built on craggy rocks and hills. There were more formerly, and are several still. In the road from Rome to Naples, you see no less than four in one view, from the hill on which Piperno stands; reckoning that in for one of them. These were very useful, of old, for defence; among such a fighting race of people: and are so still for coolness; in so hot a climate, that they are generally forced to drive their flocks of sheep up upon the mountains for the Summer-season: as they usually feed them in the sheltered plains, or by the sea-side, in the Winter.

* Many of the towns in Italy stand on the tops of such high and steep rocks, that it seems impossible that any materials for building could be brought thither by carriages; and therefore Virgil calls them “congesta manu.”

VER. 161—164.

“ An memorem portus, * Lucrinoque addita claustra;

“ Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor :

“ Julia qua ponto longe sonat unda refluxo,

“ Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernus?”

* Cassiodorus, in his Chronicle, says, the Lucrine lake was turned into a harbour in the Consulship of M. Agrippa and L. Caninius, who were Consuls in the year of the City 716. — According to Ruæus's calculation, Virgil began his Georgics this very year. Whether he did or not, it is probable, at least, that he was writing them at the time that this port was making, or just after it was made, being then about 34 years old; and

and therefore takes this opportunity to compliment Agrippa, and celebrate this work as one of the glories of Italy.

† “Portum Julium apud Baias, immisso in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum “mari, effecit.” Sueton. in Aug.

VER. 165, 166.

“Haec eadem argenti rivos, aerisque *metalla
“Ostendit venis, atque auro plurima fluxit.”

* “Metalla ejus regionis” (speaking of that part of Italy called Gallia Cisalpina) “hodiè non perinde magno studio tractantur, quia (puto) plus “utilitatis ex Transalpinis Gallicis et Hispanicis percipitur: olim autem “magnae erant curae. Nam et Vercellis aurifodina fuit et Iſtomuli, quae “vicina sunt Placentiae oppida.” Strab. lib. V.

The same author, speaking of a river which divides Aquileia from the Veneti, says: “Habet is locus Auri lavacra, et secturas ferri praeclaras.” Ibid. -

VER. 167—170.

“Haec genus acre virûm, Mârsos, pubemque *Sabellam,
“Affuetumque †malo Ligurem, Volſcosque verutos
“Extulit: haec Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos,
“Scipiadas duros bello.”——

* This expression, as Ruæus observes, Aen. VII. 665, means either Sabines or Samnites; but in this place it certainly means the latter, as Cluverius judiciously remarks. “Quum gravissima et maximè diutina “cum Samnitibus in Italiâ bella gesserint Romani, haud dubium est, quin “eam gentem non vero Sabinos hic inter bellicosissimas Italiae gentes con- “numerare voluerit poëta.” Cluv. lib. III. c. ix.——Pliny says: “Samni- “tium, quos Sabellos et Graeci Saunitas dixere, Colonia Bovianum.” Lib. III. c. xii. And Horace probably means the same people, when, speaking of his own country, he says:

—— “Pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis.”

If the Sabines were descended from the Samnites, and were of the same race, this expression of Virgil's may include both.

† “Affuetum malo;” Q. If not, laborious? Certainly something in praise of them here, though he speaks of the Genoese as a deceitful people on another occasion, Aen. XI. 716.

VER.

VER. 170—172.

——— “ Et te, maxime Caesar,
 “ Qui nunc extremis Asiae jam victor in oris
 “ * Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.”

* Compare this with Aen. VI. ver. 794, etc. — Virgil tells us expressly at the latter end of his Georgics, that Caesar was in Asia whilst he was writing them.

This, according to Ruæus and others, may signify, effeminate, not of a warlike disposition; but as it is intended as a compliment to Caesar, and as there is little honour in conquering an effeminate people, I rather believe that the word in this place signifies, “without war, without bloodshed.” That is, Caesar by his presence in Asia so awed the Indians, that they threw down their arms, and submitted without daring to come to battle. Silius Italicus, the great imitator of Virgil, pays the like compliment to Domitian with regard to the same people.

“ Huic laxos arcus olim Gangetica pubes
 “ Submittet; vacuasque ostendent Bactra pharetras.”

Statius, Sylv. IV. 4. and ver. 47. uses “imbelles” in the same sense. “Imbelles laurus:” Honours got without fighting. — Again, lib. III. Ecl. ii. 98.

——— “ Imbellis, tumidoque nihil juratus Atridae:”

speaking of Phoenix, who attended Achilles without being engaged to fight.

+ Vexatissimus hic locus omnium quotquot vidi interpretum artes omnes elusisse videtur. Frustra fuerunt omnium interpretationes et commenta, quibus Virgilium ab Augusti frigidissime laudati culpa absolvere conati sunt. Vulgo haec intelligi volunt de celebri illa Indorum legatione amicitiam Augusti petentium, a Strabone, Dione, Eusebio, Suetonio, Floro, Eutropio, et Aurelio Victore memorata; sed, ut alia multa quae opponi possent taceam, non quadrat temporum ratio. Legationem enim illam non nisi post secundam Augusti in Orientem profectionem fuisse missam uno consensu tradunt historici, anno scilicet U. C. 733 aut 743, et nono aut decimo postquam Georgica absolvisset et edidisset Virgilius. Neque credibile est hunc, qui in Aeneide perficienda tunc totus erat, Georgica de novo recensita post decem annos iterum edidisse, aut, si hoc etiam detur, notam

notam tamen temporis hic inferuisse, quae ei plane contradicat qua liber ultimus, totum adeo opus, clauditur:

“ Haec super arborum cultu pecorumque canebam,
 “ Et super arboribus ; Caesar dum magnus ad altum
 “ Fulminat Eupraten bello, victorque volentes
 “ Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo.”

Ubi victor proculdubio est victor Antonii et Cleopatrae, et cum iis Aegypti et totius Orientis, nam ne bellum quidem ullum ab Augusto in secunda professione susceptum, nedum victoriam ullam ab eo partam tradunt historici. Notanda etiam sunt verba ista, “ viamque affectat Olympo ;” non igitur jam Olympum sibi vindicaverat, nec in Deorum numerum jam relatus fuerat ; at notum est, post debellatum Antonium pacatumque Orientem, proximo statim anno, et templa sibi poni, et divinis se coli honoribus, passum fuisse. Rejecta igitur interpretatione illâ haec referente ad legationem Indicam, quam nunquam cogito quin mentem simul subit gemina illa prorsus ac germana ad Ludovicum Magnum Galliarum Regem e Perside sub regni finem adornata legatio, videndum tandem ac tentandum an nobis felicius successerit loci hujus explicatio. Primum autem per “ Imbellem Indum” hic praecipue denotari existimo Marcum Antonium, Augusti de orbis imperio aemulum. Hunc enim Georgicorum librum post partam victoriam Actiacam, dum Caesar jam victor, ad Actium scilicet, adhuc in extremis Asiae oris, id est, circa Aegypti confinia, cum exercitu versabatur, et ante debellatum Antonium captamque Alexandriam, fuisse scriptum vel hinc constat, quod nunc avertere, id est, in avertendo occupari, non avertisse, Imbellum Indum dicitur Caesar. Hunc vero M. Antonium, indole sua atque ingenio jam ab juvenia voluptatibus nimis deditum, deinde ex diuturna in Aegypto commoratione, ubi Cleopatrae lenociniis detinebatur, desidia ac luxu totum diffluentem, moribusque Aegyptiis et Asiaticis ad omnem mollitiem imbutum, enervatum tandem prorsus ac imbellem evasisse, testantur uno ore omnes qui illorum temporum historiam scriptis tradiderunt. Neque vero Antonium solum hic designari autumo, sed cum eo una Aegyptum et omnem denique Orientem, quippe cujus gentes fere omnes, quam late Romanum petebat Imperium, ejus partes amplexae essent, ac, si vicisset, praecipuum victoriae praemium ablaturae credebantur, sede scilicet Orbis Imperii Roma Alexandriam translata. Hanc rem non parum illustant quae alibi a nostro scripta sunt, ut Georg. I. ver. 509.

“ Hinc

“Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania, bellum.”

Haec ante praelium ad Actium scripta fuisse, ex praecedentibus et sequentibus constat, et per Euphraten, Oriens et Antonii partes, per Germaniam, Occidens partesque Octaviani denotari intelliguntur. Ita in Aeneid. VIII. ver. 678, ubi acies utrinque ad pugnam instructas recenset noster; ex una parte,

“Hinc Augustus agens Italos in praelia Caesar,
“Cum patribus, populoque, penatibus, et magnis Diis.”

ex altera parte, ver. 685.

“Hinc ope Barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
“Victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
“Aegyptum, viresque orientis, et ultima secum
“Bastra vehit, sequiturque (nefas!) Aegyptia conjux.”

Et paulo infra:

——— “Omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
“Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.”

At omnem de interpretatione nostra dubitationem plane tollere videntur ista Poëtae nostri in Georg. III. ver. 26—29. ubi Augusti triumphos depingens ait,

“In foribus pugnam ex auro folidoque elephanto
“Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma Quirini;
“Atque hic undantem bello, magnumque fluentem
“Nilum, ac navali furgentis aere columnas.”

Hic Quirinus certissime est ipse Augustus, (vide Servium ad locum); et Gangaridum pugna victoriam ex Antonianis in Aegypto ab eo relata clarissime designat, quae interpretatio et a facta statim Nili mentione confirmatur. Gangaridae enim verae Indiae populi circa Gangem habitantes, quibuscum Augusto nihil unquam rei fuit, aut esse potuit, utpote adeo longe ab imperii Romani finibus remotis, ut ejus forsan ne nomen unquam audierant. Hic autem per figuram poëtis familiarem, Indi universim sumpti denotantur, et cum eodem nomine vulgo etiam censerentur Aethiopes et Arabes, qui sub Aegyptiorum ditionem comprehendebantur; hinc et Aegyptios hoc in loco intelligi vult Poëta. Nam sub Indiae appellatione complectebantur Veteres regiones eas omnes, quae trans Mare Mediterraneum sitae erant, et praecipue Aethiopiam, Arabiam, Aegyptum,

Parthiam, Perfidem, interdum etiam Libyam et Palaestinam. Hoc dudum argumentis invictis ostenderunt viri docti, Turnebus *Adversar.* XXI. 9. Cuper. *Observat.* lib. IV. cap. vii. Beaufobr. in *Bibliotheca Germanica*, tom. XLI. p. 100—125. Freretus in *Comment. Academiae Inscriptio-* num, tom. VI. p. 352. ut Huetium, J. Alb. Fabricium, Dickenfonium nostratem, et alios taceam. Per arces Romanas hic intelligo, non, quod vulgo fit, in finibus Imperii Romani posita propugnacula, sed ipsam urbem Romam. Ita apud Horatium legimus, *Od.* I. vii. 5. “Intactae Pal-
“ladis arces,” pro Athenis; ubi vide et alia ejusdem loquendi formae exempla a Bentleio congesta; *Od.* II. vi. 21, 22. “beatas arces,” de Tibure; *Epod.* vii. 6. “superbas Carthaginis arces,” pro ipsa Cartha-
gine; et apud Statium *Sylv.* I. IV. iv. 4. “Romuleas arces,” pro ipsa Roma. At praecipue Montem Arcem et Templum Capitolinum in animo habuisse Virgilium mihi persuasum est, quippe in quibus contineri existimabatur salus et fatum Urbis et Imperii Romani. Vide Rycquium de Capitolio, cap. xlv. Adeo ut avertere ab Arcibus Romanis, idem hic valeat ac avertere ab Imperio Urbis ac Orbis Romani occupando. Nulla autem majori clade affligi potuisse res Romanas, quam si Antonius victoria potitus imperii summam tenuisset, et sub ejus auspiciis imbellis Indus Romae imperasset, omnes tunc temporis prudentes clare videbant. Ita Horatius, I *Od.* xxxvii. 6.

———— “Dum Capitolio
“Regina dementis ruinas,
“Fumus et imperio parabat,
“Contaminato cum grege turpium
“Morbo virorum.” —————

Idem, *Epod.* ix. 7.

“Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
“Dux fugit uestis navibus,
“Minatus Urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
“Servis amicus perfidis.
“Romanus (eheu! posteri negabitis)
“Emancipatus feminae
“Fert vallum et arma miles, et spadonibus
“Servire rugosis potest:
“Interque signa turpe militaria
“Sol aspicit conopium.

“Ad

“ Ad hoc frementis verterunt bis mille equos

“ Galli, canentes Caesarem:

“ Hostiliumque navium portu latent

“ Puppes sinistrorsum citae.”

Ita Paterculus, XI. lxxxv. “ Caesar Antoniusque, productis classibus, pro salute alter, in ruinam alter orbis terrarum, dimicavere.”

Propertius, III. ix. 29.

“ Quid, modo quae nostris opprobria vexerit armis,

“ Et famulos inter femina trita suos?

“ Conjugii obsceni pretium Romana poposcit

“ Moenia, et addictos in sua regna patres.

“ Septem urbs alta jugis, toto quae praesidet orbi,

“ Femineas timuit territa Marte minas.”

Ovidius, Metam. XV. 825.

“ Frustraque erat illa minata

“ Servitura suo Capitolia nostra Canopo.”

Scilicet ab homine ignavo, otio ac mollitiis pene ultra feminam fluente, et qui se totum mulieri lascivae atque impotenti addixerat, nihil aliud expectandum erat, quam certum Romano et imperio et virtuti exitium. Hanc pestem, jam cum haec scribebat Virgilius, ab arcibus Romanis, ab Urbe, Capitolio, et Imperio Romano, victor avertebat Augustus; neque ulla laus ei gratior esse potuit, quam tam praeclari facinoris ab eo incepti commemoratio. Ita Epitheton, Imbellis, hoc in loco laudes ejus adeo non minuit, ut etiam quam maxime augeat; quanto enim imbellior Antonius, tanto major, eo depulso, gratia Augusto erat habenda. Adde, quod et exprobratio illa morum imbellium Antonio et ejus affectis opportunissima erat, tum ad odium atque invidiam Populi Romani erga eum concitandum, tum ad affectus populares in amorem Augusti, qui dedecus illud Patriae tunc depellebat, conciliandos. Adeo ut nihil tunc temporis ad hujus laudes cumulandas magis aptum aut accommodatum excogitari poterat, atque Antonii ista vituperatio.

Denique et hoc animadversione dignum est, quod tradunt illorum temporum Historici, nempe Augustum semper prae se tulisse, contra Aegyptios et Cleopatram bellum se potius gerere, quam contra Antonium, et qui partes ejus secuti sunt Romanos, ideoque super illis, non autem super his, supplicationes decerni voluisse. Dio, lib. LI, p. 1457. Καὶ Καίσαρι καὶ ἑτέροις

και επιβικια ὡς και των Αιγυπτίων αγαγειν εδοσαν' τον γαρ Αἰθιοιον και τις αλλες Ρωμαιες τις συν εκεινη νικηθεισας, εἰε προῖερων, ετε τοτε, ὡς και ἐορταζειν σφας επ' αυτοις δεον ου, ωνομασθην. Atque haec causa esse potuit, quod Virgilius nomen quidem Antonii, eo praefertim adhuc vivo, tacere maluerit, eumque cum caeteris ejus affeclis sub *imbellis Indi* appellatione comprehenderit. Postea, eo mortuo, et Augusto imperium summum sine rivali obtinente, minus huic erga nomen Romanum reverentiae indulgendum ratus est, ut videre licet in Aeneide.

[By the late judicious and learned Mr. Heath of Exeter.]

VER. 179—181.

“Difficiles primum terrae, collesque maligni,
“Tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis,
“Palladiâ gaudent sylvâ vivacis * olivæ.”

* “Aptissimum genus terrae est oleis, cui glarea subest, si superposita creta fabulo admista est. — Creta ex toto repudianda est, inimicus est etiam ager fabulo macer, et nuda glarea.” Col. lib. V. c. viii. — And again; “Sed et densior terra, si uvida et laeta est, commode recipit hanc arborem:” which answers to what Virgil observes also, speaking of rich land:

———— “Illa ferax oleae est.”

VER. 182, 183.

“Indicio est, tractu surgens oleaster eodem
“Plurimus, et strati baccis * sylvestribus agri.”

* There is no occasion to confine this to wild olives, as most of the commentators do. Virgil is to be understood in a larger sense, and means any sort of berries. The land which is proper for olives producing commonly several sorts of trees that bear berries, as well as the wild olive.

VER. 184—187.

“At quae pinguis humus, dulcique uligine laeta,
“Quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus,
“Qualem saepe cavâ montis * convalle solemus
“Despicere,” etc.

* Columella, speaking of land most proper for vineyards, says; “Higinius quidem secutus Tremellium, praecipue montium ima, quae à
“verticibus

“verticibus defluentem humum receperint, vel etiam valles, quæ flu-
 “minum alluvie et inundationibus concreverint, aptas esse vineis asseverat;
 “me non dissentiente.” Lib. III. c. ii.

VER. 191—294.

——— “Hic fertilis uvæ,
 “Hic laticis; qualem pateris libamus et auro,
 “Inflavit cum * pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,
 “Lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta.”

* Virgil applies this epithet only to the Tibicines, who were observed to be commonly very fat fellows; and might well be supposed to be so, being admitted to partake of all feasts and sacrifices. Whoever reads the story of the Tibicines in Livy, lib. IX. and Ovid’s Fast. l. VI. cannot doubt but that they were famous for loving their bellies, and that this was Virgil’s meaning. For we find, that they all quitted Rome in a body, and retired to Tybur, on an affront offered to their bellies: that they were brought back again to Rome by a drunken bout, and were persuaded to stay there only on condition that they should be admitted to eat at the sacrifices. And Livy in that very place severely taxes them as, “Genus vini avidum.” — Observe how one of them is represented in the Basso Relievo of a vase in the Villa Justiniani. — See Virgil’s like reproaches to the Tyrrheni in Tarchon’s speech, Æn. XI. ver. 732 to 740.

VER. 203—205.

“Nigra * fere, et presso pinguis sub vomere terra,
 “Et cui putre * solum, (namque hoc imitatur arando),
 “Optima frumentis.” —

* Fere is very properly added, and is very expressive. Columella observes, lib. II. c. ii. “Plurimos antiquorum, qui de rusticis rebus scripserunt, quæ confessum nec dubium signum pinguis ac frumentorum “fertilis agri prodidisse nigram colorem, vel cinereum.” Against whom he proves “a paludibus, a campis salinarum, ab aliis locis, qui pigrum “contineant humorem, manifestum hunc esse errorem.” — And concludes — “Non ergo color, tanquam certus auctor, testis est bonitatis arborum. “Considerandum erit, ut solum. quod ex colore destinamus, pingue sit.” All this Virgil expresses by one word, Fere, and by subjoining “pinguis terra.”

Columella

* Columella quotes this verse, lib. II. c. ii. and again, lib. V. c. iv. and in both places explains "Putre solum" by, "quod per se resolutum est:" and adds in the former place, "Neque enim aliud est colore, quam resolvere et fermentare terram."

VER. 212—214.

— " *¹ Jejuna quidem clivosi glareæ ruris
 " Vix humiles apibus *² casias roremque ministrat;
 " Et tophus *³ scaber." —

*¹ Jejuna is properly added to Glarea here: and this seems to be purposely enlarged upon, and explained by Columella, lib. III. c. xi. "Solutam glaream, calculosumque agrum, et mobilem lapidem probari, — si tamen hæc pingui glebæ permixta sunt: nam eadem jejuna maximè culpantur." — And again afterwards — "Cretosa humus utilis habetur viti: per se ipsa creta, quâ utuntur figuli, quamque nonnulli Argillam vocant, inimicissima est."

*² Pliny describes it in the same chapter with Cinnamon, and therefore it may be thought to belong to the same class, and is commonly rendered by interpreters Cinnamon, but perhaps improperly. Pliny says it is a Frutex as well as the Cinnamon, and that it came from the same country; but with this difference, that Cinnamon grew on the plains, Casia on the mountains. And that whereas the bark of the Cinnamon tree was most valued, on the contrary, in the Casia, the bark was to be taken off, and the only valuable part was a thin skin. See Pliny, lib. XII. c. ix. It is this sort of spice Virgil undoubtedly means, when he says;

"Nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi." Georg. II. 466.

The Casia mentioned by Virgil in other places, particularly here, was some common sweet herb in Italy, as is well observed by Dr. Martyn. See his note on that place.

*³ Tophus is a very rough stone like the pumice stone, and therefore very properly called Scaber; it differs from the pumice stone in weight. Vitruvius, speaking of the burnt stones and sand about mount Vesuvius and Baiae, says, "Ignis et flammæ vapor penitus per intervénia permanens et ardens efficit levem illam terram; et ibi qui nascitur tophus exugens est, et sine liquore." — And in the same chapter he calls this burnt stone by the name of "spongia et pumex:" by which

which it is plain that he reckons the difference between the Pumex and Tophus to be this; that the former is dry and without moisture, and consequently must be lighter than the Tophus. This stone is now called by the Italians, Tufo. There is abundance of it in the Campagna of Rome.

VER. 217, 218.

“ * Quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucres;
“ Et bibit humorem, et cum vult ex se ipsa remittit.”

* These verses contain a very nice description of the nature of the Campania Felix, which has generally a thin mist hanging over it some part of the day; which preserves it from being dry, though continually cultivated: And though there is scarce any running water over so large a tract, yet its own natural moisture (and that without dampness) still maintains it rich and fertile. This thin mist flying like smoke from the foot of mount Vesuvius and the Surrentin hills over the Campania is so frequent, that it has often put me in mind of this description.

VER. 219—225.

“ Quaeque suo viridi semper se gramine vestit,
“ Nec scabie et falsâ laedit rubigine ferrum;
“ Illa tibi laetis intextet vitibus ulmos:
“ Illa ferax oleae est: illam experiere colendo
“ Et facilem pecori, et patientem vomeris unci.
“ Talem dives arat Capua, et *¹ vicina Vesevo
“ Ora jugo, et vacuis *² Clanius non aequus Acerris.”

*¹ However Gellius came by the story he relates, it is not probable that Virgil ever thought of Nola in this place. The coast from Naples is very fruitful; and as Virgil is supposed to have wrote this at or near Naples, and had this coast every day in his view, is it likely that he should pay this compliment to a distant town, and forget his favourite country?—I doubt whether the land about Nola merits the praises here given; but if it does, it is comprehended under Clanius near whose banks it stands.

*² Cluver, lib. IV. c. ii. gives us the following description of the Clanius. “ Amnis, qui mediò ferè situ inter Avellam et Nolam exortus,
“ ac dextrâ ripâ Acerras oppidum, quod vulgò nunc etiam dicitur Acerra
“ et

“ et Cerra, praelapsus, tria fermè millia passuum ab Cumis, cujus ruinae
 “ hodieque Cuma vocantur, in mare se effundit vulgari nunc vocabulo
 “ Il Lagno :” and in few lines, after having quoted this passage of Virgil,
 adds, “ Certè hodieque totus hic amnis a fonte usque ad ostium ab
 “ utrinque paludibus clauditur : ideoque superioribus annis Praefides regni
 “ Neapolitani varias hic egère fossas, quae superstagnantes amnis simul
 “ et paludum aquas exciperent, breviorique cursu inter Vulturnum et
 “ vetus Clanii ostium in mare effunderent. Clanius est apud Acerras in
 “ Campaniâ, qui, cùm creverit, meditatur pestem terrae.” Vibius Sequester
 in catalogo Fluminum.

VER. 226—229.

“ Nunc quo quamque modo possis cognoscere, dicam,
 “ Rara sit, an supra morem si densa, requiras :
 “ (Altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho ;
 “ Densa magis Cereri ; * rarissima quaeque, Lyaeo).”

* “ Quia densa radicibus ad comprehendum iniqua,” Col. lib. III. c. ii.
 And further adds in the same chapter : “ Hoc in totum, ad illud quod
 “ vineis praecipuè est idoneum, propriè considerandum, ut prius retuli ;
 “ si facilis est humus, et modicè resoluta, quam diximus pullam vocitari.”

VER. 246, 247.

“ At * sapor indicium faciet manifestus, et ora
 “ Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaror.”

* See A. Gellii Noct. Att. l. I. c. xxi. Sapor signifies both Smell and
 Taste—Savour.

VER. 248—250.

“ Pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto
 “ Discimus : haud unquam manibus * jactata fatiscit,
 “ Sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo.”

* This Columella expresses thus ; “ Illisa humo non dissipatur, et quo-
 “ vis levissimo tactu pressa inhaerescit, and then quotes this verse,

“ Picis in morem,” l. II. c. ii.

This he brings as a proof of fat land, and then proceeds to prescribe the
 other experiments, which seem to be almost copied from Virgil.

VER.

VER. 259—264.

“ His animadversis, *¹ terram multo *² ante memento
 “ Excoquere, et *³ magnos scrobibus concidere montes ;
 “ Ante supinatas Aquiloni ostendere glebas,
 “ Quam lactum infodias vitis genus : optima putri
 “ Arva solo : id venti curant, gelidæque pruinae,
 “ Et labefacta movens robustus jugera fossor.”

*¹ Here Virgil is giving directions for digging holes or ditches for planting vines ; and as the principal thing to be observed was to have the ground well mellowed and loose, this the Poet inculcates in strong terms : saying, that the Fossor should be Robustus, and by “ movens “ labefacta” the repetition shews that it ought to be much and well worked. He likewise directs laying the earth exposed to the north, that the cold and frost may mellow the ground. Columella treats at large of this head, lib. III. c. xiii. etc. and says ; “ Non parum refert suspensissimum esse pastinatum, et, si fieri possit, vestigio quoque inviolatum : ut “ mota aequaliter humus novelli feminis radicibus, quamcunque in partem prorepserint, molliter cedat ; ne incrementa duritia sua reverberet, sed tenero velut nutritio sinu recipiat, et caelestes admittat imbres, eosque alendis feminibus dispense ; ac suis omnibus partibus ad educandam prolem novam conspiret.” — He explains Pastinum thus : “ Quicquid emoti soli vineis praeparatur Repastinatum vocatur,” cap. xviii. — See Columella’s description of planting vines in holes, and likewise in the Quincunx, lib. III. c. xiii.

*² “ Si scrobibus aut fulcis vineam posituri erimus, optimum erit ante “ annum scrobes vel fulcos facere.” The Author of the book De Arboribus, usually ascribed to Columella.

*³ Dr. Martyn says, “ he can hardly forbear thinking that Virgil “ wrote *Magnis*, which will make the sense be, To cut the hills with “ great trenches :” but proposes this only as a conjecture, for he owns it is *Magnos* in all the copies he has seen. It is reasonable to believe with the Doctor that Virgil, in imitation of Theophrastus, whom, as the Doctor observes, he seems to copy in this place, directs making trenches for planting vines very deep. This is still the practice in Italy ; and so, I think, we may understand Virgil without altering *Magnos*. For if there is sufficient earth dug out of the trenches to raise large hills, consequently the trenches must be large too. Whoever has seen the

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manner

manner of planting a new vineyard in Italy, will easily have an idea of the Poet's meaning in this sense: for the plainest field at such a time is nothing but great hills and ditches. I propose this too only as a conjecture; but in favour of it one may further observe, that Dr. Martyn's other interpretation, (*viz.*) *To cut the hills with great trenches*, can properly be applied only to vineyards on hilly grounds; whereas Virgil's rule is general, and relates to all new planted vineyards, whether on hills or plains. And it is certain he is to be understood of both, for he says presently after:

“ Collibus an plano melius sit ponere vitem.

“ Quaere prius.” Ver. 274.

VER. 265—268.

“ At si quos haud ulla viros vigilantia fugit;

“ Ante locum similem exquirunt, ubi prima paretur

“ Arboribus feges, et quo mox digesta feratur:

“ * Mutam ignorent subito ne femina matrem.”

* Plants, from the rich nurseries about London, frequently suffer when transplanted.

VER. 274—278.

——— “ Sin pinguis agros metabere campi;

“ Densa fere: in *¹ denso non segnior ubere Bacchus.

“ Sin tumulis acclive solum, collesque supinos;

“ Indulge *² ordinibus: nec *³ fecius omnis in unguem

“ Arboribus positis fecto via limite quadret.”

*¹ “ Densa terra” is close land, the opposite to Resoluta; in such land the roots cannot spread, and therefore vines may be planted close.

*² “ Indulge ordinibus.” — Give a greater loose, more liberty to the vines, by widening the rows.

*³ “ Nec fecius.” — Nevertheless, (*i. e.*) as well in this way of planting wide, as in the other of planting thick, observe always to plant exactly at equal distances, for the reasons given afterwards. — See

“ Haud fecius,” Aen. VII. ver. 718.

VER..

VER. 288—292.

- “ Forſitan et ſerobibus quae ſint faſtigia quaeras.
 “ Auſim vel * tenui vitem committere fulco.
 “ Altius ac penitus terrae deſigitur arboſ :
 “ Aeſculus imprimis, quae quantum vertice ad auras
 “ Aethereas, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.”

* This does not in the leaſt interfere with the above-mentioned rule of making deep trenches for planting vines. For though it might not be neceſſary to ſet the ſhoots deep ; yet it was requiſite to make the trenches ſo, that the earth being looſened all round, the roots might have room to ſpread, and more eaſily receive nourishment.

VER. 298—302.

- “ Neve tibi ad ſolem vergant vineta *¹ cadentem :
 “ Neve *² inter vitæ corylum fere : neve flagella
 “ *³ Summa pete, aut ſummas deſringe ex arbore plantas :
 “ (Tantus amor terrae!) neu ferro laede *⁴ reuſo
 “ Semina : neve olcae ſylveſtres inferre truncos.”

*¹ Columella, lib. III. c. xii. ſays, “ Quam regionem coeli ſpectare de-
 “ beant vineae, vetus eſt diſſenſio ; Saſernâ maxime probante ſolis ortum,
 “ mox deinde meridiem, tum occaſum : Tremellio Scroſâ praeſcipuam po-
 “ ſitionem meridianam cenſente : Virgilio de indiſtriâ occaſum ſic repu-
 “ diante,

“ Neve tibi ad ſolem,” etc.

“ Nobis in univerſum praeſcipere optimum viſum eſt, ut in locis frigi-
 “ diſ meridiano vineta ſubjiciantur ; tepidis, orienti advertantur.”

*² It is an obſervation of the learned Gaſſendus, that ſeveral plants are affected by others growing too near them : (e. g.) if you ſet white Hellebore or the herb Mercury near the Vine, the grapes will acquire a purging faculty, lib. De Plantis, cap. iii. De facultatibus Plantarum. And Dodonaeus, lib. V. c. xxxvii. deſcribing his Raphanus Montanus, ſays, that it hath been found by experience, that this plant doth hinder the growing of the Vine ; and being planted near it, doth cauſe the Vine to ſtarve or wither away. — Pliny aſſerts the ſame : “ Odit vitis et caulem,

“et olus omne; odit et corylum; ni procul abſint, triflis et acgra,” lib. XVII. c. xxiv.

*¹ Here are two prohibitions; 1ſt, Nor to take juſt the top of any branch for planting; nor, 2dly, To chuſe the ſhoots from the top of a tree. Both the precepts are largely explained by Columella in a chapter intitled, “Ex quâ vitis parte ſemina eligenda ſunt,” lib. III. c. x. “Fera-
“ciſſima ſemina ſunt, non ut veteres auctores tradiderunt, extrema pars
“ejus, quod caput vitis appellant, id eſt, ultimum et produciſſimum fla-
“gellum; ſed id farmentum quod mediâ vite ſitum, non importunâ qui-
“dem parte deficit, ac numeroſo foetu benignitatem ſuam offendit.” Again for the other part, he ſays; “Majores noſtri etiam ex foecundo malleolo,
“quem ipſi probaſſent, deciſam ſagittam repudiabant.” — And again af-
terwards. “Sagittam, id eſt, ſuperiorem partem malleoli, vituperandam
“cenſebant.” — And, c. xvii. he explains what Sagitta means. “Sagit-
“tam ruſtici vocant noviſſimam partem furculi,” etc. And then gives his reaſons, why it ſhould be rejected.

“Defringe” has its force likewise; and contains a third prohibition.

*¹ Columella ſays, lib. IV. c. xxiv. “Magnopere monendus putator eſt
“ut prolixet aciem ferramenti; et, quantum poſſit, novaculae ſimilem
“reddat.” In the next chapter he deſcribes the figure of the Falx; and, in both chapters, ſpeaks largely of the ſharpneſs of it: which is too plain to be inſiſted on, or quoted.

VER. 319—324.

“*¹ Optima vinetis fatio eſt, cum vere rubenti
“Candida venit avis longis inviſa colubris:
“Prima vel autumnſi ſub frigora, cum *¹ rapidus ſol
“Nondum hiemem contingit equis, jam praeterit aeſtas;
“Ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile ſylvis:
“Vere tument terrae, et genitalia ſemina poſcunt.”

“Columella preſcribes the ſame ſeaſons, lib. III. c. xiv. “Vinea vel
“vere vel autumnno tempeſtivè deponitur. Vere melius, ſi aut pluvius
“aut frigidus ſtatus coeli eſt; aut ager pinguis, aut campeſtris et uligi-
“noſa planities. Ruſſus autumnno, ſi ſicca, ſi calida eſt aëris qualitas; ſi
“exilis atque aridus campus: ſi macer praeruptusve collis.” — The rea-
ſons given a little before by Columella for allowing liberty to the roots
to ſpread, will hold ſtrongly in favour of Virgil’s rule, not to plant in
Winter.

“Rura

“ Rura gelu cum claudit hiems,” etc. Ver. 317.

*³ This epithet is very properly applied to the sun at any time of the year, but more emphatically so when the days are shortning; for then he finishes his course sooner, and seems to be more in haste. This thought, which is here expressed in one epithet, Virgil expatiates more largely on, ver. 481.

“ Quid tantum oceano properent se tingere soles
“ Hiberni; vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.”

VER. 325—327.

“ Tum * Pater omnipotens foecundis imbribus Aether
“ Conjugis in gremium laetae descendit; et omnes
“ Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, foetus.”

* Thus Lucretius:

——— “ Percunt imbres, ubi eos Pater Aether
“ In gremium Matris Terræ præcipitavit,” l. I. ver. 251.

† And several of the Poets that preceded Virgil. See Pol. XX. 30.

VER. 130—334.

“ Parturit almus ager: Zephyrique tepentibus auris
“ Laxant arva sinus: superat tener omnibus humor:
“ Inque novos soles audent se gramina tuto
“ Credere: nec metuit surgentes pampinus † Austros,
“ Aut actum coelo magnis † Aquilonibus imbrem.”

† The antients seem to have imagined not only a principal Deity of the winds, for each quarter of the heavens; but also a number of inferior ones, under each of the principal. See Pol. XIII. 37.

VER. 336—342.

“ Non alios primâ crescentis origine mundi
“ Illuxisse dies, aliumve habuisse tenorem
“ Crediderim: ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
“ Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri;
“ Cum primum lucem pecudes hausere, virumque
“ * Ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis;
“ † Immissæque ferae sylvis, et fidera caelo.”

* D₂.

* Dr. Martyn observes, that on the authority of Lactantius some read *Terrea*: but he supposes that it is an error in the copy of Lactantius. With submission, I think *Terrea* the true reading. For the Poet supposing that God created every thing in the Spring, because the world in its first infancy could not have resisted the violence of great heat or cold; and, imagining that man sprang like a plant out of the ground, it would have been very improper for him to have used the epithet *Ferrea* on such an occasion, when he was speaking of the tenderness of man.

† This seems to be oddly put together at first sight. “The forests were “stocked with beasts, and the heavens with constellations.” It was not so in those times, when the constellations were generally considered as real animals; many of them as men, but most of them as beasts.

This consideration gives a stronger light to a great number of passages in the antient Poets; who represent the constellations in general as animals, with animal motions, and even as coming down on our earth.

The prologue to Plautus’s *Rudens* is spoken by *Arcturus*, as one of the *Dramatis Personae*. He tells us there, that all the constellations come down by day, to see how men act upon earth; and to inform Jupiter every evening of their behaviour. This notion, however wild, may shew how much they considered the constellations as detached, particular, animal beings.

Ovid uses a manner of expression very much like that of Virgil’s above; on the very same occasion:

“*Neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba;*
 “*Astra tenent caeleste solum, formaeque deorum;*
 “*Terra feras cepit.*” ——— Met. I. ver. 75.

Thus Statius calls the Sea-nymphs, the constellations of the sea; (that is, the intelligent and divine inhabitants of the waters, as the other are of the heavens):

——— “*Antennae gemino confidite cornu,*
 “*Oebalii fratres!* ———
 “*Vos quoque caeruleum, Divae Nereïdes, agmen!*
 “*Dicere quae magni fas sit mihi sidera ponti.*”

Lib. III. Sylv. ii. ver. 15.

The same Poet represents *Aurora*, as driving the stars out of heaven, with a whip, like so many beasts:

“*Tempus*

- “ Tempus erat junctos cum jam foror ignea Phœbi
 “ Sentit equos, penitusque cavam sub luce paratâ
 “ Oceani mugire domum: seseque vagantem
 “ Colligit: et moto leviter fugat astra flagello.”

Theb. VIII. ver. 274.

Manilius uses the word, Flock, in speaking of a number of stars; and represents them going on like a flock of sheep, or any other animals:

- “ Cum secretis improvidus Hoedus in astris,
 “ Erranti similis, fratrum vestigia quaerit;
 “ Postque gregem, longo producit intervallo.”

Astron. V. ver. 308.

VER. 346—353.

- “ Quaecunque preme *¹ virgulta per agros,
 “ Sparge fimo pingui, et multâ memor occule terrâ:
 “ Aut lapidem bibulum, *² aut squalentes infode conchas.
 “ Inter enim labentur aquae, tenuisque subibit
 “ Halitus; atque animos tollent fata: jamque reperti
 “ Qui saxo *³ super atque ingentis pondere testae
 “ Urgerent: hoc effusos munimen ad imbres;
 “ Hoc, ubi hiulca siti findit canis aestifer arva.”

*¹ Observe, he directs, “ Spargere virgulta fimo, oculere terrâ, et “ multâ,” because little dung was to be used to plants, if any. Columella says, “ M. Columella patruus meus doctissimus et diligentissimus agricolâ negabat sterco vitibus ingerendum, quod saporem vini corrumpere: melioremque censebat esse materiam vindemiis exuberandis congestitiam, vel de vepribus, vel denique aliam quamlibet arcescitam et advectam humum,” lib. II. c. xvi. Again, l. V. c. vi. “ Vites depositas stercoremus (ut ego exilimo), si minus terrâ subactâ operiamus.”

*² Columella quotes this passage, and approves of the precept, lib. III. c. xv.

*³ This is practised about Trani in Apulia, where they make excellent Muscat; and, if I mistake not, about St. Laurent in Provence.

VER. 354—357.

“Seminibus positis, superest deducere *¹ terram
 “*² Saepius ad *³ capita, et duros *⁴ jactare bidentes:
 “Aut pressio exercere solum sub vomere, et ipsa
 “Flectere *⁵ lucentes inter vineta juvencos.”

*¹ Columella gives directions together, about digging round young vine plants, and taking off the leaves. — “Primo quidem anno, quo posita sunt femina, frequentibus fassionibus, omnibus mensibus, dum frondent, ac pampinationibus adjuvanda sunt; ut robur accipiant,” lib. IV. c. x. — And c. vii. he orders the leaves to be taken off gently, with the fingers — “Omnis pampinationis ea est tempestivitas, dum adeo teneri palmites sunt, ut levi tactu digiti decutiantur.”

*² Columella, speaking of the month of May, says, “Hoc mense feminaria omnia crebro fodere oportebit: sed à kalendis Martiis usque in idus Septembres omnibus mensibus non solum feminariis, sed etiam novellis vineis danda fossio est,” l. XI. c. ii. And again, afterwards, he says, “De fodiendis colendisve novellis vineis, saepius jam dixi nullum esse mensem omittendum, donec autumnale æquinoctium conficiatur.”

*³ Qæer. If this does not mean to cover even the top of the young plants with mould? Columella directs the same, lib. III. c. xvi. where, speaking of planting young vines, he says, “Cum semen supra scrobem compluribus internodiis productum, quod de cacumine superest, duas gemmis tantum supra terram relictis amputatur, et ingestâ humo scrobis completur.”

*⁴ The author of the book *De Arboribus*, usually ascribed to Columella, says, “Bidentibus terram vertere utilius est, quàm aratro. Bidens aequaliter totam terram vertit; aratrum, præterquam quod scamna facit, tum etiam boves, qui arant, aliquantulum virgarum, et interdum totas vites, frangunt,” cap. xii.

The ancients, as well as the moderns, in some places, houghed the land between the ranks of vines, in others ploughed it. And, according as the custom of the country, or as the land required one or the other; they planted their vines at a less or greater distance. Thus Columella, lib. III. c. xiii. “Inter ordines vinearum relinquitur spatium, prout cuique mos est vineas colere vel aratro vel bidente. Si fossore tantum terra versetur, minimum est quinque pedum interordinium, septem maximum; sin bubus et aratro, minimum est septem
 “pedum,

“ pedum, fatis amplum decem. Nonnulli tamen omnem vitem per denos
 “ pedes in quincuncem disponunt, ut more novalium terra transversis ad-
 “ versisque fulcis proscindatur.” This is repeated again, lib. V. c. v.

*⁵ It is the custom in Provence and Languedoc, as well as in Italy, to plow up the distances between the vines, where there is sufficient room; where there is not, to hough the land in the spring-time. — “ Flectere
 “ luctantes juvencos” expresses very naturally and lively this sort of plowing.

Luctantes well expresses the difficulty of plowing among vineyards and plantations, as they are obliged to do in Italy: on which occasion Columella gives the following direction. — Boves, cum ad arborem venerint, fortiter retinere ac retardare oportet, ne in radicem majore nisu vomis impactus colla commoveat, neve aut cornu bos ad stipitem vehementius offendat, aut extremo iugo truncum delibet ramumque deplanter.” Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 358, 361.

“ Tum *¹ leves calamos, et rase hastilia virgae,
 “ Fraxineasque aptare fudes, furcasque bicornes:
 “ Viribus eniti quarum, et contemnere ventos
 “ Assuescant, summasque sequi *² tabulata per ulmos.”

*¹ Leves, and Rase, such as cannot grow and draw thereby any of the virtue of the earth. For the same reason, Columella, speaking of supporting young vines, orders that they should be old — “ Aut veteres (ne
 “ novae radicem agant) arundines binas singulis vitibus applicabimus; aut
 “ si regionis conditio permittat, vetera deponemus hastilia, quibus adnec-
 “ tantur singulae transversae perricae.” Lib. IV. c. xii.

*² Tabulata were stages or stories formed on elms, or other trees, for their vines. The manner of doing this is fully explained by Columella, lib. V. c. vi. “ Cum adolescere incipient ulmi, falce formandae et tabulata
 “ instituenda sunt. Hoc enim nomine usurpant agricolae ramos truncosque
 “ prominentes; eosque vel propius ferro compescunt, vel longius promit-
 “ tunt, ut vites laxius diffundantur: Hoc in solo pingui melius, illud in
 “ gracili.” — Then he proceeds to direct the making these Tabulata.
 “ Tabulata inter se ne minus ternis pedibus absint; atque ita formentur
 “ ne superior ramus in eadem lineâ sit, quâ inferior; nam demissum ex eo
 “ palmitem germinantem inferior atteret, et fructum decutiet.” — Again afterwards: “ Ulmum autem novellam sic formare conveniet. Loco
 R
 pingui

“ pingui octo pedes à terrâ sine ramo relinquendi, vel in arvo gracili septem
 “ pedes: Supra quod spatium deinde per circuitum in tres partes arbor di-
 “ videnda est, ac tribus lateribus singuli ramuli submittendi primo Tabu-
 “ lato assignentur. Mox ternis pedibus interpositis, alii rami summittendi
 “ sunt, ita ne iisdem lineis quibus in superiore positi sunt; in eâdem ratione
 “ usque in cacumen ordinanda erit arbor.” An emphasis is to be laid on
 Summas, under which epithet is couched a precept much insisted on by
 Columella, who thus proceeds: “ Plerique agricolae ima tabulata mate-
 “ riis frequentant, uberiores fructum et magis facilem cultum sequentes;
 “ at qui bonitati vini student, in summas arbores vitem promonent.”

VER. 362—370.

——— “ *¹ Dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas,
 “ Parcendum teneris; et dum se laetus ad auras
 “ Palmes agit, laxis per purum immixtus habenis,
 “ Ipsa acies nondum falcis tentanda; sed uncis
 “ Carpendae manibus frondes, interque legendae.
 “ Inde ubi jam validis amplexae stirpibus ulmos
 “ Exierint; tum stringe comas, tum brachia tonde,
 “ Ante reformidant ferrum: tum denique dura
 “ Exerce imperia, et ramos compesce *² fluentes.”

*¹ Columella, who has constantly followed Virgil, has here expressly condemned him; but it is in very good company. — His whole passage is thus: “ Illam veterem opinionem damnavit usus, non esse ferro tangendos
 “ anniculos malleolos, quod aciem reformident: quod frustra Virgilius
 “ et Salserna, Stolonesque et Catones timuerunt: qui non solum in eo
 “ errabant, quod primi anni capillamenta feminum intacta patiebantur;
 “ sed et post biennium cum viviradix recidenda erat, omnem superficiem
 “ amputabant solo tenus juxta ipsum articulum, ut è duro pullularet.”
 Lib. IV. c. xi.—He says in the former chapter: “ Semina primo quidem
 “ anno quo sunt posita frequentibus fossionibus, omnibus mensibus dum
 “ frondent, ac pampinationibus adjuvanda sunt, ut robur accipiant; nec
 “ plus quam uni materiae serviant.” By which, I suppose, he means, that
 all the shoots, except one, are to be cut off the first year. If Virgil differs
 from him in this, and letting all the shoots alone till the second year, he
 has erred in good company, and has followed the ancient method, as
 Columella himself intimates. And though Virgil does not cut off any of
 the first year’s shoots, yet he orders the leaves to be stript; “ nec patitur
 “ vitem.

“vitem supervacuis frondibus luxuriantem silvescere,” as Columella himself expresses it, cap. xi. As to the second part of Columella’s charge, I don’t see that Virgil is justly taxed: for he only expresses himself at large,

——— “Tum brachia tonde.”

And again,

——— “Et ramos compeſce fluentes.”

which need not be construed to mean, cutting the shoots down to the ground; but pruning them, as Columella himself directs: “Media igitur ratio ſequenda eſt,” etc. Ibid.

*² Dr. Martyn ſays, Pierius tells us, that the oldeſt Roman manuſcript reads *Valentes*, and thinks that both the precept and expreſſion were taken from Varro. But, in my opinion, the paſſage quoted from Varro ſhews rather that *Valentes* is not the true reading: for he orders two or three of the moſt healthy ſhoots (*qui plurimum valent*) to be left, the others to be cut off.

VER. 376—384.

“Frigora nec tantum canâ concreta pruinâ,
 “Aut gravis incumbens ſcopulis arentibus æſtas;
 “Quantum illi nocuere greges, durique venenum
 “Dentis, et admorſo ſignata in ſtirpe cicatrix.
 “Non aliam ob culpam * Baccho caper omnibus aris
 “Caeditur, et veteres ineunt proſcœnia ludî:
 “Pœmiæque † ingentes pagos et compita circum
 “Theſeïdæ poſuere: atque inter pocula læti
 “Mollibus in pratis unctos ſaliere per utres.”

* “Quaedam pecudes culturae ſunt inimicae, ac veneno, ut caprae. “Omnia novella fata carpendo corrumpunt; non minimùm vites atque “oleas. Itaque propterea inſtitutum diverſâ de cauſâ, ut ex caprino genere ad alii Dei aram hoſtia adduceretur, ad alii non ſacrificaretur, cum “ab eodem odio alter videre nollet, alter etiam videre pereuntem vellet. “Sic factum, ut Libero patri, repertori vitis, hirci immolarentur, proinde “ut capite darent poenas. Contra, ut Minervæ caprini generis nihil “immolarent, propter oleam, quod eam, quam læſerit, fieri dicunt ſterilem: ejus enim ſalivam eſſe fructuis venenum.” Varro, De re ruſt. lib. I. c. ii.

† “*Ingentes pagos*” does not sound Virgilian; and the passage is much more clear, and better poetry, with the alteration mentioned by two or three of the critics, who read *Ingeniis*, instead of *Ingentes*.

VER. 388—392.

“*Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibi que*
 “† *Oscilla ex altâ suspendunt mollia pinu.*
 “*Hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea foetu:*
 “*Complentur vallesque cavæ, saltusque profundi;*
 “* *Et quocunque Deus circum caput egit † honestum.*”

† Virgil speaks here of some little heads of Bacchus, which the countrymen of old hung upon trees, that the face might turn every way; out of a notion, that the regards of this God gave fertility to their vineyards: and Ovid mentions Bacchus’s turning his face towards him, as a blessing, *Fast.* III. 789. The former, in the passage above; which is not very easy to be understood of itself; and for the full understanding of which I was obliged to a gem, in the Great Duke’s collection at Florence. See *Pol.* pl. XX. fig. ii. — Virgil here says, that there is plenty wherever this God turns “his beautiful face.” Mr. Dryden, in his translation of the words, seems to have borrowed his idea of Bacchus from the vulgar representations of him on our sign-posts; and so calls it (in downright English) “Bacchus’s honest face.”

* Columella, quoting this verse, says: “*Quod de sacro numine poëta dicit, verum quocunque Domini præsentis oculi frequenter accessere, in eâ parte majorem in modum fructus exuberat.*” *Lib.* III. c. xxi.

VER. 397—400.

“*Est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,*
 “*Cui nunquam exhausti satis est: namque omne quotannis*
 “*Terque * quaterque solum scindendum, glebaque versis*
 “*Aeternum frangenda bidentibus.*” —

* This rule is excellently well expressed, for it directs frequent digging; which “*terque quaterque*” imports: and at the same time intimates the usual number of times to be three or four: and that his meaning might not be mistaken, he enforces frequent digging by what follows, “*Aeternum*,” etc. So Columella directs “*crebras fossiones*” in general terms, and then adds: “*Nec inficior plerosque ante me rusticarum rerum*
 “*magistros*”

“magistros tribus fossionibus (vinearum) contentos fuisse, ex quibus Graecinus; qui sic refert: Potest videri satis esse constitutam vineam ter fodere,” etc. Lib. IV. c. xxviii.

VER. 403, 407.

———— “Seras posuit cum vinea frondes,
“Frigidus et sylvis Aquilo decussit honorem;
“Jam tum acer curas venientem extendit in annum
“Rusticus, et curvo Saturni dente relictam
“Persequitur vitem attondens, fingitque * putando.”

* Columella says: “Putandi duo sunt tempora: melius (ut ait Mago) vernalis: Sed nec utique verno omnibus regionibus melior putatio est. Nam ubi caelum frigidum est, ea sine dubio eligenda est: Ubi vero aprica loca sunt, mollesque hiemes (as at Naples) optima et maxime naturalis est Autumnalis: Quo tempore divina quâdam lege et aeterna fructum cum fronde stirpes deponunt.” Lib. IV. c. x. — Virgil follows the same direction of nature:

———— “Seras posuit cum vinea frondes.”

Again Columella says: “Placet ergo, si mitis ac temperata permittit in ea regione quam colimus coeli clementia, facta vindemia secundum idus Octob. auspiciari putationem. Sin autem coeli status frigidus et pruinosus hiemis violentiam denunciat, in idus Feb. hanc curam differemus.” Cap. xxiii.

VER. 410, 411.

———— “* Bis vitibus ingruit umbra,
“Bis * segetem densis obducunt sentibus herbae.”

* Columella, lib. XI. c. ii. speaking of prid. kal. Mai. says: “Per hos dies prima pampinatio recte inchoatur, dum prorepentes oculi digito decuti possint.” — Again, in the same chapter, he says: “Ab idibus Mai. usque in kal. Jun. veteranam vineam et caeteras omnes vineas pampinare oportet.” — Again, afterwards, sub finem Aug. he says: “Multi etiam, si pluvius est status caeli, sicut suburbanâ regione Italiae, pampinis vitem spoliant, ut percoqui fructus possint, nec putrescere imbribus. At è contrario locis calidioribus, ut in Baeticâ, maritimis regionibus, et in Africâ, circa vindemiam adumbrantur stramentis vel alijs tegumentis uvae, ne ventis aut caloribus exarescant.” — This precept is confirmed by Palladius, in Aug. tit. — “Aug. mense ultimo locis frigidis

“gidis pampinatur; locis autem ferventibus ac siccis obumbratur potiùs uva.”——So Columella says, lib. IV. c. xxviii. “Tempus pampinationis antequam florem vitis ostendat maxime eligendum est: Sed et postea licet eandem repetere.” And again: “Pubescentem verò et quasi adolescentem convenit foliis omnibus nudare.” Ibid.

*² Segetem; i. e. segetem vitium, the young plants, the nursery. So ver. 266.

—— “Ubi prima paretur
“Arboribus feges.”——

VER. 412.

—— “* Laudato ingentia rura,
“Exiguum colito.”——

* Columella, lib. I. c. iii. calls this “Praeclaram nostri Poëtae sententiam.” And adds immediately after: “Nec dubium quin minus redat latus ager non rectè cultus, quàm angustus eximie.”——And, lib. IV. c. ii. he relates a story which very much confirms the truth of this sentence.

VER. 413—415.

—— “Nec non etiam aspera rusci
“*¹ Vimina per sylvam, et ripis fluvialis arundo
“Caeditur: *² incultique exercet cura saliceti.”

*¹ The ancients as well as moderns, who had land proper for it, used to have in some part of their ground *Arundineta* and *Saliceta*, for the use of their vineyards; but those whose lot fell in dry land, which was not proper for such plantations, or who had neglected making them, were obliged to seek for the wild *Vimina* in the woods, and reeds by the water-side. That Virgil means such as these, is manifest from his “*Vimina per sylvam, fluvialis arundo*,” and “*inculti saliceti*.”——Columella having treated, lib. IV. c. xxx. de *falicibus*, and c. iii. de *genistis*, adds in this last chapter: “*Caetera vincula, qualia sunt ex rubo, majorem operam, sed in egeno tamen necessariam, exigunt.*” All such sort of *Vimina* are meant by Virgil, by his “*aspera rusci vimina*.”

*² *Inculti*, i. e. *nisi colatur*——for several had beds of willows, but every body had not that provision: of such Virgil says, that they must have the trouble of getting wild willows. *Exercet* inclines me to this interpretation; or it may signify only, “*quod non colitur*,” because at the beginning

beginning of this book, amongst those "quae sponte sua veniunt," Virgil reckons Salicta. See ver. 11 and 13.

VER. 416.

"Jam vinetae vites, jam falcem * arbuta reponunt."

* Arbutum is used commonly for a plantation of any trees; as for example, such as are to support vines. Vid. Columella, lib. V. c. De Ulmariis.

VER. 417—419.

"Jam *¹ canit extremos effoetus vinitor antes;
"Sollicitanda tamen tellus, pulvisque *² movendus:
"Et jam *³ maturis metuendus Jupiter uvis."

*¹ Columella hints at the custom of the Vignerol's singing at his work, telling us that he makes such verses:

"Quae canat inter opus musa modulante putator
"Pendulus arbutis."—— Lib. X.

*² The proper term used of old for breaking the clods in vineyards was Pulveration; which by the husbandmen was called Occatio; for thus says Columella, speaking of the end of August: "His quidem diebus quibusdam locis, ut in Baetica, maritimis regionibus, ut in Africa, vindemia conficitur. Sed frigidioribus regionibus Pulverationem faciunt, quam vocant rustici Occationem, cum omnis gleba in vineis refringitur, et resolvitur in pulverem." Lib. XI. c. ii. — How nicely curious was Virgil in his expressions? — Again, Columella: "Pubescentem et quasi adolescentem vitem convenit foliis omnibus nudare, tum et crebris fotionibus implere; nam fit uberius pulverationibus." Lib. IV. c. xxviii.

*³ Even when the grapes are ripe, or near it, all danger is not yet over. — "In hoc temporis intervallo res summa vitium agitur, decretorio uvis fidere illo quod Caniculam appellavimus: Unde Carbunculare dicuntur, ut quodam uredinis carbone exustae. Non comparantur huic malo grandinis procellae," etc. Plin. lib. XVIII. c. xxviii.

VER. 420—425.

"Contra, non *¹ ulla est oleis cultura: neque illae
"Procurvam expectant falcem, rastrosque tenaces;
"Cum semel haeserunt arvis, aurasque tulerunt."

"Ipsa

- “ Ipsa satis tellus, cum *² dente recluditur unco,
 “ Sufficit humorem, et gravidas cum vomere fruges.
 “ Hoc pinguem et placitam *³ Paci nutritor olivam.”

*¹ So Columella: “ Omnis arboris cultus simplicior quàm vinearum
 “ est; longèque ex omnibus stirpibus minorem impensam desiderat olea.”
 Lib. V. c. viii.

*² Columella directs houghing and plowing olive-yards: “ Olivetum
 “ minimè bis anno arari debet: et bidentibus altè circumfodiri.”— And
 though he orders “ Olivetâ stercoreari, et putari;” yet he prescribes very
 little dung; and as to the pruning, he says, “ Compluribus annis interpo-
 “ sitis olivetum putandum est:” And again; “ Satis erit octavo anno fe-
 “ cisse, ne fructuarii rami subinde amputentur.” Lib. V. c. ix. He had
 said before, in the 8th chapter, that all culture may be omitted without
 injuring the tree. And in confirmation of this. he tells us it was an old
 proverb, “ Eum, qui aret olivetum, rogare fructum; qui stercoret, exorare;
 “ qui caedat, cogere.” Yet, after first planting, he tells us, they ought
 to be both watered and pruned; and therefore Virgil says,

“ Cum semel hæserunt.”——

*³ Paci should be printed with a capital; “ the Goddess of Peace.”

VER. 434, 435.

- “ Quid majora sequar? *¹ falices, humilesque genistæ,
 “ Aut illæ *² pecori frondem, aut pastoribus *³ umbram
 “ Sufficiunt.”——

*¹ And again, presently after:

“ Viminibus falices foecundi.”——

Virgil had told us before, ver. 83:

“ Genus hæud unum falici,” etc.——

and ver. 269:

“ Coeli regionem cortice signant.”——

Columella says: “ Hanc observationem non solum in vitium positione, sed
 “ in ulmorum caeterarumque arborum, præcipio: uti, cum de seminario
 “ eximuntur, rubricâ notetur una pars; quæ nos admoneat, ne aliter ar-
 “ bores constituamus, quàm quemadmodum in seminario steterint. Plurimum
 “ enim refert, ut eam partem caeli spectent, cui ab tenero consueverunt.”
 Lib. V. c. vi.

*² Virgil

*² Virgil says, G. III. 175,

“ Vefcas falicum frondes.”——

*³ Q. whether this does not mean their Huts?

VER. 440—443.

“ Ipsae Caucaſeo ſteriles in vertice ſylvae,

“ Quas animoſi Euri affiduè franguntque feruntque,

“ Dant alios aliae foetus; dant utile lignum

“ Navigiis pinos, domibus cedrosque * cupreſſosque.”

* It is true, that Vitruvius does not reckon the Cypreſs the beſt timber for building houſes; for he ſays: “ Nec abietis nec ſapinorum omnibus locis copia eſt; ſed inopiae abietis aut ſapinorum vitabuntur, utendo cypreſſo, populo, ulmo, pinu.” Lib. II. c. ii. — But Monſ. Perrault, in his edition of Vitruvius, remarks: “ Que le Cyprès eſt ſans comparaifon meilleur que l’Abies et le Sapin. Theophrasſte en parle comme du plus durable et du moins ſujet aux vers et à la pourriture; etant celui dont on trouve les plus anciens edifices avoir eté batis.”——N. B. Vitruvius himſelf aſſerts the ſame, lib. II. c. ix.

VER. 446—448.

“ Viminibus *¹ falices foecundae, frondibus *² ulmi:

“ At myrtus validis *³ haſtilibus, et bona bello

“ Cornus.”——

*¹ Salices being twice mentioned within thirteen verſes; Q. whether Virgil does not mean two different trees, both valuable on different accounts?

“ Genus haud unum, nec fortibus ulmis,

“ Nec falici.”—— Ver. 83.

At the beginning of this book, Virgil names Siler and Salicſta immediately after one another:

—— “ Molle ſiler, lentaeque geniſtae,

“ Populus, et glaucâ canentiâ fronde falicſtâ.” Ver. 12.

*² See note on ver. 83 of this Georgic.——Varro adviſes planting elms as boundaries of lands: “ Quòd frondem jucundiſſimam miniſtrat ovibus ac bubus.” Lib. I. c. xv.——It is the practice ſtill in Italy, to ſtrip elms for fodder.

*³ Virgil arms Camilla with a myrtle javelin. Aen. VII. ver. ult.

VER. 455—457.

“ Bacchus et ad culpam caufas dedit : ille furentes
 “ Centauros leto domuit, Rhactumque, Pholumque ;
 “ Et magno * Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem.”

* A good image of drunken folks quarrelling. — Q. if any old bas-reliefs representing the Centaurs in this attitude? — See what Pliny relates of the story of the Lapithae engraved by Phideas on Pallas’s shield, lib. XXXVI. c. v. “ Scuto ejus (i. e. Minervae) Amazonum praelium “ Phideas caelavit, intumefcente ambitu parmae, ejusdem concavâ parte “ Deorum et Gigantum dimicationem, in soleis verò Lapitharum et Cen- “ taurorum ; adeo momenta omnia compacta artis illius fuere.” This being one of the most celebrated statues of the world, was undoubtedly very well known to the virtuosi of Rome.

VER. 458—460.

“ O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
 “ Agricolas ! quibus ipfa, procul discordibus armis,
 “ Fundit humo facilem victum * iuftiffima tellus.”

* The Earth is called here, very properly, *Iuftiffima* ; not only be-
 caufe it reftores with interest what is deposited, but by way of antithesis
 to the “ discordibus armis” in the foregoing verfe.

VER. 461—470.

“ Si non *¹ ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
 “ Mane falutantum totis vomit aedibus undam ;
 “ Nec *² varios inhiant pulchrâ teftudine postes,
 “ Illufasque auro vestes, Ephyreïaque aera ;
 “ Alba neque Affyrio fucatur lana veneno,
 “ Nec cafiâ liquidi corrumpitur ufus olivi.
 “ At *³ fecura quies, et nefcia fallere vita,
 “ Dives opum variarum ; at latis otia fundis,
 “ Speluncae, vivique lacus ; at frigida Tempe,
 “ Mugitusque boum, mollesque fub arbore fomni
 “ Non abfunt.”——

*¹ “ Ingentem Salutantum Undam totis Vomit aedibus.” This ex-
 preffion is too bombaft for Virgil’s ufual ftyle ; but is purpofely affected
 here, as proper in a description of pomp and vanity.

*² Some

*² Some of the Romans were so extravagant as to cover their doors and door-cases with Indian tortoise-shell; and, not contented with pure tortoise-shell, they had the shell inlaid or studded (as we see old cabinets) with precious stones; which Virgil perhaps means by *Varios*.—Lucan, describing the palace where Cleopatra entertained Julius Caesar at Alexandria, says:

“ *Suffecta manu foribus testudinis Indae*

“ *Terga fedent, crebro maculas distincta smaragdo.*”

Lib. X. 120.

and observes, ten verses before, that this extravagance was not then got into Rome.

*³ Observe the difference of style between the six foregoing verses and the following.—Observe likewise, with what variety of simple expressions he enumerates the innocent amusements and happiness of a country life.

VER. 486—489.

——— “ *O ubi * campi,*

“ *Sperchiusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis*

“ *Taygeta! O qui me † gelidis in vallibus Haemi*

“ *Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!*”

* Father Catrou has taken the liberty to change this word into *Tempe*; without any authority, and, I think, without reason: for supposing the Poet to mean the *Tempe* of Thessaly, is it not more elegant and poetical to express himself by *Campi*, i. e. *Campi isti celebres*, *Campi*, κατ' ἐξοχην, than to name *Tempe* itself? Besides, it is probable that, having mentioned the word *Tempe* but seventeen words before, he purposely avoids repeating it here; and as he there makes *Tempe* signify any fine fields in general, so here he makes *Campi* signify the fields of *Tempe* in particular.—And, that his meaning may not be undetermined, he adds the very next word the river *Sperchius*, which runs through those fields.

† The very best of the Roman poets copied so much after the Greek, that they sometimes give us ideas of things, that would be proper enough for a Greek, but sound quite improper from a Roman. Virgil's and Horace's instancing in Thessaly and Thrace (see Hor. lib. I. od. xxv. 20.) as such very cold countries, is a very strong proof of this.—Thrace was full north of Greece; and some of the Greeks therefore might talk of the coldness of that country, as strongly (perhaps) as some among us talk of the coldness of Scotland.

The Roman writers speak just in the same stile, of the coldness of Thrace, though a considerable part of Italy lay in as northern a latitude, and some of it even farther north than Thrace.

VER. 490—492.

“ † Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
 “ Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
 “ Subjecit * pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari!”

† Virgil had been saying, that his greatest delight was in the Muses; that he could wish to treat of Natural Philosophy in verse; but that if he had not a genius equal to so great an undertaking; he would however please himself with rural subjects. “ Happy (says he) is the person, that
 “ has done the former with so good an effect; and not unhappy are those,
 “ that are engaged, and can divert themselves at least, in the latter.”

Lucretius was the only one of the Romans, who had written any philosophical poem, when Virgil said this: — all the points he mentions here are treated of in that poem: — the effects of it, spoken of by Virgil, are the very things which Lucretius aimed at: — and Virgil, in speaking of the author of it, uses the same words and expressions taken directly from this poem of Lucretius. All which (considered together with Virgil’s general manner of rather hinting at things than speaking them quite out) make it clear to me, that it was Lucretius whom he means in this passage.

Our Archbishop Tillotson may be a little too severe on Virgil, where he singles out this passage as a very criminal one, vol. II. § lxiv.

I suppose, the chief point that gave offence in it, is his disbelief of Hell. And it is true that Virgil himself did not believe it. After describing hell, in the Aeneid, he makes his Hero and the Sibyl go out of the Ivory-gate, which he had just before called, The passage of vain dreams. The Poetic Hell was not a part of the old Roman creed; though a future state was believed by their best philosophers.

Balbus the Stoic, in Cicero *De Naturâ Deorum*, arguing for a God, says: “ Quis Hippocentaurum fuisse, aut Chimaeram putat? Quaeve anus
 “ tam excors inveniri potest, quae illa, quae quondam credebantur apud
 “ Inferos, portenta extimescat?” Lib. II. sub initio.

Caesar says roundly in the Senate-house: “ De poenâ possum equidem
 “ dicere id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum
 “ requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere;
 “ ultra, neque curae, neque gaudio, locum esse.” Sallust. *Bell. Cat.* § li.

And

And all that Cato answers to it is: "Bene et composîtè C. Caesar paulo
" ante in hoc ordine de vitâ et morte differuit: credo, falsa existimans
" ea quae de Inferis memorantur; diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra,
" inculta, foeda et formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit," etc. Ironically.

Cicero says much the same as Caesar; in a public pleading too: "Nunc
" quidem quod tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi forte ineptiis ac fabulis
" ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud Inferos impiorum supplicia per-
" ferre, ac plures illic offendisse inimicos quàm hic reliquisse; à focrûs, ab
" uxorum, à fratris, a liberûm poenis, actum esse praecipitem in scelera-
" torum sedem atque regionem: quae si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelli-
" gunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit praeter sensum doloris?" Pro
Cluentio, § lxi.

The same great philosopher is very plain and full against the poetical
hell, in his *Tusculan Questions*, lib. I. sub initio; and in his *Cato Major*.

* This was an action of triumph, as may be seen in several statues and
medals (see *Medaglioni di Buonarroti*, p. 176.); and from hence was used
metaphorically, to signify any sorts of triumphing, or having superiority.

VER. 495—499.

" Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
" Flexit, et infidos agitans discordia *¹ fratres;
" Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro:
" Non res Romanae, perituraque † regna: neque ille
" Aut *² doluit miserans inopem, aut invidit habenti."

*¹ Virgil was undoubtedly writing his *Georgics* at the very time that
Phraates and Tiridates were disputing for the kingdom of Persia; and
therefore probably hints at that. — Horace, who wrote at the same time,
mentions this piece of history:

" Redditum Cyri folio Phraaten." Lib. II. Od. ii.

† When the Roman empire had any war, their authors say they had
something to do against the Reges: so Regna here may signify the coun-
tries under the Reges, "the nations yet to be conquered."

*² Ruæus's construction may perhaps be agreeable to the sentiments
of the rigid Stoics, but, I think, is too abstruse for this place. Virgil
speaks of the philosopher above in those three verses,

" Felix qui potuit," etc.

And here he describes the happiness of the innocent farmer above the
citizen;

citizen; and may be understood in a much plainer sense: That he who lives retired in the country is free from seeing such sad spectacles, as they must be every day exposed to at Rome. "He sees no objects of pity, nor envies the pomp of the rich."

VER. 505—509.

"Hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque Penates,
 "Ut *¹ gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano indormiat ostro:
 "Condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro;
 "Hic stupet attonitus rostris: hunc *² plausus hiantem
 "Per cuneos (*³ geminatur enim) plebisque patrumque
 "Corripuit."——

*¹ ————— "Gemmaeque capaces

"Excepere merum."—— Lucan. X. 160.

speaking of the feast given to Caesar in Aegypt.

The pride of the ancients covered their tables or side-boards with cups of precious stone, as onyx, agate, etc. And probably the dishes and cups of agate, jasper, etc. which are now preserved in treasuries and cabinets, served formerly at the tables of princes and great men. "Appianus testatur Mithridatem Ponti regem circiter duo millia poculorum ex onyche in suo thesauro habuisse; verum non solum ex onyche, sed sardoniche, et chalcedonio factitara fuisse certum est." Anselm. Boet. Hist. Gemm. lib. II. c. xcii.—— "Achates tantâ mole excrescit ut pocula et scyphi inde fieri possint." Id. lib. II. c. xcvi. Q. whether the vases at Genoa, and Venice, were not of this sort? And likewise the agate cup at the Barberini palace. See Misson's description of it, vol. II. lett. xxix.

The sapphire cup in the treasury of the church of St. John Baptist at Monza near Milan, is likewise supposed to be of this sort. It was left by Theudelinda Queen of the Lombards, who built and endowed the church. It is a tumbler or goblet, two inches three tenths deep, by three inches four tenths diameter.—— In the treasury of St. Denis is a large cup of oriental agate, with a bas-relief representing a Sacrifice.—— Pliny, in his Natural History, tells us, that Petronius, a little before his death, ordered a valuable cup of this sort to be broke, that it might not fall into the hands of Nero.—— "T. Petronius consularis moriturus invidiâ Neronis, ut mensam ejus exhaeredaret, Truilam Murrhynam ccc. HS. emptam fregit." Lib. XXXVII. c. ii.

*² Horace

*² Horace mentions the applause given to Maecenas from a crowded theatre, as a mark of the greatest honour and respect that could be paid him by the people:

——— “ Cùm populus frequens
“ Laetum theatri ter crepuit sonum.” Lib. II. Od. xvii.

“ Cum tibi plausus,
“ Care Maecenas eques,” etc.——— Lib. I. Od. xx.

*³ Repetition of applause, a mark of the greatest favour; as is our Encore, Encore, in our theatres. — Horace, in one of his compliments to Augustus, says:

“ Tuque dum procedis, Io Triumphæ,
“ Non semel dicemus, Io Triumphæ,
“ Civitas omnis.”——— Lib. IV. Od. ii.

VER. 519.

“ Venit * hiems; teritur Sicyonia bacca trapetis.”

* Columella, having directed, in several chapters of his XIIth book, what was to be done by the Villica, or farmer's wife, during the Autumn, concludes thus: “ Sequitur autem frigus hiemis, per quod olivitas, sicut
“ vindemia, curam villicae repetit.” Cap. xlvii. And cap. l. he says:
“ Media est olivitas plerumque initium mensis Decembris. Nam et ante
“ hoc tempus acerbum oleum conficitur, quod vocatur aestivum; et circa
“ hunc mensem viride premitur; deinde postea, maturum.”

VER. 532—535.

“ Hanc olim * veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
“ Hanc Remus et frater: sic fortis Etruria crevit,
“ Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma;
“ Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.”

*¹ “ Antiquissima gens est Sabinorum, Indigenarum nimirum.” Strabo, lib. V.

It is not improbable that, in the compliment here paid, Virgil not only has respect to the nearest neighbours of Rome, the Sabini and Etrurians, but names the latter preferably to any other country in Italy, out of compliment to Maecenas, who was descended from the old race of the kings of that country; and therefore speaks of Tuscany and Rome almost as if
they

they were both upon the same footing; here, and in the First Georgic, ver. 499.

* The only regions allied to Aeneas in his war against Turnus, is Tuscany, and the territory about Rome. The only place out of these is his favourite Mantua; which he brings in as an appenage of Tuscany. See Aen. III. 170. and X. 199.



GEORGIC THE THIRD.

VER. 1, 2.

“**T**E quoque, magna *¹ Pales, et te memorande canemus
 “ *² Pastor ab Amphryso.”——

*¹ This Goddess is represented by Ovid, in his account of the Palilia, as the supreme power presiding over pastoral affairs; and is therefore very justly called Magna.—See Ovid. Fast. lib. IV.

*² Pausanias speaks of a temple of Apollo, where he is represented, “Calceamenta pedibus gerens, et altero pede calvam premens bovis: Bobus etenim potissimum gaudere Apollinem, etc. Hujusmodi ob causam non ineptè quis conjiciat haec de bovis calvâ ita esse factâ.” Lib. VII. Again, lib. IX. he mentions Apollo called Boidromius.

VER. 8, 9.

——“Tentanda via est, quâ me quoque possim
 “Tollere humo, victorque virum volitare per ora.”

* Pliny hints at this passage, lib. V. Epist. viii. and says: “Me autem
 “nihil aequè ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido sollicitat: res homine dignif-
 “sima, praesertim qui, nullius sibi conscius culpa, posteritatis memoriam
 “non reformidet.”—And, lib. V. Epist. iii. offering some reasons for be-
 ing an author, and publishing; and having named several great men,
 whose example he followed therein, and amongst others Julius Caesar, and
 other Emperors, concludes thus: “Neronem enim transeo, quamvis
 “sciam non corrumpi in deterius quae aliquando etiam à malis, sed ho-
 “nesta

“ nēſta manere quae ſaepiùs à bonis fiunt. Inter quos vel præcipuè nū-
“ merandus eſt P. Virgilius.”

VER. 12.

“ Primus * Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas.”

* ——— “ Arbusto palmarum dives Idumæ.” Lucan. III. 216.

VER. 16—18.

“ In medio mihi Cæſar erit, templumque tenebit.

“ Illi *¹ victor ego, et Tyrio conſpectus in oſtro,

“ Centum *² quadrijugos agirabo ad flumina currus.”

*¹ Virgil had more modeſty than to ſpeak of himſelf, as Ruæus here interprets him: this paſſage is deſigned as a compliment to Auguſtus, not to himſelf.—Victor rather refers to the triumphal dreſs of the perſon who preſided at the ſports. Tacitus tells us (lib. I.) that in the Ludi Auguſtales, which were decreed by the Senate of Rome in honour of Auguſtus, as Virgil propoſes to do at Mantua, it was ordered “ ut per
“ Circum triumphali veſte uterentur.”

Virgil ſeems to have given here the firſt ſketch for the Auguſtalia; and to have laid the plan for thoſe honours which the Romans and others afterwards ſolemnized to Auguſtus.

*² Strabo, in his account of the Aegyptian temples, lib. XVII. tells us that there was uſually a δρόμος or Curſus before the entrance of their temples, the extent of which δρόμος he deſcribes.—The temple of Bacchus near Rome, according to the draught of it by Deſgodetz, ſeems to have been built on the Aegyptian plan.

VER. 19, 20.

“ Cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi,

“ Curſibus et crudo decernet * Graecia caeſtu.”

* This propoſal of Virgil’s to celebrate games, etc. at Mantua, in honour of Auguſtus, after the Graecian manner, was an obliging compliment to the Neapolitans, with whom he lived when he wrote this.—They were deſcended from the Greeks, and, as Strabo expreſsly tells us, obſerved many of their cuſtoms, particularly in their games: “ Plurima ibi (Nea-
“ poli) Graecorum inſtitutorum ſuperſunt veſtigia, ut Gymnaſia, Ephebo-
“ rum coetus, etc. Hoc tempore, Sacrum Quinquennale certamen Muſi-

- T

“ cum

“ cum et Gymnicum per aliquot dies agitur, ludis Graecorum nobilissimis
 “ aemulum.” Lib. V.

VER. 21—25.

“ Ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus *¹ olivae
 “ Dona feram. Jam nunc solemnes ducere *² pompas
 “ Ad delubra juvat, caesosque videre juvencos :
 “ Vel *³ scena ut versis discedat frontibus, utque
 “ Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.”

*¹ Pliny, speaking of the olive, has this passage : “ Oleae honorem
 “ Romana Majestas magnum praebuit, turmas equitum idibus Juliis ex
 “ eâ coronando : item minoribus triumphis ovantes.” Upon which Father Harduin has the following note : “ Ovantium igitur corona et oleaginea fuit. Sed et oleagineis coronis, inquit Festus, ministri triumphantium utebantur, quod Minerva Dea belli esse putabatur. Quare Virgilius, qui se triumphorum Augusti Caesaris ministrum deligi et haberi studuit, ita cecinit.” Lib. XV. § v. N. 5.

Capaccio, in his History of Naples, tells us of a Greek inscription in museo Cardinalis Carpenfis ; of which he gives this translation : “ Bato-
 “ nem Philonis filium, quoniam per annos duos praefes creatus ex animi
 “ sui et Aliptarum sententiâ justè ac dignè Gymnasium administravit, eâ-
 “ que de causâ Collegium universum per hosce duos annos ipsum
 “ oleaginâ coronâ, summâ cum celebritate, coronavit,” etc. Lib. I. c. xviii.

*² Dionysius Halicarnassæus, having related the old story of Castor and Pollux bringing the news to Rome of the victory obtained at the Lacus Regillus, observes, that there were several tokens still remaining in his time of the credit given by the Romans to that story, and particularly the pompous procession made through several streets of the city, by the Roman knights on horseback, on the feast-day of Castor and Pollux, viz. the ides of July, to their temple in the Forum, lib. VI. c. xiii.

This cavalcade, as we find by Suetonius, was re-established by Augustus, after it had been neglected for some time : “ Equitum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedinem reducto more transvectionis.” Aug. 38.

Livy says, that this cavalcade was instituted by Q. Fabius Maximus : “ Ab eodem institutum dicitur, ut equites idibus Quintilibus transveherentur.” Lib. IX. in fine.

This

This is confirmed by Valerius Maximus: "Trabeatos vero equites
" idibus Juliis Q. Fabius tranſvehi inſtituit." Lib. II. c. ii.

As Auguſtus had great regard to, and loved theſe pompous cavalcades,
Virgil alludes to them by ſaying,

———— " Solemnes ducere pompas
" Ad delubra juvat."————

And as the horſe is one of the principal ſubjects of this book, it was
very proper to make a cavalcade one part of the ſhew he would inſtitute
at Mantua in honour of Auguſtus.

*³ The following inſcription in one of the windows or openings which
gave light to the Porta obſcura at Trivoli, over which is ſuppoſed to have
been the famous temple of Hercules, makes mention of the Scena cXL
feet long:

C. LVTIVS. L. F. AVLIAN.
Q. PLAVSVRNIVS. C. F.
VARVS.
L. VENTIDIVS. L. F.
BASSVS.
C. OCTAV. C. F. GRACCHIN.
III VIR
PORTICVS P. CCLV.
ET. EXEDRAM. ET. PRONAON.
ET. PORTICVM. ET. SCAENAM.
LONG. P. CXL.
S. C. F. C.

Vitruvius thus deſcribes the Roman ſcenes: " Ipſae ſcenaſe ſuas habe-
" ant rationes explicatas, ita uti mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae
" regiae, dextra ac ſiniſtra hospitalia. Secundum autem ea, ſpatia ad
" ornatus comparata; (quae loca Graeci περιόχλις dicunt, ab eo quod
" machinae ſint in iis locis verſatiles trigonos habentes). In ſingula tres
" ſint ſpecies ornationis, quae, cùm aut fabularum mutationes ſunt futurae,
" ſeu Deorum adventus cum tonitribus repentinis, verſentur, mutantque
" ſpeciem ornationis in frontes." Lib. V. c. vii.

† " In Panegyri ſacrâ ſunt loca, et ſacrificia, et ſtadia ad currendum,
" Et Scena alicubi. τεμένη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἱερὰ, καὶ δρομοὶ, καὶ κολωνὴ δῆπου." Phi-
loſtratus de vitâ Apol. lib. VIII. c. xviii.

VER. 26—29.

† “ In *¹ foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
 “ *² Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma *³ Quirini :
 “ Atque hic undantem bello, magnumque fluentem
 “ Nilum, ac navali surgentes aere columnas.”

† Virgil's imaginary temple here seems to have been copied from that built by Augustus, to Mars Ultor ; and they agree in so many particulars, that I cannot help thinking the one was a copy of the other. Ovid thus describes the temple of Mars Ultor :

“ Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores ;
 “ Templaque in Augusto conspicienda Foro.
 “ Digna Gigantaeis haec sunt delubra tropaeis ;
 “ Hinc fera Gradivum bella movere decet.
 “ Prospicit in foribus diversae tela figurae ;
 “ Armaque terrarum, milite victa suo.
 “ Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere sacro ;
 “ Et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos :
 “ Hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem.”

Fast. V. 565.

By comparing this with Virgil's, one sees, that on the gates of each are the conquered nations, and their arms ;—in each, the Trojan ancestors of the Julian family ; in each, Romulus carrying the Spolia opima. —The trophies, mentioned for both, I imagine, might stand on each side of the front, at top : with Mars standing between them, on the highest elevation, in the one ; as Augustus may be supposed to do, in the other.

“ Prospicit Armipotens operis fastigia summi ;
 “ Et probat invictos summa tenere Deos.”

Fast. V. 560.

“ In medio mihi Caesar erit ; templumque tenebit.”

Georg. III. 16.

*¹ The word *Fores* was used not only for the door, but likewise for the exterior part of the temple ; as appears from Virgil, in his description of the temple of Juno built by Dido :

“ Tum foribus Divae, mediâ testudine templi,
 “ Septa armis folioque alte subnixa, refedit.” Aen. III. 509.

Where

Where he makes Fores to signify all the temple, except the cell or inner part; for he cannot mean that Dido sat at the door of the temple, because he expressly declares that it was “*mediâ testudine templi.*” — The same may be gathered from Virgil’s description of the temple of Apollo at Cumae, lib. VI. and likewise from Tacitus, who seems to use the word in distinction to the cell of the temple of Vesta.

*² Those that border on the Ganges, or strictly the Indians beyond the Ganges, as we learn from Q. Curtius; who, telling us that Alexander being got as far as the river Hypasis in India, and enquiring of Phegelas the prince of that part, what countries lay beyond him, was thus informed by him: “*Undecim dierum ultra flumen (Hypasim) per vastas solitudines iter esse; excipere deinde Gangem, maximum totius Indiae fluminum: ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Pharrasios.*” Lib. IX. § v.

By *Gangaridae*, Virgil means the Eastern people in general.

*³ Suetonius says thus: “*Censentibus quibusdam Romulum appellari oportere, quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis.*” And Dion — ‘Ο Καῖσαρ ἐπιθυμῶν ἰχθυῶν Παμύλῳ ὀνομασθῆναι. — See more in Johannes Philadelphensis (scripto de mensibus in Aug.) ‘Οὐλαβιανός, etc. The pleasure which Augustus took in this title was undoubtedly the reason of Virgil’s making that artful compliment to him in the sixth *Aeneid*, where Anchises, shewing his son the glories of his posterity, breaks loose from the true order of succession, and places Augustus immediately after Romulus: which irregularity, though censured by some of the critics, is, I think, one of the finest strokes of that glorious passage. See Dr. Trapp’s note on that place, Book VI. ver. 973. of his translation.

VER. 30—33.

“*Addam urbes *¹ Asiae domitas, pulsumque Niphaten,
Fidentemque fugâ Parthum versisque sagittis:
Et *² duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste trophaea,
*³ Bisque triumphatas *⁴ utroque ab litore gentes.*”

*¹ Compare this with *Aeneid*, VI. 794. and VII. 605. — Augustus’s conquests in the East was a favourite topick of the Poets in his time. Vid. Hor. lib. I. Od. vi. ver. 12. et. lib. IV. Od. xiv. et. xv.

*² Quaer. Whether Virgil does not mean Augustus’s victory over Brutus and Cassius, and his recovery of the Roman Eagles from the Parthi, for in both actions he might very properly be said, “*Rapuisse ma-*
“ *nu*

“*nu trophaea.*” — And we are assured that on the former account Augustus built a temple to Mars Ultor, and on the latter account he dedicated one to him under the title of Bisulor. — Suetonius says, “*Publica opera plurima extruxit: ex quibus praecepua, forum cum aede Martis Ultoris,*” etc. And presently after, “*Aedem Marti Bello Philippensi pro ultione paternâ suscepto voverat.*” — And, more expressly, Ovid:

- “*Templa feres, et me victore vocaberis Ultor:*
 “*Voverat, et fuso laetus ab hoste redit.*
 “*Nec fatis est meruisse sui cognomina Martis;*
 “*Persequitur Parthâ signa retenta manu.*
 “*Parthe, refers Aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus;*
 “*Pignora jam nostri nulla pudoris habes.*
 “*Rite Deo, templumque datum, nomenque BISULTOR;*
 “*Emeritus voti debita solvit honor.*” Fast. lib. V.

Or do the “*Duo Trophaea*” mean only the trophies recovered, which were taken from Crassus and Labienus by the two Parthian Kings, Monefes and Pacorus? which were esteemed two of the greatest disgraces which had befallen Rome. See Hor. lib. III. Od. vi.

Mr. Holdsworth has the following guess on the same passage in another place. — One of the cases here referred to is undoubtedly Augustus’s recovering from the Parthians the standards they had taken from Crassus. Quaer. If the other does not refer to his recovering from the Dalmatians the standards they had taken from Gabinus: — for thus the Latin translator of Appian, *De Bellis Illyricis*, having related Augustus’s taking Sergeste (now Trieste) and his other conquests over the Illyrians, adds; “*Caesar copias in Dalmatas convertit gentem Illyriorum. Dalmatae quidem, ex quo sub Gabinio quinque cohortes interimentes signa ademerant, ob res prospere gestas animis elati, per decem annos neutiquam deposuere arma, et advenienti (Aug.) Caesari unâ cum Sergestanis occurrere statuerant.*” — Then having given account of the success against them, he tells us that Augustus going to Rome to receive the Consulship, and returning again to Dalmatia, “*Dalmatae fame fatigati, comatu undique excluso, venienti Caesari sponte obviant, seque illi suppliciter dedunt, obsides numero septingentos ex propriis filiis exhibent. Hos Caesar Romanorum signa Gabinio adempta ferre monuit: tributa quoque quae sub Caio Caesare olim polliciti in id tempus distulissent persolvere imperavit. Ita Romanis obsequentiores deinceps effecti*”
 “*sunt.*”

“funt. Ea signa Caesar in porticu, quae Octavia dicitur, appendit.” — Then having told us of other people of the Illyrians conquered by Caesar, he concludes: “Ob eam rem triumphus Illyrius à senatu Caesari decretus est, quem post devictum tandem egit Antonium.” — The story of Gabinius is related by Appian, lib. II. De Bellis Civil. sect. cccclxiv. — Appian hints at Augustus’s wars against the Illyrians, lib. V. Bell. Civ. p. 1175. edit. Toll. and, again, page ult.

One of the people meant here were certainly the Cantabri. Horace, in praising Augustus, generally, if not always, mentions his conquering the Cantabri. See lib. I. Od. vi. 3. 8. iv. 14.

Horace likewise frequently mentions Augustus’s recovering from the Parthians the Roman ensigns taken from Crassus, and his wiping out that blot upon the Roman name. See lib. IV. Od. xv.

This was so much the more honourable to Augustus, because his rival Antony, though he entered Parthia with a vast army on purpose to revenge the death of Crassus, and offered to withdraw his forces on condition that the Parthians would surrender the Roman eagles, could not obtain them, and being refused was forced to retire with disgrace, and considerable loss. See Plutarch’s life of Antony.

*³ The completing of the conquest of Spain was ascribed to Augustus, as is expressly declared by Livy; who has this remarkable passage; “Hispania non quam Italia modo, sed quam ulla pars terrarum bello reparando aptior erat locorum hominumque ingeniis. Itaque ergo prima Romanis inita provinciarum quae quidem continentis sint; postremo omnium nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est.” Dec. III. lib. viii.

The reduction of Aegypt is likewise claimed by Augustus, as we find it inscribed on the pedestal of the obelisk at the Porta del Popolo at Rome, which was erected in the eleventh consulate of Augustus, i. e. Anno U. C. 731.

*⁴ Probably this means no more than the opposite shores of the Mediterranean sea. Horace makes the like compliment to Rome:

“Horrenda latè nomen in ultimas

“Extendat oras, quàm medius liquor

“Secernit Europen ab Afro,

“Quàm tumidus rigat arva Nilus.” Lib. III. od. iii.

VER. 34—36.

“ * Stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa ;
 “ Aſſaraci proles, demiffæque ab Jove gentis
 “ Nomina : Trosque parens, et Trojæ Cynthius auctor.”

* This ſuited the taſte of Auguſtus, who adorned his public buildings with ſtatues. Suetonius tells us, “ Proximum à Diis immortalibus honorem memoriæ ducum præſtitit, qui imperium Populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidiſſent. — Itaque et ſtatuas omnium triumphali effigie in utrâque fori ſui porticu dedicavit. Profeſſus eſt ediſto commentum id ſe, ut illorum velut exemplar, et ipſe dum viveret, et ſequentium ætatum principes exigenter à civibus.” In Aug.

VER. 37—39.

“ Invidia infelix Furiæ, ænemque ſeverum
 “ Cocyti metuet ; tortosque Ixionis † orbes,
 “ Immanemque rotam ; et non exſuperabile ſaxum.”

† All the editions of Virgil at preſent (and indeed ſeveral of the manuſcripts, and even ſome of the oldeſt) read Angues here, inſtead of Orbes.

The reaſon why I ſuppoſe ſome critics of late, who have thought it was originally Orbes, are in the right, is, becauſe the latter agrees with Ixion's puniſhment, and the former does not.

The puniſhment of Ixion conſiſted in being attached to a wheel, and whirled round imperiouſly by it ; both which are expreſſed in the “ Tortos orbes, immanemque rotam,” of Virgil. — Orbis is the very word which Virgil uſes, in the only place beſide this where he ſpeaks of Ixion's puniſhment, in his allowed works : and, if the Aetna be his, it is alſo uſed there of the ſame.

I do not remember that Virgil, or any other of the Roman Poets, ever ſpeak of Ixion's being tormented with ſnakes ; or indeed of ſnakes being made uſe of in the torments of Tartarus at all. The ſnakes of the Furies, or infernal tormentors of the old Poets, represented the ſtings of conſcience ; the tortures and ſufferings of the mind, not thoſe of the body : but the modern painters have made ſo much uſe of ſerpents, in their representations of perſons tormented in the other world, that has made a connection between the tormented and ſnakes now, which was

not

not of old : and may have been a chief reason, that the reading of *Angues* has prevailed so generally among us.

I must just observe one thing more ; which is, the propriety of Virgil in the above passage, in another respect. The persons he is speaking of are the enemies of the Julian family ; or of the faction (as he calls it) against the *Caesars*. These, he says, should be represented on the temple he would build to *Augustus*, as in the tortures of *Tartarus* ; and, more particularly, as punished in the same manner as *Ixion* and *Sisyphus*. *Ixion* was punished there, for his ingratitude and impiety ; *Sisyphus*, as a villain and a robber. So that this is calling all the party against *Augustus* villains and ingrates ; and infers the highest compliment to that prince, at the same time that it is the most cruel of invectives against his enemies.

VER. 43, 44.

———— “ *En age, fegnes*

“ *Rumpe moras : vocat ingenti clamore * Cithaeron,*

“ *Täygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum.*”

* The boundary between *Attica* and *Boeotia*. Sir G. Wheeler says, that he lodged on mount *Parnes*, not far from *Cithaeron*, or part of the same ridge ; that there was a curious fountain hard by, where, he says, the wolves, bears, and wild boars come to drink ; this mountain being a great covert for them : and that they were forced to stop up the entrance into their car, to secure them from the assaults of wild beasts, page, 334.

VER. 51—59.

———— “ *¹ *Optima torvae*

“ *Forma bovis, cui turpe caput, cui plurima cervix,*

“ *Et crurum tenuis à mento palearia pendent.*

“ *Tum longo nullus lateri modus : omnia magna ;*

“ *Pes *² etiam : et camuris hirtae sub *³ cornibus aures.*

“ *Nec mihi displiceat maculis insignis et albo :*

“ *Aut juga detrectans, interdumque aspera cornu,*

“ *Et faciem tauro propior : quaeque ardua tota,*

“ *Et gradiens imâ verret vestigia caudâ.*”

*¹ Varro’s description of the shape and colour of a good cow : “ *Ut sint oblongae, amplae, latis frontibus, oculis magnis, pilosis auribus ;*
U “ *cervicibus*

“cervicibus crassis ac longis, à collo palearibus demissis; corpore amplo, bene costato; — caudam profusam usque ad calces ut habeant.” Lib. II. c. v. — As to the colour, it is difficult to understand him; his words are: “Colore potissimum nigro, dein rubeo,” etc. If I understand him, he makes black and white mixed the worst colour. — Columella prefers “colorum rubeum, vel fuscum,” lib. VI. c. i. and gives the following description of a cow, c. xxi. “Vaccae probantur altissimae formae, longaeque, frontibus latissimis, pilosis auribus, palearibus et caudis amplissimis; caetera quoque fere eadem in feminis, quae et in maribus desiderantur:” the description of which he had given before; “Parandi sunt boves, grandibus membris, fronte latâ et crispâ, hirtis auribus, cervice longâ et torosâ, palearibus amplis, et penè ad genua promissis, lateribus porrectis, ungulis magnis, caudis longissimis.” Cap. i.

*² Etiam is to be pronounced with an emphasis, as an extraordinary case; because in other creatures, generally, a large foot is far from being a beauty.

*³ “Potius bovem emunt cornibus nigrantibus, quàm albis.” Var. lib. II. c. i.

VER. 60, 61.

“* Aetas Lucinam justosque pati hymenaeos
“Definit ante decem, post quatuor incipit annos.”

* Varro says, “In bubulo pecore minoris emitis anniculam,” that is, one of a year old, “et supra decem annorum; quod à bimâ aut trimâ fructum ferre incipit, neque longius post decimum annum procedit. “Nam prima aetas omnis pecoris, et extrema, sterilis.” Lib. II. c. i. — Again, he says, “Non minores oportet inire bimas, ut trimae pariant; eò melius, si quadrimae.” Lib. II. c. v.

“In nostro orbe, Epiroticis bubus maxima laus; à Pyrrhi, ut ferunt, jam inde regis curâ: id consequutus est non ante quadrimatum ad partus vocando: praegrandes itaque fuere, et hodieque reliquiae stirpium durant.” Plin. lib. VIII. c. xlv.

VER. 75—79.

“Continuò pecoris *¹ generosi pullus in arvis
“*² Altius ingreditur, et mollia crura reponit:
“Primus et ire viam, et fluvios tentare minaces

“Audet

“Audet, et ignoto sese committere ponti :

“Nec vanos horret strepitus.” —

Virgil's description of a beautiful horse was admired by the ancients, as appears by Pliny. “Equorum forma, quales maximè legi oporteat, “pulcherrimè quidem Virgilio vate absoluta est.” Lib. VIII. c. xlii.

Varro's description is as follows : “Equi boni futuri signa sunt, si cum gregalibus in pabulo contendit, in currendo, aliâve quâ re, quo potior sit ; si cum flumen travehendum est, gregi in primis prægreditur, ac non respectat alios :” and before, “Qualis futurus sit equus è pullo conjectari potest, si *caput habet non magnum, si est naribus non angustis, auribus applicatis, non angustâ jubâ crebrâ*, subtenuibus fetis implicatâ in dexteriolem partem cervicis, pectus latum et plenum, ventre modico, spinâ maximè duplici, ungulis duris.” Lib. II. c. vii.

*² I take “altius ingredi” to signify, to step boldly and genteely, or with grace ; by lifting the feet high, and then setting them down again gently.

VER. 80, 88.

——— “Illi ardua cervix,

“*¹ Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, *² obesaue terga ;

“*³ Luxuriatque toris animosum *⁴ pectus : honesti

“*⁵ Spadices, glaucique ; color deterrimus albis,

“Et gilvo : tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere ;

“† Stare loco nescit, micat *⁶ auribus, et tremit artus,

“Collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem.

“Densa juba, et dextro jactata recumbit in armo.

“At *⁷ duplex agitur per lumbos spina : cavatque

“Tellurem, et folido graviter sonat ungula cornu.”

*¹ What Palladius calls “exiguum caput et ficcum,” a sharp, brisk-looking head, Virgil expresses in one word, Argutum.

“La tête du cheval doit être menuë, étroite, decharnée, et sèche. “C'est une partie essentielle de la beauté du cheval, sans laquelle il ne peut être agréable quoiqu'il eut tout le reste du corps bien fait.” Solleysel, c. ii.

*² “La croupe doit être large et ronde,” etc. *ibid.* pag. 16. — “De la dernière côté jusqu'à l'os de la hanche, qui est proprement le flanc, il y doit avoir fort peu de distance.” *Ibid.*

*³ “Luxuriatque toris” may be said of a clumsy, heavy horse; and therefore the Poet has very well qualified the expression, by adding *Animosum* — that a horse must be full-chested, and have those muscles strong and vigorous, not overloaded.

*⁴ “La poitrine large et ouverte aux chevaux de legere taille est tousjours estimée.” Sol. c. ii. p. 14.

*⁵ As *Spadix* signifies a reddish colour, this word ought, according to strictness, to mean what the French call *Baie rouge* — but, in general, I take *Spadices* to comprehend the several sorts of Bays; and *Glauci*, different sorts of Grey. — *Glaucus* certainly signifies Grey, as well as Blue: and in the Welsh language the word *Glauce*, when applied to *Kephal*, or a horse, signifies a dark Grey; but, when applied to other things, it signifies Blue. — See *Revelat. c. vi. 8.* ἰππῶ χλωρὸς, which our translators render *a pale horse*. — “*Glaucas falices.*” Georg. IV. 187.

† There is a very good imitation of this part of Virgil, in a Roman Poet of the third century, which may deserve to be inserted here:

“*Illis ampla fatis laevi sunt aequora dorso,
Immodicumque latus; parvaeque ingentibus alvi:
Ardua frons, auresque agiles; capitique decoro
Altus honos; oculique vago splendore micantes.
Plurima se validos cervix refupinat in armos;
Fumant humentes calidâ de nare vapores.
Nec pes officium standi tenet; ungula terram
Crebra ferit; virtusque artus animosa fatigat.
Quin etiam gens ampla jacet trans ardua Calpes
Culmina, cornipedum latè foecunda proborum.
Namque valent longos pratis intendere cursus;
Nec minor est illis Graio quàm in corpore forma:
Nec non terribiles spirabile lumen anhelî
Provolvunt flatus; et lumina vivida torquent.”*

Nemesianus, Cynegetic. 256.

*⁶ “Pline a fait une assez bonne remarque sur les oreilles d’un cheval; car il dit que par le mouvement de ses oreilles on peut juger de son intention et de son courage,” etc. Soll. c. ii.

*⁷ “Un cheval doit avoir les reins doubles, qui est lorsqu’il les a un peu plus élevés aux deux côtés qu’au milieu du dos, et passant la main
“ tout

“ tout au long de l'épine on la trouve large, bien fournie, et double
 “ par le canal qui s'y fait.” Id. c. ii. p. 15.

Solleyfel remarks, “ Si les épaules sont grosses, chargées de chair et
 “ rondes, ce sera un défaut considérable;” but he adds immediately after-
 wards, “ C'est un défaut aux chevaux François, car, pour les Barbes et
 “ chevaux d'Espagne, ils n'en sont pas pires, si d'ailleurs ils ont les qua-
 “ lités qu'on leur demande. Même j'ay vu peu de Barbes et de chevaux
 “ d'Espagne avoir beaucoup d'épaules qu'ils ne fussent très bons.” Cap. iv.
 p. 49. The same might be said of the Neapolitan horses, which Virgil
 probably had in view in this description.

VER. 95—102.

“ Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis, aut jam fegnior annis
 “ Deficit, abde domo, *¹ nec turpi ignosce senectæ.
 “ Frigidus in Venerem senior, frustra que laborem
 “ Ingratum trahit: et, si quando ad praelia ventum est,
 “ Ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis,
 “ Incassum furit. Ergo animos *² ævumque notabis
 “ Praecipuè: hinc alias artes, *³ prolemque parentum:
 “ Et quis cuique dolor victo, quæ gloria palmarum.”

*¹ If Virgil had meant as Ruæus supposes, in his note upon this place,
 he might as easily have said, “ et non turpi:” But I think he is to be
 understood in the literal sense, “ nec ignosce turpi senectæ. Ne sis in-
 “ dulgentior senectuti turpi, quæ turpem prolem reddet;” Do not make
 any allowances to an old stallion for what he has been. This sense suits
 best with what follows:

“ Frigidus in Venerem senior.” —————

*² “ Equorum et Equarum greges qui habere voluerunt, ut habent ali-
 “ qui in Peloponneso et in Apuliâ, primum spectare oportet ætatem quam
 “ præcipiunt: Videndum ne sint minores trimæ, majores decem anno-
 “ rum.” Var. lib. II. c. vii.

*³ Dr. Martyn, in opposition, as he owns, to the generality of the
 commentators, thinks the Poet means by “ prolem parentum,” that we
 are to observe what colts the horse produces: but I cannot believe this is
 his meaning; for he gives direction for choosing a young stallion. I rather
 think he means that we are to inquire into the pedigree, and how the off-
 spring of that race have proved.

VER. 103—107.

“ Nonne vides? cum praecipiti certamine campum
 “ Corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus;
 “ Cum spes arrectae juvenum, exultantiaque haurit
 “ Corda pavor pulsans: illi instant verbere torto,
 “ Et * proni dant lora.”——

“ * Non tam praecipites bijugo certamine campum
 “ Corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus.
 “ Nec sic immixtis aurigae undantia lora
 “ Concussere jugis, pronique in verbera pendent.”

Aen. V. 147.

VER. 113—117.

“ *¹ Primus Erichthonius currus et quatuor ausus
 “ Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.
 “ Fraena Pelethronii Lapithae, *² gyrosque dedere,
 “ Impositi dorso: atque equitem † docuere sub armis
 “ Insultare solo, et gressus *³ glomerare superbos.”

*¹ That they had menages for their war horses, either for the chariot or saddle, appears from this, and some of the following passages; and likewise from Varro. “ Equi quod alii sunt ad rem militarem idonei, alii
 “ ad vecturam, alii ad admissuram, alii ad cursuram, non item sunt spec-
 “ tandi atque habendi. Itaque peritus belli alios eligit, atque alit, ac
 “ docet; aliter quadrigarius, ac defultor. Neque idem qui vectarios fa-
 “ cere vult, ad ephippium, aut ad praedam; quod ut ad rem militarem,
 “ quod ibi ad castra habere volunt acres; sic contra in viis habere malunt
 “ placidos.”——For the former sort Virgil requires,

“ Calidum animis, et cursibus acrem.” Ver. 119.

And again:

—— “ Qui spumas agit ore cruentas.” Ver. 203.

For the latter sort,

—— “ Qui molli feret effeda collo.” Ver. 204.

The art of managing horses, so as to leap at full speed from one to another, is mentioned by Homer, Il. XV. — See Mr. Pope's notes on ver. 824.

It

It being objected by critics, that the custom of riding was not known in Greece at the time of the Trojan war; Eustathius answers, that, had Homer put the comparison in the mouth of one of his heroes, the objection had been just, and he guilty of an inconsistency; but it is he himself who speaks: Saddle-horses were in use in his age, and any poet may be allowed to illustrate pieces of antiquity by images familiar to his own times.

*² “ Equi non formâ, non velocitate conspici: Sed nec variare gyros
“ in morem nostrum docentur.” Tacitus, *De mor. Germ.* c. vi.

† “ Nam flecti facilis lascivaque colla secutus

“ Paret in obsequium lentae moderamine virgae:

“ Verbera sunt praecepta fugae; sunt verbera fraeni.”

Nemesianus, *Cyneg.* 268.

*³ Pliny, speaking of the horses of Gallicia and Asturia, says: “ Non
“ vulgaris in cursu gradus, sed mollis alterno crurum explicatu glomera-
“ tio: unde equis totum capere in cursus traditur arte.” *Lib. VIII.*
c. xlii.

VER. 118—122.

“ * Aequus uterque labor: aequè juvenemque magistri

“ Exquirunt, calidumque animis, et cursibus acrem:

“ Quamvis saepe fugâ versos ille egerit hostes,

“ Et patriam Epirum referat, fortesque Mycenae;

“ Neptunique ipsâ deducat origine gentem.”

* I take it that the Poet has in these verses a view to the language of the horse-courser; and means that whoever would purchase a fine horse must be sure that he is “ juvenis, calidus animis, et cursibus acer:” and not depend entirely upon the boasts of the horse-courser,

“ Quamvis saepe fugâ,” etc.——

† See note on the place in Mr. Warton’s *Virgil*, where it is proposed to place these three lines, “ Quamvis,” etc. immediately after

—— “ Nec turpi ignosce senectae.” *Ver. 96.*

Mr. Heath proposes the same conjecture, upon the same reasons.

VER. 124—129.

——— “ Omnes

“ Impendunt curas denso distendere * pingui,
 “ Quem legere ducem, et pecori dixere maritum :
 “ Pubentesque secant herbas, fluviosque ministrant,
 “ Farraque ; ne blando nequeat superesse labori,
 “ Invalidique patrum referant jejunia nati :
 “ Ipsa autem macie tenuant armenta volentes.”

* “ Ante admissuram diebus triginta arietibus ac tauris plus cibi datur,
 “ ut vires habeant: feminis bubus demitur, quod macescentes melius
 “ concipere dicuntur.” Varr. lib. II. c. i. This he repeats, lib. II. c. v.

VER. 130—134.

“ Atqui *¹ ubi concubitus primos jam nota voluptas
 “ Solicitat; frondesque negant, et fontibus arcent :
 “ Saepe etiam cursu quatiunt, et sole fatigant ;
 “ Cum *² graviter tunsis gemit area frugibus, et cum
 “ Surgentem ad Zephyrum paleae jactantur inanes.”

*¹ “ Ubi voluptas sollicitat primos concubitus” certainly means, when the cow or mare discovers an inclination to go to horse or bull. This desire of enjoyment the Poet represents so strong in them, that he intimates as if by instinct they already know the pleasure before enjoyment: which I take to be the meaning of “ jam nota voluptas,” and put by way of antithesis to “ primos concubitus.”

*² So Varro: “ Initium admissionis facere oportet ab aequinoctio verno
 “ ad solstitium, ut partus idoneo tempore fiat. Duodecimo enim mense,
 “ die decimo, aiunt nasci.” Lib. II. c. vii. Virgil hints that the most proper time is just after harvest.

VER. 135, 136.

“ Hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtusior usus
 “ Sit genitali * arvo, et fulcos oblimet inertes.”

* As Virgil, Georg. II. 324. speaking of the earth, enlivens his discourse by metaphors taken from copulation; so here he modestly veils his thoughts by expressions proper to tillage.

VER.

VER. 146—151.

“ Est lucos Silari circa, ilicibusque virentem
 “ Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen *¹ Afilo
 “ Romanum est; *² Oestron Graii vertere vocantes:
 “ Asper, acerba sonans: quo tota exterrita sylvis
 “ Diffugiunt armenta; furit mugitibus aether
 “ Concussus, fylvaeque, et *³ ficci ripa Tanagri.”

*¹ Afilus, otherwise called Tabanus; vid. Plin. lib. II. c. xxviii. now called in Italy Tavano.

“ Quod vaccas aestate tabani concitare solent, et bestiolae quaedam
 “ minutae sub caudâ, ne concitentur, aliqui solent includere septis.” Var.
 lib. II. c. v.

*² “ Amplioris magnitudinis foetus quam sint caeterarum apum, non-
 “ nulli putant esse Reges; verum quidam Graecorum auctores *Ὀῖσπος* ap-
 “ pellant, ab eo quod exagitant, neque patiantur examina conquiescere.”
 Col. lib. IX. c. xiv.

*³ Cluverius says, “ Uterque fluvius Tanager et Calor perennes habent
 “ fontes, et nullo anni tempore exsiccantur:” if so, the interpretation
 given by Ruacus is wrong. Q. whether Sicci may not relate to the dry
 country round about this river, rather than to the bed of it? Eutropius
 Paulinus, in natali Sancti Felicis, says:

————— “ Qui ficca Tanagri,
 “ Quique colunt rigui felicia culta Galefi:”

Where he makes an opposition between the “ ficca Tanagri” and the
 “ felicia culta Galefi.”

VER. 166—169.

“ Ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos
 “ Cervici subnecte: dehinc, ubi libera colla
 “ Servitio affuerint; ipsis è torquibus aptos
 “ Junge *¹ pares, et coge *² gradum conferre juvencos.”

*¹ Varro, speaking of this subject, says: “ Sint pares, ne in opere
 “ firmior imbecillioem conficiat.” Lib. I. c. xx. And, in the same chapter,
 he adds: “ Novellos si quis emerit juvencos, si eorum colla in furcas de-
 “ stitutas incluserit, ac dederit cibum; diebus paucis erunt mansueti, et

“ ad domandum proni.” This Virgil likewise directs, in the passage above :

————— “ Laxos tenui de vimine circlos
“ Cervici subnecte.” —————

* “ In bubulo genere ætatis gradus dicuntur quatuor ; in primâ Vitulus, in secundâ Juvencus, in tertiâ et quartâ Taurus et Vacca.” Var. lib. II. c. v.

VER. 173, 174.

“ Post valido nitens sub pondere faginus axis
“ * Instrepat, et junctos temo trahat * aereus orbes.”

* Varro gives instructions that, “ Si possis, per vicum aut oppidum creber strepitus ac varietas rerum consuetudine celerrima ad utilitatem adducit.” Lib. I. c. xx. — This is better expressed by Virgil in one word, *Instrepat* ; for every farmer is not situated near a town, and therefore Varro adds, “ si possis.” Virgil’s rule is more general. Another poet would have contented himself to have employed a phrase which should denote a very great weight, but Virgil uses *Instrepat* : this word is used more properly, for it not only expresses the greatness of the load, which occasions the creaking of a waggon, but gives one a lively idea of such a carriage ; and intimates that the beasts must be accustomed to the noise, that they may not be frightened.

* It is very common at this time, in several parts of Italy, to cover the end of the waggon-pole with plates of brass.

VER. 190—192.

“ At, tribus exactis, ubi * quarta accesserit æstas ;
“ Carpere mox * gyrum incipiat, gradibusque sonare
“ Compositis : sinuetque alterna volumina crurum.”

* “ Sunt qui dicunt, post annum et sex menses equulum domari posse ; sed melius post trimum, à quo tempore farrago dari solet.” Var. lib. II. c. vii. — He proceeds afterwards to prescribe the method of giving it. — And, lib. I. c. xxxi. he says : “ Farragine equi et jumenta caetera verno tempore purgantur et faginantur.”

* ————— “ Certum flectit in orbem
“ Quadrupedis cursus.” ————— Ovid, Met. lib. VI. ver. 225.

VER.

VER. 196—201.

- “ Qualis *² hyperboreis *² Aquilo cum densus ab oris
 “ Incubuit, Scythiaque hiemes atque arida differt
 “ Nubila: tum fegetes altae campique natantes
 “ Lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaeque sonorem
 “ Dant sylvae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus:
 “ Ille volat, simul arva fugâ, simul aequora verrens.”

*¹ This word, which is of Greek extraction, is used as the superlative of Boreas: so that “Hyperboreis ab oris” signifies, from the most northern parts of the world. This is plain from Strabo, lib. I. where, after having ridiculed what Herodotus says of this word, he tells us expressly: “Hyperborei ii dicuntur, qui maximè sunt omnium Septentrionales. Porro “Septentrionalium terminus est Polus.” Ὑπερβορέες τῆς Βορειολάτης λέεσθαι. Ὅρος δὲ τῶν βορείων ὁ πόλος.

*² “Densus Aquilo,” a brisk and regular northern gale. Aquilo is the principal wind which disperses the clouds and clears the air: and therefore when the gods had determined to drown the world, Ovid ingeniously supposes that Jupiter ordered the dry winds, particularly this, to be imprisoned:

- “ Protinus Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris,
 “ Et quaecunque fugant inductas flamina nubes;
 “ Emittitque Notum.”——— Ovid. Met. lib. I. 262.

This wind was reckoned the most regular; and therefore, when Horace would describe the middle state between good and bad fortune, and endeavouring by an allegory to represent, that he neither was puffed up by a continual course of prosperity, nor oppressed by adversity; he expresses the former state by the metaphor of a regular north-wind; and the latter by its opposite, the south:

- “ Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo,
 “ Non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus Austris.”

Lib. II. Epist. ii. ver. 201.

The commentators are very much puzzled in explaining this passage; for taking Densus to signify Vehemens, and Lenibus, Modicis, they find it difficult to reconcile one with the other. Father Catrou has attempted a new discovery, and supposes the former part of this comparison to be a description of a storm, and the latter of a gentle wind after the storm:

but I fear this interpretation will neither bear application; for Virgil is not speaking of the gentle motion of a horse, but his swiftness; nor will it suit with the common rules of construction; for “*ille volat*” must certainly be referred to “*densus Aquilo*,” and consequently all the verses between must relate to the same; unless the Father would make the storm cease in order to explain the 3d, 4th, and 5th verses, and then raise it again to explain the 6th. — The whole difficulty will be removed by rendering “*lenibus flabris*,” a smooth steady gale, or wind; and “*densus Aquilo*,” as before. — Observe the scope of Virgil’s meaning. He is describing the smooth easy gallop of a horse with a great deal of speed. This he compares, not to a tempest, which would have been very improper, but to a north-wind in the summer-time blowing regularly, and uniform. “*Summae sylvae sonantes*,” and “*longi fluctus urgentes ad littora*,” are the effect of such a wind, and “*arva et acquora verrens*” properly applied to it. — The sense I have here given to *Lenis* is not new or forced, and in this sense it is not inconsistent with swiftness. Virgil applies this epithet to the Tyber, which he always represents as a swift river:

“*Leni fluit agmine Tybris.*” Aen. II. 782.

And certainly it cannot be denied but that the swiftest motions may be very smooth. — Compare this description with Georg. I. 318, etc. where Virgil has described a storm, and you will soon be convinced that he thought of nothing less than a storm or hurricane here.

VER. 202—204.

“*Hic, vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi*
 “*Sudabit spatia, et spumas ager ore cruentas;*
 “*Belgica vel *¹ molli melius ferret *² effeda collo.*”

*¹ “Tender neck, unaccustomed to the yoke, not galled.” So Catullus, in his Epithalamium Thetidos et Pelei, to express the peasants leaving their work, and the cattle not going to plow, says:

“*Rura colit nemo, mollescunt colla juvenis.*”

*² This sort of chariot, which was first used by the Belgae and Britons, as we are informed by Caesar and others, was probably in Virgil’s time used likewise in Italy; and is therefore here mentioned by him. I am of opinion, that Lucan hints at their being introduced in Italy, when he says:

“*Et docilis rector monstrati Belga covini.*” Lib. I. 426.

Covinus

Covinus and Effedum signifies the same thing, viz. a very light chaife, for expedition. — Silius Italicus, fpeaking of the Aftures, fays :

—— “ His parvus fonipes, nec Marti notus ; at idem
 “ Aut inconcuſſo glomerat veſtigia dorſo,
 “ Aut molli pacata celer trahit effeda collo.” Lib. III.

VER. 205—208.

“ Tum demum craſſâ magnum * farragine corpus
 “ Creſcere jam domitis finito : namque ante domandum
 “ Ingentes tollent animos ; preſiſque negabunt
 “ Verbera lenta pati, et duris parere lupatis.”

* “ Farrago fit optima, cum cantherini ordeï decem modiis jugerum
 “ obſeritur circa æquinoctium autumnale,—frigoribus, cum alia pabula
 “ defecerunt, ea bubus caeterisque pecudibus optimè deſecta præbetur ;
 “ et ſi depaſcere faepius voles, uſque in menſem Maium ſufficit.” Col.
 lib. II. c. xi.—“ Cantherinum ordeum idem dicitur Hexaſtichum.” C. ix.

VER. 220—236.

“ * Illi alternantes multâ vi praelia miſcent
 “ Vulneribus crebris : lavit ater corpora ſanguis,
 “ Verſaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vaſto
 “ Cum gemitu : reboant ſylvaeque et magnus Olympus.
 “ Nec mos bellantes unâ ſtabulare : ſed alter
 “ Viſtus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris :
 “ Multa gemens ignominiam, plagasque ſuperbi
 “ Victoris, tum quos amiſit inultus amores :
 “ Et ſtabula aſpectans regnis exceſſit avitis.
 “ Ergo omni curâ vires exercet, et inter
 “ Dura jacet pernox inſtrato ſaxa cubili :
 “ Frondibus hiriſutis et carice paſtus acutâ :
 “ Et tentat ſeſe, atque irasſci in *² cornua diſcit
 “ Arboris obnixus trunco : ventosque laceſſit
 “ Ictibus, et ſparſâ ad pugnam proludit arenâ.
 “ Poſt, ubi collectum robur viresque receptae,
 “ Signa movet, praecepsque oblitum fertur in hoſtem.”

*¹ The ſtrength, gravity, and ſolemnity of this deſcription is very remarkable — How few daſtyls !

It seems to have been a particular favourite of the old poets. — Lucretius has imitated it in his *Pharsalia*, lib. II. 601. Statius, in his *Thebais*, lib. II. 321. and Silius Italicus, at the beginning of his XVIth book.

*² Not his own horns, but the enemy's.

VER. 258—263.

“ Quid juvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem
 “ Durus amor? nempe abruptis turbata procellis
 “ Nocte natat caecâ ferus freta: quem super *¹ ingens
 “ Porta tonat caeli et scopulis illisa reclamant
 “ Aequora: nec miseri possunt revocare parentes,
 “ Nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo.”

* This certainly means the palace of Jove. See La Cerda, and Dr. Martyn.

VER. 264—268.

“ Quid lynces Bacchi variae, et genus acre luporum,
 “ Atque canum? quid, quae *¹ imbelles dant praelia cervi?
 “ Scilicet ante omnes *² furor est insignis equarum:
 “ Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, quo tempore Glauci
 “ *³ Potniades *⁴ malis membra absumpsere quadrigae.”

*¹ “ Naturally not of a warlike disposition.” — Sallust uses this word in the same sense in his character of Atherbal, *Bell. Jugurth.* “ Quietus, imbellis, placidus ingenio.”

*² Horace says to an old bawd:

——— “ Tibi flagrans amor et libido,
 “ Quae solet matres furiare equorum,
 “ Saeviet circa jecur.” Lib. I. Od. xxv.

*³ “ Est etiam ante Thebas fons Dirce et Potniae; ad quas ferunt
 “ Glaucum Potnientem a Potniadibus equabus fuisse discerptum prope
 “ ipsam urbem.” Strabo, lib. IX.

*⁴ This expression, “ malis absumere,” certainly carried an idea in the Roman language of something more ravenous than the literal construction imports in ours: for I observe that the Harpy Celaeno, when she prophesies to Aeneas and his companions that they should be reduced to such extreme hunger, as to be forced to devour their own tables, makes use of the same expression:

“ Vos

— “ Vos dira fames, nostraeque injuria caedis
 “ Ambefas fubigat malis abfumere menfas.” Aen. III. 257.

VER. 269—279.

“ Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transque fonantem
 “ *¹ Afcanium : fuperant montes, et flumina tranant :
 “ Continuóque avidis ubi fubdita flamma medullis,
 “ Vere magis (quia vere calor redit offibus) illae
 “ *² Ore omnes verfae in Zephyrum, ftant rupibus altis,
 “ Exceptantque leves auras : et † *³ faepe fine ullis
 “ Conjugiis, vento gravidæ (mirabile dictu)
 “ Saxa per et scopulos et depreffas convalles.
 “ Diffugiunt : non, Eure, tuos, neque Solis ad ortus,
 “ In *⁴ Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster
 “ Nafcitur, et pluvio contriftat *⁵ frigore caelum.”

*¹ Strabo places Myfia and Phrygia on the banks of this river, and the Palus Afcania, lib. XII. — That it is a fruitful country appears from Homer : ἡ Αἰσκανίης ἐπιβόλῃανος. Il. R. 793.

*² I take the meaning of this, and what follows afterwards, “ non, “ Eure, tuos,” etc. to be, “ that mares are impregnated by the west- “ wind ; and after they are impregnated, they then run, not to the east, “ but to the north or fouth.”

Dr. Martyn obferves, that commentators difpute much about this expreffion, “ Nigerrimus Auster pluvio contriftat frigore caelum ;” the fouth, as they fay, being commonly a warm wind. But the Doctor well obferves from Columella, that the time when mares are feized with this fury is about the vernal equinox. I think this is a very lively defcription in few words of the black melancholic weather, attended with cold and rains, which we ufually have, even though the wind is fouth, about the equinox, the month of March.

† This is not any poetical fancy of Virgil’s. It was commonly believed in his time ; and Columella makes no manner of doubt of the truth of it. — “ Nec dubium, quin aliquot regionibus tanto flagrent ardore co- “ eundi feminae, ut etiam fi marem non habeant, affidua et nimia cupi- “ ditate figurantes fibi ipfae venerem (cohortalium more avium) vento “ concipiant. — Cum fit notiffimum etiam in facro monte Hispaniae, “ qui-

“ qui procurrit in occidentem juxta Oceanum, frequenter equas sine coïtu
 “ ventrem pertulisse, foetumque educasse, qui tamen inutilis est, quod
 “ triennio, prius quam adolescat, morte absumitur.” Lib. VI. c. xxvii.

* “ Constat in Lusitaniâ circa Ulyssiponem oppidum et Tagum am-
 “ nem equas Favonio flante obversas animalem concipere spiritum, idque
 “ partum fieri, et gigni perniciosissimum ita, sed triennium vitae non exce-
 “ dere.” Plin. l. VIII. c. 42. Virgil is more modest. — “ In foeturâ
 “ res incredibilis est in Hispaniâ, sed est vera; quod in Lusitaniâ ad Ocea-
 “ num in eâ regione ubi est oppidum Olyssippo, monte Tagro, quaedam
 “ e vento concipiant certo tempore equae; ut hic gallinae quoque solent,
 “ quarum ova *ὑπερμυια* appellant. Sed ex his equis, qui nati pulli, non
 “ plus triennium vivunt.” Var. De re rust. lib. II. c. i.

*+ “ In Boream, Caurumve, aut,” etc. that is, as soon as they have
 conceived, they run towards the North or the South; and it is expressly
 affirmed by Pliny that they do so after copulation. “ Equae à coïtu solae
 “ animalium currunt ex adverso Aquilonum Austrorumve prout marem
 “ aut feminam concipere.” Lib. X. c. lxiii.

* Frigus does not always signify extreme cold or frost; but moderate,
 as the coolness of the morning or evening in Summer; as plainly ap-
 pears from verse 321 to 337, where Virgil speaks of “ frigidus Vesper,”
 and, “ Luciferi primo cum fidere,” when he is speaking of the Sum-
 mer.

VER. 284, 285.

“ Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus,
 “ Singula dum capti circumvectamur * amore.”

* The Poet corrects himself very prettily for having dwelt so long
 on this subject, and lays the fault on love, the effects of which he feels,
 and is himself ensnared whilst he is describing the passion.

VER. 295—304.

“ Incipiens, stabulis edico in * mollibus herbam
 “ Carpere oves, dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas :
 “ Et multâ duram stipulâ filicumque manipulis
 “ Sternere subter humum : glacies ne frigida laedat
 “ Molle pecus, scabiemque ferat ; turpesque podagras.
 “ Post, hinc digressus, jubeo frondentia capris

“ Arbusta

“ Arbuta sufficere, et fluvios praeberere recentes ;
 “ Et stabula à ventis hiberno opponere foli
 “ Ad medium conversa diem : cum frigidus olim
 “ Jam cadit, extremoque irrorat *² Aquarius anno.

* “ Cum aliquot dies steterunt, subjicere oportet virgulta alia, quo
 “ molliùs requiescant, purioresque sint ; libentius enim ita pascuntur.”
 Varr. lib. II. c. ii. — In the same place he further directs ; “ Stabula idoneo
 “ loco ut sint, ne ventosa.” — And says in the next chapter, that the same
 rule will serve for goats.

*² We see this sign always represented as pouring out of an urn.

VER. 305—507.

“ Hae quoque non curâ nobis levioze tuendae,
 “ Nec minor usus erit : quamvis * Milesia magno
 “ Vellere mutantur, Tyrios incocta rubores.”

* “ Lana laudatissima Apula ; et quae in Italiâ Graeci pecoris appel-
 “ latur, alibi Italica ; tertium locum Milesiae oves obtinent.” Plin. l.
 VIII. c. xlviii.

VER. 311—313.

“ Nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta
 “ Cinyphii tondent * hirci, fetasque comantes ;
 “ Usû in castrorum et miseris velamina nautis.”

* This is certainly used in the nominative plural. Making the goats
 give up their beards themselves for the service of man, is very poetical.
 So,

“ Dant arbuta sylvae.” Georg. II. ver. 520.

and Virgil very frequently uses the same manner of expression. Putting
 Hirci in the genitive case, or introducing a different reading (Hircis) is
 losing the whole beauty and energy of the thought. — Varro speaks
 thus on this very subject — “ Ut fructum ovis è lanâ ad vestimentum, sic
 “ capra pilos ministrat ad usum nauticum, et ad bellica tormenta, et fa-
 “ brilia vasa.” — If a grave prose writer may say, “ Capra ministrat pilos
 “ ad usum nauticum,” etc. surely a Poet may be allowed to say, “ Hir-
 “ cus tondet barbam in usum castrorum,” etc.

Ovid celebrates the Cinyphian as a corn country.

“Cinyphiae fegetis citius numerabis aristas.”

De Ponto. lib. II. Ep. vii.

VER. 316, 317.

“Atque ipsae memores redeunt in tecta; * suosque

“Ducunt; et gravido superant vix ubere limen.”

* Dr. Martyn observes that most of the commentators following Servius, interpret *Suos*, their young ones; but that La Cerda thinks it means, their pastors. The former opinion has nothing singular in it, for if the dams go home, it must be imagined that the young ones do not stay behind. — I take the latter to be Virgil’s meaning, that instead of being driven home to be milked, they even of themselves shew their conductors the way; which is likewise true, and enlivens the former part of the sentence.

VER. 322—334.

—— “Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas,

“In saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittes;

“Luciferi * primo cum fidere frigida rura

“Carpamus: dum mane novum, dum gramina canent,

“Et ros in tenerâ pecori gratissimus herbâ est.

“Inde, ubi quarta *² sitim caeli collegerit hora,

“Et cantu querulae rumpent arbuta cicadae;

“Ad puteos, aut alta greges ad stagna jubeto

“Currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam:

“Aestibus et mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem:

“Sicubi magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus

“Ingentes tendat ramos, aut sicubi *³ nigrum

“Illicibus crebris sacrâ nemus accubet umbrâ.”

* “Aestate primâ luce exeunt pastum, propterea quod tunc herba rosida meridianam, quae est aridior, jucunditate praestat: sole exortopotum propellunt, ut redintegrantes rursus ad pastum alacriores faciant. Circiter meridianos aestus, dum defervescent, sub umbriferas rupes et arbores patulas subjiciunt, quoad refrigerato aëre vespertino rursus pascant ad solis occasum. — Ab occasu parvo intervallo interposito ad bibendum appellunt, et rursus pascunt quoad contenebravit: iterum
“enim

“enim tum jucunditas in herbâ redintegravit.” Varro. lib. II. c. ii. — Columella says, “a kal. Juniis, si jam deficit viridis herba, usque in ultimum Autumnum frondem caesam pecori praebebimus,” lib. XI. c. ii.

*² “Collegerit sitim caeli;” has brought a general drought, so that the heaven itself has drunk up the dew. — Or by “sitim caeli,” he means the dew, which the heaven has sucked up. When the fourth hour has drawn up the dew, which he calls the thirst of heaven, or what the heaven thirsts after.

*³ Virgil uses the same epithet again, Aen. IX. 381.

“Sylva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigrâ

“Horrida.” —

VER. 335—338.

“Tum tenues dare rursus aquas, et pascere rursus

“Solis ad occasum: cum frigidus aëra Vesper

“Temperat, et saltus reficit jam roscida Luna;

“Litoraque halcyonem resonant, et * acanthida dum.

* “Acanthis, avis minima, duodenos gignit.” Plin. lib. X. c. lxiii.

“Acanthis in spinis vivit.” Idem, l. X. c. lxxiv.

VER. 339, 345.

“Quid tibi pastores *¹ Libyae, quid pascua versu

“Prosequar, et raris habitata *² mapalia tectis?

“Saepe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine mensem.

“Pascitur, itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis

“Hospitiis: tantum campi jacet: omnia secum

“Armentarius Afer agit; tectumque, laremque,

“Armaque, Amyclaeumque canem, Cressamque pharetram.”

*¹ That there were Nomades in Arabia and several other parts of the world formerly, as well as there are at present is manifest from history; but as they were so remarkable in Africa, that a large district of the country was from them called Numidia, therefore Virgil very properly lays the scene of this digression there. — Strabo, speaking of Numidia, says, “Singulare quiddam hominibus iis accidit. Nam cum regionem uberem colerent nisi quod feris abundabat, his omisissis, et agri tuto colendi studio, in sese manus converterunt, agro feris dimisso. Itaque contigit eis, ut vagi et patriae expertes vitam agerent; haud aliter quam qui ob

‘inopiam et locorum sterilitatem, et aëris inclementiam ad ejusmodi vitæ genus adiguntur. Hinc Massæfylîi Nomadum seu Numidarum nomen sunt adepti.’ N. B. The Greek name is Νομάδες: and this was the name by which all the people who lived in so unsettled a manner were distinguished. So Strabo, just before the abovementioned passage, speaking of the Carthaginians, says: “Africam omnem sibi subjecerunt, quæ non haberetur ab hominibus incertas ad sedes vagantibus. Τὴν Αἰθίαν ἀλλοτρίοις πάντας, ἔστι μὴ Νομαδῶς οἶον τὴν ὀικεῖν.”

* Sallust, in his Jugurthine war, speaking of the old inhabitants of Africa, gives this account of their Mapalia. — “Postquam in Hispaniâ Hercules, sicut Afri putant, interiit; exercitus ejus compositus ex gentibus variis, amissio duce, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, etc. navibus in Africam transvecti. Hique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere.” — And then he adds; “Caeterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus testâ, quasi navium carinae sunt.” —

Dausqueius in his notes on Silius Italicus, understands by “raris testis,” thin slight covering, “*Vento scilicet et aurâ perflabilibus.*” The Mapalia being made only of reed and cane, as appears by that passage of Silius, which he is explaining:

“Castra levi calamo cannaque intorta palustri,
“Qualia Maurus amat dispersa mapalia pastor.” Lib. XVII.

But as Silius, in the same place, calls Mapalia, *dispersa*, there is as good reason to argue from by *raris testis*, is meant, scattered up and down the country.

“Numidæ Nomades appellantur a permutandis pabulis, mapalia sua, hoc est, domus plaustris circumferentes.” Plin. lib. V. c. iii.

VER. 346—348.

“Non fecus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis.
“* Injusto sub face viam cum carpit, et hosti
“Ante expectatum positus stat in agmine castris.”

* It may well be supposed, that the ordinary baggage foldiers were obliged to carry with them, was esteemed “justus fascis,” a reasonable burden, (of this see Vegetius); whatever exceeded this might properly be called “injustus fascis.” Such a load they may be supposed to carry with them upon sudden marches, when they went to encamp themselves

felves unexpectedly: upon which occasion every soldier might probably be obliged to carry pallifades, a spade, or the like; and whatever was necessary for such a hasty encampment. According to this interpretation, there is no difficulty in the construction of the words, and the application of the comparison is just. — L. Florus, speaking of the strict discipline used by Scipio in his camp, when he besieged Numantia, says: “Tunc acrius in castris quàm in campo, nostro cum milite, quàm cum Numantino, praeliandum fuit. Quippe assiduis et *injustis* et servilibus maximè operibus attriti,” etc. Lib. II. c. xviii. What this strict discipline was, which Florus terms *injusta opera*, we may learn from Livy’s account of the same war. Epitome, lib. lvii. — (Quaer. If Virgil, by his *injusto sub fasce*, does not refer to some remarkable campaign, about the time he was writing his Georgics, in which the same sort of discipline was required? and uses this epithet on purpose to shew the allusion?)

VER. 349—351.

“At non, qua Scythiae gentes, *¹ Moeoticaque unda,
“Turbidus, et torquens flaventes *² Ister arenas:
“Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem.”

*¹ Ovid, who was banished to the mouth of the Danube, and lived there some years, writes an essay in his third book *De Tristibus*, intitled, “Quibuscum gentibus vivat;” and describes the country in which he then was in such a manner, that he seems almost to have copied Virgil; which shews how exact Virgil was in describing a country at that time so little known; and how much care he took to be well informed of what he wrote.

— “Jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto
“Terra gelu latè, septemque assurgit in ulnas.
“Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora canri.” Ver. 356.
“At cùm tristis hiems squalientia protulit ora,
“Terraque marmoreo est candida facta gelu:
“Dum patet et Boreas, et nix jactata sub arcto;
“Tum patet has gentes axe tremente premi.
“Nix jacet; et jactam nec sol pluviaeque resolvunt:
“Indurat Boreas, perpetuamque facit.
“Ergo, ubi delcuit nondum prior, altera venit:
“Et solet in multis bima manere locis.”

Ovid. *De Trist.* lib. III. El. x.

The

*² The Danubius ; known formerly by both names, as Ovid testifies, when he calls it Binominis Istris, lib. I. De Ponto, Epist. ix. — And mentions Istr by the name Danubius, lib. IV. De Pont. Ep. ix.

VER. 352—259.

“ Illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta : *¹ neque nullae
 “ Aut herbae campo apparent, aut arbore frondes ;
 “ Sed jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto
 “ Terra gelu late, septemque affurgit in ulnas.
 “ Semper *² hiems, semper *³ spirantes frigora cauri.
 “ Tum sol pallentes haud unquam discutit umbras :
 “ Nec cum inuestus equis altum petit aethera ; nec cum
 “ Praecipitem oceanî rubro lavit aequore currum.”

*¹ Horace gives the like description :

“ Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
 “ Arbor aëstivâ recreatur aurâ :
 “ Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
 “ Jupiter urget.” Lib. I. Od. xxii.

*³ Varro, speaking of the advantageous situation of Italy, says ; “ Haec
 “ temperatior pars est Europae, quam interior ; nam intus pene sempi-
 “ ternae hiemes. Neque mirum, quod sunt regiones inter circuitum sep-
 “ tentrionalem et inter cardinem caeli, ubi sol etiam sex mensibus continuus
 “ non videtur : which Virgil describes as follows,

“ Tum sol pallentes,” etc. Lib. I. c. ii.

Virgil cannot here mean, that the winter in that country lasts the whole year ; at least with the severity he describes : that would be inconsistent with other passages of his account : but when the winter once begins, it continues uninterrupted, as it is known to do in the most northern countries : no zephyrs during the winter months ; no thaws, as in Italy. So Ovid describing the same country as Virgil does, calls the Snow there Perpetuam ; and yet speaking of that country at the time of the Vernal Equinox, he says :

“ At mihi sentitur nix verno sole soluta,
 “ Quaeque lacu duro vix fodiantur aquae.
 “ Nec mare concrevit glacie : nec, ut ante, per Istrum
 “ Stridula Sauromates plaustra bubulcus agit.”

Trist. lib. III. El. xii.

Yet

Yet in another place he says of this country ;

——— “ Nunquam sine frigore caelum,
“ Glebaque canenti semper adusta gelu.” Lib. V. c. 3.

And, again, speaking of the same, he says ;

“ Tu neque ver fentis cinctum florente coronâ,
“ Tu neque messorum corpora nuda vides.
“ Nec tibi pampineas autumnus porrigit uvas :
“ Cuncta sed immodicum tempora frigus habent. —
“ Rara nec hic felix in apertis eminet arvis
“ Arbor ; et in terrâ est altera forma maris.”
De Ponto, lib. III. Epist. i.

——— “ Hiemi continuatur hiems.” Lib. I. Ep. ii.

This is imitated by Silius in Hannibal's march.

“ Nullum ver usquam, nullique aestatis honores.
“ Sola jugis habitat diris, fedesque tuetur
“ Perpetuas deformis hiems.” ——— Lib. III.

*³ The sound of these words well suits a northern throat. A man seems hoarse when he pronounces them.

VER. 360—366.

“ *¹ Concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine *² crustae ;
“ Undaque jam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,
“ Puppibus illa prius patulis, nunc hospita plaustris :
“ Aeraque diffiliunt vulgo, vestesque rigescunt
“ Indutæ, *³ caeduntque securibus humida vina ;
“ Et totae solidam in glaciem vertere lacunae ;
“ Stiriaque impexis induruit horrida *⁴ barbis.
“ *¹ Quid loquar ut cuncti concrecant frigore rivi, etc.
“ Quaque rates ierant pedibus nunc itur, et undas
“ Frigore concretas ungula pulsat equi :
“ Perque novos pontes, subterlabentibus undis,
“ Ducunt Sarmatici barbara plaustra boves.

See more to this purpose, Ovid, De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii. ad Vestalem.

This Ovid supposes to be so strange to the Romans that he adds ;

“ Vix

" Vix equidem credar, sed cum sint præmia falsi

" Nulla, ratam debet testis habere fidem:

" Vidimus ingentem glacie consistere pontum,

" Lubraque immotus testa premebat aquas." Ovid.

*² What Virgil calls *Cruſta*, Ovid expreſſes by *Teſta*.

*³ " Nudaque conſiſtunt formam ſervantia teſtae

" Vina; nec hauſta meri, ſed data fruſta bibunt." Ovid.

Again, he ſays;

" Ipſe vides gelido ſtantia vina gelu."

De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii.

*⁴ " Saepe ſonant moti glacie pendente capilli,

" Et nitet inducto candida barba gelu."

De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii.

That they wore long beards. Lib. V. El. vii. Triſt.

" Non coma, non ullâ barba reſecta manu."

VER. 371, 372.

" Hos non immiſſis capibus, non caſſibus ullis,

" Puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine * pennae."

* So Lucan;

—— " Sic dum pavidos formidine cervos

" Claudat odoratae metuentes aëra pennae." Pharf. IV. 437.

VER. 379, 380.

—— " Noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula laeti

" * Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea forbis."

* Motraye in his travels mentions a liquor called *Boza*, uſed in Crim Tartary; which he deſcribes as a thick white liquor, made of a certain quantity of millet flower and water, which ferments together, and will fuddle any one who drinks too much of it. Book II. c. ii. § 3.

VER. 381—383.

" Talis Hyperboreo ſeptem ſubjecta trioni

" Gens effraena virum *¹ Riphæo tunditur Euro;

" Et pecudum fulvis velantur corpora *² fetis.

*¹ The

*¹ The ancients had a very confused and uncertain notion of the Rhiphaean mountains; as appears from Athenaeus, Stephanus, and others; but the most common opinion was, that they were the most distant ridge of mountains towards the north, or rather north east, from Italy; the country of the Getae, and Sarmatae. — It was likewise believed that those mountains were joined to Thrace, etc. and likewise to the Alps by a continued chain. This Virgil expressly declares a few lines before, in this same book;

“Quaque redivit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem:”

And, again, in the fourth book, he hints the same in the story of Orpheus, when he makes him ramble wildly over mountains and deserts. He names, “Hyperboreas glacies, Tanaim nivalem, Rhiphaeas pruinas, “et Oeagrium Hebrum.”

*² “Pellibus hirsutis arcent mala frigora bracchis.” Ovid.

Again:

“Pellibus et laxis arcent mala frigora bracchis.”

Trist. lib V. El. vii.

Of the custom among the barbarous nations of covering themselves with skins, see Tacitus De mor. Germ. — Caesar, lib. VI. — Ammian, lib. XXXI. c. ii. — Justin, lib. II. — Senec. Epist. XC. — Arrian, lib. VIII. — and Strabo, lib. XVII. — Several nations in America have still no other habit: no more have the Laplanders.

VER. 386—389

——— “Greges villis lege mollibus albos.

“Illum autem, quamvis aries sit candidus ipse,

“* Nigra subest udo tantum cui lingua palato,

“Rejice, ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis

“Nascentum.” ———

Varro, speaking De Arietibus, says; “Animadvertendum quoque lin-
“guam nigrâ aut variâ sit, quod fere qui ea habent, nigros aut varios
“procreant agnos.” Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 394, 395.

——— “Cui lactis amor, cytisum, * lotosque frequentes

“Ipse manu, falsasque ferat praesepibus herbas.”

Z

* The

* The Lotus here meant is undoubtedly the Italian, which Pliny says was very common amongst them, but different from the African: "Et ipsam Italiae familiarem, sed terrâ mutatam." Lib. XIII. c. xvii.

VER. 404—408.

"Nec tibi cura canum fuerit postrema: sed unâ
 "Veloces *¹ Sparrae catulos, acremque Molossum
 "Pasce fero pingui: nunquam custodibus illis
 "Nocturnum stabulis furem, incurfusque luporum,
 "Aut impacatos à tergo horrebis *² Iberos."

*¹ "Boni feminii canes à regionibus appellantur Lacones, Epirotici, Sallentini." Varro, lib. II. c. ix. — In the same chapter giving directions to feed dogs with bread and milk, he gives this reason for it; "Quod eo consuevi cibo uti, à pecore non citò desciscunt."

*² "Cantabros, qui maximè hodiè latrocinia exercent, iisque vicinos Caesar Augustus subegit: et qui ante Romanorum socios populabantur, nunc pro Romanis arma ferunt, ut Cossiaci et qui ad fontes Iberi amnis accolunt," etc. Strabo, lib. III. — As the Iberi were famous for robberies, Virgil well employs their names for common thieves.

By Impacatos Virgil restrains his meaning so, as to extend it only to such wild Iberi as were not yet civilized by Augustus. Horacè mentions the Cantaber on the coasts conquered by Augustus:

"Servit Hispaniae verus hostis orae
 "Cantaber, ferâ domitus catenâ." Lib. III. Od. viii.

"A tergo;" whilst the shepherd is leading his flock, according to the custom in Italy, the sheep stealers might easily come behind and pick up a sheep, were there not dogs to watch.

VER. 409, 413.

"Saepe etiam cursu timidos agitabis *¹ onagros;
 "Et canibus leporem, canibus venabere damas.
 "Saepe *² volutabris pulsos sylvestribus apros
 "Latratu turbabis agens: montesque per altos
 "Ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum."

*¹ Varro says; "Asinorum genera duo. Unum ferum, quos vocant Onagros; in Phrygiâ et Lycaoniâ sunt greges multi: alterum mansue-
 "tum,

“rum, ut sunt in Italiâ omnes. Ad seminationem onagrus idoneus, quod “è fero fit mansuetus facilè, et è mansueto ferus nunquam.” Lib. II. c. vi. — That the Romans used to eat the wild asf appears from Pliny. — “Pullos asinarum epulari Maecenas instituit, multum eo tempore prae-“latus onagris.” Lib. VIII. c. 43. And in the following chapter he says; “Pullis onagrorum, seu praestantibus sapore, Africa gloriatur.”

*² That is; “Loca ubi se volutant,” where they wallow. Varro uses the same word, speaking of boars: “Admissuras cum faciunt, prodigunt “in lutosos limites ac lustra, ut volutentur in luto; quae est illorum re-“quies, ut lavatio hominis.” Lib. II. c. iv.

VER. 414—415.

“Disce et odoratam stabulis accendere cedrum,
“*¹ Galbaneoque agitare graves nidore *² chelydros.”

*¹ Columellâ mentions Galbanum being an antidote against serpents. — “Cavendum ne (pulli) à serpentibus adfientur, quarum odor tam pestilens “est, ut interimat universos: id vitatur saepius incenso galbano, etc. “Quorum omnium fere nidoribus praedicta pestis submoveretur.” Lib. VIII. c. v.

*² A sort of serpent, which Nicander, ver. 411. who otherwise calls it Δρυΐναν, elegantly describes as exhaling a smoaking stench.

Κῆρα δέ τοι δρυΐναο πιφαύσκεο, τὸν δὲ χέλυδρον
Ἐξίτεροι καλέεσι. τὸ δ' ἀπὸ χροῦς ἐχθρὸν ἄηλαι
Οἷον ὅτε πλάδωνται περὶ σκύλα καὶ δέση ἵππων
Γναμπλόμενοι μυδῶσιν ὑπ' ἀρεήλοισι λάθαιργοι, etc.

Lucan, in his description of the serpents of Africa, speaking of the Chelydri, calls them, “tracti viâ fumante,” i. e. taken from the high way, which smoaks with their steam. Pharsal. IX. 217. — By this it appears, that the distinguishing character of the Chelydri was, that they exhaled a smoaking noisome stink, which Virgil certainly would not omit, and, therefore, as he has placed Nidore after Graves, so must it be joined with it in construction. — Ruæus and other interpreters join Galbaneo with Nidore: and it may be so too, if Galbaneo cannot be used substantively, but then Nidore must be repeated.

VER. 445—451.

“Dulcibus ideirco fluviis pecus omne *¹ magistrî
 “Perfundunt; udisque aries in gurgite villis
 “Mersatur, missusque secundo defluit amui:
 “Aut tonsum tristi contingunt corpus *² amurcâ;
 “Et spumas miscent argenti, vivaque sulfura,
 “Idaeasque pices, et pingues unguine ceras,
 “Scillamque helleborosque graves, nigrumque bitumen.”

*¹ This was the proper title given to the bailiff, or superintendant over the several shepherds or herdmen, who had the care of large flocks, or herds; his business was to govern the rest, to see they did their duty, and to provide every thing necessary both for the shepherds and their flocks; as appears plainly from Varro, who observes, that ten or twelve shepherds were necessary to take care of a thousand sheep; and that the head person, who presided over them, was called Magister. “Oportet
 “pastores esse omnes sub uno magistro pecoris; eum esse majorem natu
 “potius quam alios, et peritiorem quam reliquos; quod iis, qui aetate et
 “scientiâ praestant, animum aequiore reliqui parent. — Magistrum pro-
 “videre oportet quae pecori et pastoribus opus sunt, maximè ad victum
 “hominum, et ad medicinam pecudum.” Lib. II. c. x.

*² Varro prescribes as follows — “Tonsas recentes eodem die perun-
 “gunt vino et oleo: non nemo admixtâ cerâ albâ, et adipe suillo. —
 “Siqua in tonsurâ plagam accepit, eum locum oblinunt pice liquidâ.”
 Lib. II. c. xi.

VER. 457—463.

“Quin etiam ima dolor balantum lapsus ad ossa
 “Cum furit, atque artus depascitur arida febris;
 “Profuit incensos aestus avertere, et inter
 “Ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine venam:
 “*¹ Bifaltae quo more solent; acerque *² Gelonus,
 “Cum fugit in Rhodopen atque in deserta *³ Getarum,
 “Et lac concretum cum *⁴ sanguine potat equino.”

*¹ Livy, speaking of Macedonia, says; “Pars prima Bifaltas habet for-
 “tissimos viros, trans Nessum amnem incolunt, et circa Strymonem,”
 lib.

lib. XLV. c. xxx. — And Pliny, “Amphipolis, liberum oppidum; gens, “Bifaltæ,” lib. IV. c. x.

*² “Longaque Sarmatici solvens jejunia belli
“Maffagetes, quo fugit, equo, volucresque Geloni.”

Lucan, lib. III. 282.

where he adds, “quo fugit,” to shew that this was only done in time of distress and necessity.

“Et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax.

“Maffagetes.” — Claudian, lib. I. 311. in Rufinum.

“Sarmatarum quoque gentes aluntur crudâ farinâ, equino lacte vel sanguine è cruris venis admixto.” Plin. lib. XVIII. c. x.

“Venit et epoto Sarmata pastus equo.”

Martial, De Spectac. Ep. iii.

—— “Laetum equino sanguine Concanum.”

Hor. lib. III. Od. iv.

*³ Ovid, speaking of the Getae (near neighbours to the place of his banishment, but on the north side of the Danube) says, that their chief security against the Romans was :

—— “Arcus plenaeque pharetrae,

“Quamque licet longis cursibus aptus equus :

“Quodque fitim didicere diu tolerare, famemque,

“Quodque sequens nullas hostis habebit aquas.”

De Ponto, lib. I. Epist. iii.

Which account agrees perfectly well with the description of the country by Motraye.

*⁴ See Beauplan’s account of people’s eating the blood of horses, in his description of Ukraine. — See likewise an account of the Nagayans and Tartars eating horses flesh and drinking mares milk. Ant. Jenkenfon’s Travels, in Hackluyt’s Voyages.

—— “Solitosque cruentum

“Lac potare Getas ac pocula tingere venis.

Sid. Apoll. Carm. VII. de Getis.

—— “Ἰππας

“Αἱμαλὶ μίσγοντες λευκὸν γάλα δαΐτα τίθειναι. Dionys. Perieg.

And

And Pliny : “ Sarmatarum gentes hac maxime pulre (scil. è milio) alun-
 “ tur, et crudà etiam farinâ, equino lacte vel sanguine è cruris venis ad-
 “ misto.” Lib. XVIII. c. x. Νομάδες καλέμενοι ζῶντες ἀπὸ θρεμμαίων γάλακτος
 καὶ τυρῶ, καὶ μέλιστα ἰππέως, Strabo. And, likewise, Hesiod :

—— Γαλακτοφάγων εἰς γαῖαν ἀπώρου

Οἳ καὶ ἐχούων.

Motraye, in his Travels, tells us, that the people of Akerman Tartary, between the Neister and the Danube, formerly the Desert of the Getes, and likewise several other herds of the Tartars, live still in the same manner. — He likewise informs us that the Tartars lead commonly two or three spare horses, to transport their plunder, or remount themselves in case that those they ride should die. — He likewise tells a story that one of his guides, after having rambled a long time in one of these deserts, let his horse blood, and drank the blood. — He likewise tells us that they drink their mares milk fermented, Vol. II. c. ii. at the latter end.

VER. 470—473.

“ Non tam * creber, agens hiemem, ruit aequore turbo ;
 “ Quàm multae pecudum pestes : nec singula morbi
 “ Corpora corripunt ; sed tota aestiva repente
 “ Spemque gregemque simul, cunctamque ab origine gentem.”

* I take *creber* in this place to signify quick, and that the meaning of the passage is, that a hurricane does not come on with more violence, than distempers or plagues incident to cattle, which is the reason of the advice just before given, ver. 468, 469. to kill any sheep on the first suspicion of any contagious distemper, to prevent its spreading. And this agrees with what follows ; “ nec singula,” etc.

VER. 474—477.

“ Tum sciat aërias Alpes, et Norica si quis
 “ Castella in *² tumulis, et Iapidis arva Timavi,
 “ Nunc quoque post tanto videat, desertaque regna
 “ Pastorum, et longe saltus lateque vacantes.”

* Ifiodorus says ; “ Virgilius Alpes dicendo aërias verbum expressit à
 “ verbo, nam Gallorum linguâ Alpes, montes alti vocantur.” Origin.
 Lib. XIV. c. viii. And Servius on the tenth Aeneid observes the same.
 And

And it is true that, according to this etymology of the word, other high mountains were likewise called Alpes: as the Pyrenean, as appears from Procopius, lib. I. Rer. Goth. and Silius, lib. II. who calls the Alpes and Pyrenean, *Geminas Alpeis*: likewise the Carpathian mountains, to the north of Dacia, are called in the Tabula Itineraria, *Basternicae Alpes*. But others of the antients derived the name “Alpes ab albo,” as we are expressly told by Festus: “Alpes à candore nivium dictae sunt, quia per-
“petuis fere nivibus albescunt: Sabini enim alpum dixere, quod postea
“Latini album; unde Alpium nomen.” And Strabo, Eustathius in Dionys. and Mela, all testify that these mountains were called indifferently *Albia*, as well as *Alpia juga*.

*² This word seems to signify properly, not only a hillock, as commonly, but such part of a hill or mountain as rose to a head, or point, above the body. So, likewise, in the twelfth Aeneid, Virgil calls the summit or point of the mountain above “Albano, Albanus tumulus;” now, Monte Cavo. The Greeks called the Tumuli, λόφοι. See Appian, where he speaks of Metulum, in Iapygia, taken by Augustus: the same country as Virgil is here speaking of.

VER. 478—485.

“Hic quondam *¹ morbo caeli miseranda coorta est
“Tempestas, *² totoque autumnus incanduit aestu.
“Et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum,
“Corruptique laevis, infecit pabula tabo.
“Nec via mortis erat *³ simplex: sed ubi ignea venis.
“Omnibus acta sitis miseros adduxerat artus;
“Rursus abundabat fluidus liquor; omniaque in se
“Ossa minutatim morbo collapsa trahebat.”

*¹ Virgil, in this description of the plague amongst the cattle, had undoubtedly some view to the celebrated plague of Athens, described by Thucydides and Lucretius; and several of his observations and expressions are copied from thence: but it is not reasonable to conclude (as some have done) that he means the same plague. He places his in a different country; and, besides, the plague of Athens infected both man and beast, whereas in this of Virgil, though all other animals are infected, man only escapes. Dr. Martyn supposes, from the names Chiron and Melampus, that this pestilence happened in their time, five hundred years before.

before that of Athens ; but, with submission, I think there is no necessity of going so far back.

*² I think Dr. Trapp gives these words their plain and true meaning.

—— “ With all the fire of Autumn burn’d.”

*³ I take this to signify, that Death did not appear in one single shape. The Poet explains himself by immediately adding two different symptoms of the same distemper, which seemed directly contrary one to the other. The cattle were parched with such heat and drought as to contract their limbs, and again were swelled with humours as if dropfical. — This explanation answers exactly to the observations of Dr. Bertrand, one of the physicians of Marseilles in the time of their late plague. — His words are as follow: — “ Il seroit difficile de determiner la nature de ce venin, “ à la maniere dont il agit dans le sang : accoutumés à tout rapporter à “ nos idées, et ne connoissant que deux manieres dont le sang peut être “ altéré et se corrompre, on demandera d’abord si ce venin dissout le “ sang ; ou bien, s’il le fige et le coagule. La bizarrerie des symptomes “ a fait qu’on n’a pû s’assurer précisément ni de l’un ni de l’autre, et “ que même on a crû voir ces deux etats du sang se succéder souvent “ dans le même malade ; on n’a pas pû fonder aucun jugement solide sur “ la vûe du sang dans la palette, ayant paru dans les uns d’une consistance “ naturelle, dans les autres peu lié et plus liquide, et dans d’autres tout “ à-fait cottieneux et inflammatoire ; dans les uns tout-à-fait figé, en sorte “ qu’il n’en sortoit pas une goutte par l’ouverture de la veine ; dans les “ autres, entierement dissous et fondu.” See Observations sur la maladie contagieuse de Marseilles, printed at the end of Relation Historique de la Peste de Marseilles en 1720.

Silius, speaking in Hannibal’s march of the beasts falling in the snow, and leaving their legs behind them, expresses himself by a foolish imitation of Virgil :

“ Nec pestis lapsus simplex.” Lib. III.

VER. 486—488.

“ Saepe in honore Deum medio stans hostia ad aram,
“ Lanea dum niveâ circumdatur * infula vittâ,
“ Inter cunctantes cecidit moribunda ministros.”

* A broad

* A broad woollen swathe fastened to the head of the victim, and likewise of the priest, being interlaced with a Vitta or smaller fillet :

“ Infula cui sacrâ redimibat tempora vittâ.” Aen. X. 538.

The ends of the fillets probably hung down. See Lucretius, lib. I. 87. Lucan, describing the dress of the priests of Delphi, gives different names to the Infula and Vitta :

————— “ Torta priores
“ Stringit vitta comas, crinesque in terga solutos
“ Candida Phocaica complectitur infula lauro.” Lib. V. 142.

VER. 531—533.

“ Tempore non alio dicunt regionibus illis
“ Quæsitæ ad sacra boves Junonis, et * uris
“ Imparibus ductos alta ad donaria currus.”

* The wild bull, or cow ; of which there were probably great numbers in the forests of Germany, as there still are several towards the north parts : and called in German, *Urox* ; which, it is not unlikely, was the antient name, softened by the Latin termination into *Urus*. It is written, as I am informed, in high Dutch, *Urrocks*.

VER. 548—550.

————— “ Nec jam mutari pabula refert,
“ Quæsitæque nocent artes : cessere magistri,
“ Philyrides * Chiron, Amythaoniusque Melampus.”

* Columella, enumerating such as were most celebrated in their way in several sciences, reckons “ in pecoris cultu, doctrinam Chironis ac “ Melampodis.” Pref.

VER. 559, 560.

“ Nam neque erat coriis usus : nec viscera quisquam
“ Aut * undis abolere potest, aut vincere flammâ.”

* The two great purifiers are fire and water. Virgil in his purgatory supposes the spots of souls cleansed, some by fire, and some by water :

————— “ Sub gurgite vasto
“ Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.” Aen. VI. 742.

GEORGIC THE FOURTH.

VER. 1—7.

“**P**ROTINUS aërii mellis caelestia dona
 “ Exequar: hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.
 “ Admiranda tibi levium * spectacula rerum,
 “ Magnanimosque duces, totiusque ordine gentis
 “ Mores, et studia, et populos, et praelia dicam.
 “ In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria: si quem
 “ Numina laeva sinunt; auditque vocatus Apollo.”

* Spectacula here is very pretty; this book being, as it were, the representation of the affairs of a busy kingdom in miniature.

VER. 8—12.

“ Principio *¹ fedes apibus statioque petenda,
 “ Quo neque sit ventis aditus (nam pabula venti
 “ Ferre domum prohibent), neque oves haedique petulci
 “ Floribus insultent; aut errans bucula campo
 “ Decutiat *² rorem, et surgentes atterat herbas.”

*¹ “ Sedes apibus collocanda est, procul a tumultu, ac coetu hominum
 “ ac pecudum; nec calido loco, nec frigido. Si villae situs ita competit,
 “ non est dubitandum, quin aedificio junctum apiarium maceriâ circum-
 “ demus; sed in eâ parte, quae tetrus latrinae sterquiliniique et balinei
 “ libera est odoribus.” Col. lib. IX. c. v.

*² Columella affirms from Celsus — “ Ex floribus ceras fieri: ex
 “ matutino rore, mella.” Lib. IX. c. xiv.

VER. 13—17.

“ Absint et picti *¹ squalentia terga *² lacerti
 “ Pinguibus à stabulis, *³ meropesque aliaeque volucres,
 “ Et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis.
 “ Omnia nam latè vastant, ipsasque volantes
 “ Ore ferunt, dulcem nidis immitibus escam.”

*¹ Both

*¹ Both here, and ver. 97. *Squalens* is used for glittering.

*² *Columella* directs; “*Debebit suggestus lapideus diligenter opere tectorio levigari; ita ne ascensus lacertis, aut anguibus, aliisve noxiis animalibus praebeatur.*” *Lib. IX. c. vii.*

*³ *Virgil* seems to mean martins and such birds should be destroyed, as usually build under the roofs of houses, porticos, etc. because, as appears from *Varro*, *Columella*, etc. their hives used commonly to be placed in niches made in the walls of their villas, or under porticos. “*Quod ad locum pertinet, hoc genus potissimum eligendum juxta villam: non quo non in villae porticu quoque quidam (quo tutius essent) alvearia collocarint.*” *Var. lib. III. c. xvi.* And a little before, in the same chapter: “*Alnos ita collocant in mutulis parietis, ut ne agitentur, neve inter se contingant.*” — *Columella*, to the same purpose, in the beginning of the ninth book, “*Apibus dabatur sedes adhuc nostrae memoriæ, vel ipsis villae parietibus excisis, vel in protectis porticibus ac pomariis.*” — In the fourth chapter of the same book, treating *De passionibus apum*, he says; “*Pabulationes sint secretissimae, et, ut nos- ter praecepit Maro, viduae pecudibus, aprico, et minimè procelloso caeli statu.*”

VER. 18—24.

“*At *¹ liquidi fontes, et stagna virentia musco
Adfint, et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus;
*² Palmaque vestibulum, aut ingens oleaster inumbret;
Ut, cum prima novi ducent examina reges
Vere *³ suo, ludetque favis emissa juvenus;
Vicina invitet decedere ripa calori,
Obviaque hospitibus teneat frondentibus arbor.*”

*¹ “*Potio apibus aqua liquida, unde bibant, esse oportet, eamque pro- pinquam, quae praeterfluit, aut in aliquem locum influat, ita ut ne al- titudine ascendat duo aut tres digitos: in quâ aquâ jaceant testae aut lapilli, ita ut extent paulum; ubi assidere et bibere possint. In quâ diligenter habenda cura, ut aqua sit pura, quod ad mellificium bonum vehementer prodest.*” *Var. lib. III. c. xvi.*

*² *Columella* gives no instructions on this head; but he quotes this and the four following verses, as a plain and sufficient direction, without further authority. *Lib. IX. c. v.*

*³ *Suo* is here very expressive : for the time here meant by the Poet is not properly that season or quarter of the year allotted to the Spring, as is known to every body ; for the Spring ended about the sixth of the Ides of May ; and, as Columella observes : “ Cum sit Vergiliarum “ exortus circa v. id. Maias, incipiunt examina viribus et numero augeri.” Lib. IX. c. xiv. — Therefore it is here emphatically *their* Spring. — As the Spring of the year is the season, when every thing begins to shoot, so the time, when the young begin to appear, is metaphorically their Spring : or it may be because flowers, the ornament of the Spring, are their life.

VER. 25—32.

“ In medium, seu stabit iners, seu profluet humor,
 “ Tranversas falices et grandia conjice fasa :
 “ *¹ Pontibus ut crebris possint consistere, et alas
 “ Pandere ad æstivum solem ; si forte morantes
 “ Sparserit, aut praeceps Neptuno immerferit Euris.
 “ Haec *² circum casiae virides, et olentia late
 “ Serpylla, et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae
 “ Floreat : irriguumque bibant violaria fontem.”

Columella gives the following direction. “ Perennis aqua, si est facta, cultas, inducatur, vel extructo canali manu detur ; sine quâ, neque favi, neque mella, nec pulli denique figurari queunt. Sive igitur praeterfluens unda, vel putealis canalibus immissa fuerit, virgis ac lapidibus aggeretur apum causa.” And then concludes with citing the three following verses :

“ Pontibus ut crebris,” etc. Lib. IX. c. viii. (See ver. 18.)

*² Columella having said, “ Judaeam et Arabiam pretiosis odoribus illustrem haberi ;” adds, “ sed nec nostram civitatem praedictis egere stirpibus : quippe cum pluribus locis urbis, jam casiam frondentem conspicimus,” etc. Lib. III. c. viii. — Quaer. If Virgil’s Casia ?

*³ Columella, having reckoned up a great number of shrubs, flowers and trees agreeable to bees, concludes ; “ Verum ex cunctis quae proposui, quaeque omisi temporis compendia sequens (nam inexputabilis erat numerus), saporis praecipui mella reddit thymus. Thymo deinde proxima thymbra, serpyllumque, et origanum.” Lib. IX. c. iv.

VER. 33—41.

“ Ipsa autem, seu corticibus tibi futa cavatis,
 “ Seu lento fuerint * alvearia vimine texta,
 “ Angustos habeant aditus; nam frigore mella
 “ Cogit hiems, eademque calor liquefacta remittit:
 “ Utraque vis apibus pariter metuenda: neque illae
 “ Nequicquam in tectis certatim tenuia cerâ
 “ Spiramenta *² linunt, fucoque et floribus oras
 “ Explent: collectumque haec ipsa ad munera gluten,
 “ Et visco et Phrygiae servant pice lentius Idae.”

*¹ “ Alvearia fabricanda sunt pro conditione regionis; si illa ferax
 “ est fuberis, haud dubitanter utilissimas alvos faciemus ex corticibus,
 “ quia nec hieme rigent, nec candent aestate. Si fuber non aderit, opere
 “ textorio falicibus connectuntur.” Col. lib. IX. c. vi.

*² “ Foramina, quibus exitus aut introitus datur, angustissima esse de-
 “ bent, ut quam minimum frigoris admittant: eaque satis est ita forari,
 “ ne possint capere plus unius apis incrementum. Sic nec venenatus
 “ stellio, nec obscurum scarabaei vel papilionis genus, lucifugaeque
 “ blattae, ut ait Maro, per laxiora spatia januae favos populantur. At-
 “ que utilissimum est pro frequentia domicilii duos vel tres aditus in
 “ eodem operculo distantes inter se fieri contra fallaciam lacerti, qui velut
 “ custos vestibuli prodeuntibus inhians apibus affert exitium, eaeque
 “ pauciores intereunt, cum licet vitare pestis obsidia per aliud vadentibus
 “ effugium.” Col. lib. IX. c. vii.

*³ Extra ostium alvei obturant omnia, quâ venit, inter favos spiritus,
 “ quam ἐπιθώκεν appellant Graeci.” Var. lib. III. c. xvi. And in the same
 chapter afterwards; “ Erithacen vocant, quo favos extremos inter se con-
 “ glutinant,” etc.

VER. 45, 46.

“ Tu tamen et *¹ levi rimosa cubilia limo
 “ Unge *² fovens circum, et raras *³ superinjice frondes.”

*¹ This epithet *levi* is very significant. Varro directs, “ Viriles alvos
 “ fimo bubulo oblinere intus, et extra; ne apes *asperitate* absterreantur.”
 Lib. III. c. xvi.

Fovens

* "Fovens circum," prettily expresses the plaisterer's manner of working. — As for the rest, Columella directs thus; "Ora cavearum, quae praebent apibus vestibula, proniora sint quam terga; ut ne influant imbres, et si forte tamen ingressi fuerint, non immorentur, sed per aditum esiluant: propter quod convenit alvearia porticibus supermuniri: sin aliter, luto Punico frondibus ilinitis adumbrari; quod tamen cum frigora et pluvias, tum aestus arcet." Lib. IX. c. vii.

* "Quamvis porticu protecta vasa, nihilominus congestu culmorum et frondium supertegemus; quantumque res patietur, a frigore et tempestatibus munimus." Cap. xiv.

VER. 47—50.

"Neu propius testis *' taxum sine; neve rubentes
 "Ure foco cancos: altae neu crede *' paludi:
 "Aut ubi odor coeni gravis, aut ubi concava pulsu
 "Saxa sonant, vocisque offensa resultat *' imago."

* Columella, speaking of forest trees fit to be planted near apiaries, says; "Taxi repudiantur." Lib. IX. c. iv.

"Gravis et tetri odoris non solum virentia, sed et quaelibet res prohibeantur; sicuti cancri nidor, cum est ignibus adustus, aut odor palustris coeni: nec minus vitentur cavae rupes, aut valles argutae; quas Graeci $\chi\alpha\epsilon\iota$ vocant." Ibid. c. v.

* "Sequuntur omnia pura; itaque nulla harum affidit in loco inquinato, aut eo qui malè oleat; neque etiam in eo qui bona olet unguenta; itaque his unctus qui accessit, pungunt." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

* Varro makes one of his interlocutors give the following instructions about choosing the place for an apiary: "Primum, secundum villam; potissimum ubi non resonent imagines; hic enim sonus harum fugae causa existimatur esse."

VER. 51—54.

"Quod superest, ubi pulsam hiemem sol aureus egit
 "Sub terras, caelumque aestiva luce reclusit:
 "Illae continuò saltus sylvasque peragrant,
 "Purpureosque metunt flores, et flumina libant
 "Summa leves." —

* This observation, with what follows, ver. 61.

——— “ *Aquas dulces, et frondea semper*
“ *Tecta petunt,*” etc.

is confirmed by several passages in Columella; but particularly, lib. IX. c. viii. which directs, “ *quemadmodum sylvestria examina capiantur;*” where he says: “ *Ubicunque saltus sunt idonei, mellifici: nihil anti-*
“ *quius quam apes, quibus utantur, vicinos eligunt fontes: eos itaque*
“ *convenit plerumque ab horâ secundâ obsideri, specularique quae turba*
“ *sit aquantium. Nam si paucae admodum circumvolant (nisi tamen con-*
“ *plura capita rivorum diductas faciunt rariores), intelligenda est earum*
“ *penuria, propter quam locum quoque non esse mellificum suspicabimur.*
“ *At si commeant frequentes, spem quoque aucupandi examina majorem*
“ *faciunt.*” — Again, afterwards, in the same chapter: — “ *Sunt qui*
“ *per initia veris apiastrum, atque (ut ille vates ait) trita meliphylla, et*
“ *cerinthae ignobile gramen, aliasque colligant similes herbas, quibus id*
“ *genus animalium delectatur; et ita alvos perfricent, ut odor et fucus*
“ *vafi inhaereat; quae deinde mundata exiguo melle respergant, et per*
“ *nemora non longè à fontibus disponant; eaque cum repleta sunt exa-*
“ *minibus, domum referant.*”

VER. 58—64.

“ *Hinc ubi jam* * *emissum caveis ad sidera caeli*
“ *Nare per aestatem liquidam suspexeris agmen,*
“ *Obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem;*
“ *Contemplator: aquas dulces et frondea semper*
“ *Tecta petunt: huc tu iustos asperge saporos,*
“ *Trita meliphylla, et cerinthae ignobile gramen:*
“ *Tinnitusque cie, et Matris quate* * *cymbala circum.*”

* *“ Quia examen fugiens, et sedem novam quacrens, se levat subli-*
“ *mius,”* as Columella observes, lib. IX. c. xii. and as it is confirmed by common observation.

* *“ Cum causâ Musarum esse dicuntur volucres, quod et siquando dis-*
“ *plicatae sunt, cymbalis et plausibus numero reducunt in locum unum.”*
Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 65—66.

“ *Ipsae* * *confident medicatis sedibus: ipsae*
“ *Intima* * *more suo sese in cunabula condent.”*

* Varro

*¹ Varro directs thus, when the bees are observed to swarm : — “ Cum
 “ a mellario id fecisse animadversae, jaciundo in eas pulverem, et circum-
 “ tinniendo aere, perterritas quo voluerit perducet. Non longe inde obli-
 “ nunt erithace atque apiastro, caeterisque rebus quibus delectantur.
 “ Ubi confederunt, asserunt alvum prope eisdem illiciis illitam intus : et
 “ prope appositâ, fumo leni circumcundo cogunt eas intrare. Varr. lib.
 III. c. xvi.

*³ Quaer. If this (more suo) does not insinuate an instruction ; not to touch or force bees in their hiving, but to let them go on their own way ?

VER. 67—72.

“ Sin autem ad pugnam exierint (nam faepe duobus
 “ Regibus incessit magno discordia motu)
 “ Continuôque animus vulgi, et *¹ trepidantia bello
 “ Corda licet longe praesciscere : namque morantes
 “ Martius ille *² aeris rauci canor increpat, et vox
 “ Auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum.”

*¹ Columella says ; “ Fere ante triduum, quam eruptionem facturac
 “ sint, velut militaria signa moventium tumultus ac murmur exoritur ; ex
 “ quo, ut verissime dicit Virgilius,

“ Corda licet,” etc. — Lib. IX. c. ix.

*² “ Duces conficiunt quaedam ad vocem ut imitatione tubae : tum
 “ id faciunt, cum inter se signa pacis et belli habeant.” Var. lib. III.
 c. xvi.

VER. 86—90.

“ Hi motus animorum, atque haec certamina tanta,
 “ Pulveris exigui *¹ jactu compressa quiescent.
 “ Verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambos :
 “ *² Deterior qui visus ; eum, ne prodigus obsit,
 “ Dede neci : melior vacuâ sine regnet in aulâ.”

*¹ This is confirmed by Columella, who says ; “ Pugna quidem vel
 “ unius examinis inter se dissidentis, vel duorum discordantium, facile com-
 “ pescitur : nam, ut idem Virgilius ait,

“ Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescit ;

“ aut

“aut mulso, passove, aut alio quovis liquore simili resperfo; videlicet familiari dulcedine faevientium iras mitigante.” Lib. IX. c. ix.

Varro directs the use of this stratagem, to make bees hive, when swarming (see ver. 65. note); but Virgil employs it better here: after having given a lofty description of their engagement, the quelling them in so easy a manner makes a pretty contrast.

*² Virgil afterwards describes the two sorts of bees;

“Nam duò sunt genera,” etc. —

Varro directs, “Animadvertat mellarius, nè reguli plures existant; inutiles enim fiunt propter seditiones. Et, ut quidam dicunt, tria genera cum sint ducum in apibus, niger, ruber, varius; ut Menecrates scribit, duo, niger et varius; expediat mellario, cum duo sint eadem alvo, interficere nigrum,” etc. And again; “De reliquis apibus optima est parva, varia, rotunda. Fur, qui vocatur ab aliis fucus, alter est lato ventre.” Lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 95—99.

“Ut binæ regum facies, ita corpora gentis:
“Namque aliaæ turpes horrent, * ceu pulvere ab alto
“Cum venit, et terram sicco sput ore viator
“Aridus: elucent aliaæ, et fulgore coruscant,
“Ardentes auro, et paribus lira corpora guttis.”

* Varro remarks this of bees looking “pulverulentæ, et horridæ,” when they are sick. — “Minus valentium signa, si sunt pilosæ et horridæ, ut pulverulentæ, nisi opificii eas urget tempus. Tum enim propter laborem asperantur ac macescunt.” Lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 103—108.

“Cum incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt,
“Contemnuntque favos, et frigida tecta relinquunt,
“Instabiles animos ludo prohibebis inani.
“Nec magnus prohibere labor: tu regibus * alas
“Eripe: non illis quisquam cunctantibus altum
“Ire iter, aut castris audebit vellere signa.”

* Columella, having mentioned the several sorts of bees described by Aristotle, adds; “Ejus auctoritatem sequens Virgilius maxime probat par-

“vulas, oblongas, leves, nitidas, ardentes auro, et paribus lita corpora
“guttis.” Lib. IX. c. iii. And again, chapter the tenth, which is en-
titled, “Quae sit forma regis apum,” he contents himself with quoting
Virgil’s description with very little variation. — And at the end of that
chapter he adds; “Rex tamen et ipse spoliandus est alis, ubi saepius cum
“examine suo conatur, eruptione factâ, profugere: nam velut quâdam
“compede retinebimus erronem ducem detractis alis,” etc. which confirms
Virgil’s precept: — “regibus alas Eripe.”

VER. 112—115.

“Ipse thymum * pinosque ferens de montibus altis,
“Tecta ferat late circum, cui talia curae:
“Ipse labore manum duro terat, ipse feraces
“Figat humo plantas, et amicos irriget imbres.”

* By joining these two together, Virgil plainly shews that he means
wild thyme — In his instructions what should be planted near the hives,
and likewise in his description of the garden of the Senex Corycins, this
plant is not mentioned, though frequently in other places; being the
plant which bees chiefly feed on, and are most fond of. — “Ut cytisum
“aptissimum ad sanitatem apium, sic ad mellificium thymum. Propter
“quod Siculum mel fert palmam, quod ibi thymum bonum et frequens
“est. Itaque quidam thymum contundunt in pilâ, et diluunt in aquâ
“tepidâ; eo conspergunt omnia feminaria confita apium causâ.” Var.
lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 120—124.

“Quôque modo potis gauderent intyba rivis,
“Et virides apio * ripae, tortusque per herbam
“Cresceret in ventrem cucumis: nec fera comantem
“Narcissum, aut flexi tacuissém vimen * acanthi,
“Pallentesque hederas, et amantes litora myrtos.”

*¹ Columella says; “Apium praecipuè aquâ laetatur, et ideo fecun-
“dum fontem commodissimè ponitur.” Lib. II. c. iii.

*² Pliny says of the Acanthos, “Est topiaria et urbana herba, elato
“longoque folio, crepidines marginum affurgentiumque pulvinorum toros
“vestiens. Duo genera ejus sunt, aculeatum et crispum, quod brevius;
“alterum,

“alterum, leve; quod aliqui Paederota vocant, alii Melamphyllum.”
Lib. XXII. c. xxii.

VER. 125—132.

—— “Sub Oebaliae memini me turribus altis,
“Qua niger humectat flaventia culta *¹ Galefus,
“Corycium vidisse fenem: cui pauca *² relicti
“Jugera ruris erant; nec fertilis illa juvencis,
“Nec pecori opportuna feges, nec commoda Baccho.
“Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus, albaque circum
“Lilia verbenasque premens, vescumque papaver,
“Regum acquabat opes animis.”——

*¹ Now called, Galefe. Livy says, that this river is five miles from Tarento. “Hannibal Tarenti reliquit modicum praesidium. Ipse profectus cum caeteris copiis ad Galefum flumen (quinque millia ab urbe abest) posuit castra.” Lib. XXV. c. xi. From Livy’s whole account of Hannibal’s taking Tarento, it is very manifest, that his camp was on the east side of the town, or towards Gallipoli; for as the entrance of the port, or Mare Piccolo, was commanded by the castle, which was still maintained against him, consequently he could enter Tarento by land no other way than by going quite round the Mare Piccolo, and his camp being within five miles of the town must of course be of the same side too: and therefore the Galefus must empty itself either into the Mare Piccolo on that side, or into the great sea between Tarento and Gallipoli.

This river, being in a country much inhabited by Graecians, took its name, as one may imagine, from Γάλαξ, Lac, being a milky stream; in allusion to which Martial calls it, *Albus Galefus*:

—— “Albi quae superas oves Galefi.”

But Virgil, considering the river in another view, as much shaded by trees on its banks, calls it *Niger*, by way of contrast to the etymology of its name.

The epithet *Flaventia*, given to *Culta*, adds a new beauty to the picture.

*² The “*Spineta Galefi*,” mentioned by Propertius, are agreeable to Virgil’s “*relictum jugera ruris*,” and his, “*in dumis*.” It may perhaps be objected, that the “*flaventia culta*,” mentioned by Virgil near the *Galefus*, and the description he gives of the garden of the *Corycius fenex*, which he calls “*relictum rus*,” and “*in dumis*,” and which he places likewise near the

Galeus, don't very well agree: but whoever sees this country must be convinced of the justness of the Poet's description; and will find the same opposite variety in the face of the whole country, as in the Poet; viz. a mixture of wild rough ground, and very rich land. And Strabo, in his description of this country, gives us the like representation of it: Τῶν ἱερρυγίων χάρις παραδόξως ἐστὶν ἀρετὴ, &c. Lib. VI.

Relicti, not ploughed, or cultivated. Columella uses this word in the same sense, where he opposes Relictum to Tractatum: "Nullum de-
"terius habetur terreni genus quàm quod est siccum, pariter et densum
"et macrum; quia cum difficulter tractetur, tum ne tractatum quidem
"gratiam refert, nec relictum (i. e. non tractatum, non cultum) pratis vel
"pascuis abunde sufficit." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 135, 141.

—— "Cum tristis hiems etiam nunc frigore saxa
"Rumperet, et glacie cursus frenaret aquarum;
"Ille comam mollis jam tum *¹ tondebat acanthi,
"Aestatem increpitans feram, Zephyrosque morantes.
" *² Ergo apibus foetus idem atque examine multo
"Primus abundare, et spumantia cogere pressis
"Mella favis: illi tiliae, atque uberrima pinus."

*¹ The Romans used to trim their plants as we do now. Pliny speaks of the "topiario opere buxus tonsilis," lib. XVI. c. xvi. and of the "tonsilis cupressus," c. xxxiii.

*² Here the Poet shews that he had not wandered so far out of the way, but that he kept his subject still in view.

Horace celebrates the honey of Tarentum, particularly on the banks of Galeus:

"Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
"Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
"Mella decedunt."—— Lib. II. Od. vi.

*¹ Notwithstanding Virgil mentions the Tilia in a garden abounding with bees, Columella says, "Tiliae folae ex omnibus sunt nocentes, Taxi
"repudiantur," lib. IX. c. iv. Again, Virgil says of his bees; "Pascuntur — pinguem tiliam," ver. 183.

VER.

VER. 144—148.

“ Ille etiam feras in versum *¹ distulit ulmos,
 “ Eduranque pirum, et spinos jam pruna ferentes,
 “ Janque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.
 “ Verum haec ipse equidem, spatii exclusus iniquis,
 “ Praetereo, atque *² aliis post commemoranda relinquo.”

*¹ This word *Distulit* expresses something more than bare transplanting, as it is commonly translated: It implies the distance, which was to be observed in planting tall elms.

*² This verse gave occasion to Columella to write his tenth book in verse, though all the rest of his works was in prose; as he testifies himself, *Praef. in lib. X.* “ *Cultus hortorum sicut institueram profâ oratione prioribus subnecteretur exordiis, nisi propositum meum expugnasset frequens postulatio tua, Silvine; quae pervicit, ut poeticis numeris explerem Georgici carminis omittas partes, quas tamen et ipse Virgilius significaverat posteris post se memoranda relinquere. Neque enim aliter istud nobis fuerat audendum, quàm ex voluntate vatis maximè venerandi. Cujus quasi numine instigante, aggressi sumus tenuem admodum et penè viduatam corpore materiam.*” — And in the beginning of his poem, “ *Hortorum quoque te,*” etc. where observe he uses, “ *Spatii exclusus iniquis;*” not *Disclusus*.

VER. 149—152.

“ Nunc age, naturas apibus quas * Jupiter ipse
 “ Addidit, expediam: pro qua mercede, canoros
 “ Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera fecutae,
 “ Dictæo caeli regem pavere sub antro.”

* Columella observes, that Virgil has only modestly hinted at one of the fables of the origin of bees. And having mentioned several fabulous traditions from other authors, particularly, “ *Jovis extitisse nutrices, easque pabula munere Dei sortitas, quibus ipsae parvum educaverant alumnum,*” he adds: “ *Ista quamvis non dedeçant poetam, summam tamen, et uno tantummodo versiculo leviter attingit Virgilius, cum sic ait:*

“ *Dictæo caeli regem pavere sub antro.*”

Perhaps the reason why the Poet touched so slightly on this fable was,
 because

because he had a long fable to tell at the latter end of this book; he knew how, "fervare modum."

VER. 160.

——— " Pars intra septa domorum
 " *¹ Narcissi lacrymam, et lentum de cortice gluten,
 " Prima favis ponunt fundamina."———

*¹ Columella, amongst the flowers proper for bees, mentions *Gladium Narcissi*; and for the forest trees he says: "*Sylvestrium commodissime faciunt glandifera robora, quin etiam terebinthus, nec dissimilis huic lentiscus, et odorata cedrus.*" Lib. IX. c. iv.—The "*Lentum de cortice gluten*" means gum, or the like sweating out of trees.

VER. 165—169.

" Sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia forti:
 " Inque vicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,
 " Aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
 " Ignavum *¹ fucos pecus à praefepibus arcent.
 " Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella."

*¹ Columella gives the following account of the *Fucus*: "*Est genus amplioris incrementi, simillimum apis, et, ut ait Virgilius, ignavum pecus, et sine industriâ favis assidens. Nam neque alimenta congerit, et ab aliis insecta consumit. Veruntamen ad procreationem sobolis conferre aliquid hi fuci videntur infidentes feminibus, quibus apes figurantur: itaque ad fovendam et educandam novam prolem familiariter admittuntur. Exclusis deinde pullis, extra tecta proturbantur; et, ut idem ait, à praefepibus arcent.*" Lib. IX. c. xv. See ver. 244.

VER. 180—183.

——— " Fessae multâ referunt se nocte minores,
 " Crura thymo plenae: pascuntur et *¹ arbuta passim,
 " Et glaucas falices, casiamque crocumque rubentem,
 " Et pinguem tiliam, et *² ferrugineos hyacinthos."

*¹ " *Arbores sunt probatissimae, Amygdalae, et Persici, atque Pyri; denique pomiferarum pleraeque, ne singulis immorer.*" Col. lib. IX. c. iv. In the same chapter afterwards: "*Nec minus caelestis numinis*

Hya-

“ Hyacinthus, Corycius item, Siculusque bulbus croci deponitur; qui
“ coloret, odoretque mella.

*² Columella names — “ Vel niveos, vel caeruleos hyacinthos, Narcissi-
“ que comas. In the same poem he calls hyacinthos, ferrugineos.

VER. 190.

—— “ Ubi jam thalamis se composuere, filetur
“ In noctem, fessosque sopor * suos occupat artus.”

* Acquired by their own labour.

VER. 197—202.

“ Illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,
“ Quod *¹ nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora fegnes
“ In venerem solvunt, aut foetus nixibus edunt.
“ Verùm ipsae è foliis natos et suavibus herbis
“ Ore legunt: ipsae *² regem, parvosque Quirites
“ Sufficiunt: aulasque et cerea regna refingunt.”

*¹ Columella mentions this as a dispute among the naturalists: “ Utrum
“ examina, tanquam caetera videmus animalia, concubitu sobolem procre-
“ ent, an haeredem generis sui floribus eligant; quod affirmat noster
“ Maro.” Lib. IX. c. vii. — Chapter the xivth, he remarks, that bees
are so great enemies to venery, that he lays down this rule: “ Maximè
“ custodiendum est curator, qui apes nutrit, cum alnos tractare debet,
“ uti pridie castus sit ab rebus venereis.”

*² As the king is of a larger size than the rest of the bees, so it was
believed among the ancients that the cell where the royal race was formed
was distinct from the rest, and of a peculiar make, which Virgil seems
to allude to. Columella has the following passage on this head: “ Cera,
“ in quâ regii generis proles animatur facilis conspectu est, quoniam fere
“ in ipso fine cerarum velut papilla uberis apparet eminentior, et laxioris
“ fistulae quam sint reliqua foramina, quibus popularis notae pulli deti-
“ nentur,” etc. Lib. IX. c. xi.

VER. 215—218.

“ Ille operum custos, illum admirantur, et omnes
“ Circumstant fremitu denso, stipantque frequentes,

“ Et:

“ Et saepe * attollunt humeris, et corpora bello

“ Obiectant, pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem.”

* “ Regem suum sequuntur quocunque it; et fessum sublevant, et si
“ nequit volare, succollant; quòd eum servare volunt.” Var. lib. III. c. xvi.
“ Apes ut hominum civitates, quod hùc est et rex, et imperium, et societas.”
ibid.

VER. 219—222.

“ His quidam signis, atque haec exempla secuti

“ Esse apibus partem * divinae mentis, et haustus

“ Aethereos dixere: Deum namque ire per omnes

“ Terrasque, tractusque maris, caelumque profundum.”

* See Dr. Trapp's excellent dissertation on Virgil's philosophy, in his note on ver. 933. of his translation of the Aeneid, book VIth.

VER. 231—235.

“ *¹ Bis gravidos cogunt foetus *², duo tempora messis,

“ Táygete simul os terris ostendit honestum

“ * Pleiás, et Oceani spretos pede reppulit amnes:

“ Aut eadem sidus fugiens ubi Piscis aquosi,

“ Tristior hibernas caelo descendit in undas.”

*¹ See Sir G. Wheeler's account of the manner of ordering bees at mount Hymettus near Athens, with the time of taking the honey, p. 412.

*² “ Eximendorum favorum primum putant esse tempus Vergiliarum
“ exortu: Secundum, aestate exactâ; antequam totus exoriatur Arcturus:
“ Tertium, post Vergiliarum occasum. Et ita, si foecunda sit alvus, ut
“ ne plus tertia pars eximatur mellis, reliquum hiemationi relinquatur:
“ si vero alvus non sit fertilis, ubi quid eximatur, exemptio cum est major,
“ neque universam, neque palam facere oportet, ne deficient animum.”
Var. lib. III. c. xvi. Who tells us expressly, that the Vergiliarum ex-
ortus is VI idus Mai. Vergiliarum occasus, VI id. Novemb. lib. I. c. xxx.
et xxxiv. — If Columella differs from Varro and Virgil in some respects
as to the seasons of taking the honey from the hives, yet he says twice
expressly; “ Mox vere transacto sequitur mellis vindemia, propter quam
“ totius anni labor exercetur:” And presently afterwards he gives his
reasons for difference of time: “ Adapertas alvos inspicies, ut five semi-
“ pleni

“ pleni favi sint, differantur; sive jam liquore completi, et superpositis
 “ ceris tanquam operculis obliti demetantur.” Lib. IX. c. xv. And again,
 in the same chapter: “ Priore messe, dum adhuc rura passionibus abun-
 “ dant, quinta pars favorum; posteriore, cum jam metuitur hiems, tertia
 “ relinquenda est. Atque hic tamen modus non est in omnibus regionibus
 “ certus, quoniam pro multitudine florum et ubertate pabuli apibus
 “ consulendum est.”

* Virgil, in speaking of the rising of the Pleiades, speaks of them in the singular number; and that personally. It is probable, that on some of the ancient globes this was a distinct constellation from Taurus; and might be sometimes represented by one of the Sisters only; that named by Virgil. Aratus and Eratosthenes both speak of it [the Pleiades] as distinct from Taurus; and the latter calls it Πλειάς, and not Πλειάδες.

† The moderns sling the Pleiades into Taurus: in the ancient spheres, it was a constellation by itself; and that probably of the Sisters, who represented all the rest.

Aratus describes it as a distinct constellation near Perseus's left knee (ver. 254.), and speaks of Taurus so far before (ver. 167.), that there are eight constellations in the interval. Accordingly Taurus makes the 14th article in Eratosthenes, and the Pleiades the 23d.

Manilius indeed places them, with the Hyades, in Taurus (l. 371.): but this is not the only thing that would make one think his work less ancient, than it is pretended to be.

See the Farnese globe in Polymetis, pl. xxxiv. Perhaps the hinder parts of Taurus were cut off in the old globes, on purpose to make room for this constellation. Eratosthenes, speaking of its place there, has these words: Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποστροφῆς τῆς Ταύρου, τῆς καλεμένης Ῥάχως, Πλειάς ἐστὶ. Λέγουσιν εἶναι τῶν τῆς Ἀτλαντὸς θυγατέρων διὸ καὶ Ἐπλάσερον καλεῖται· ἔχ' ὁρῶνται δὲ αἱ ζ', ἀλλ' αἱ 5'. In art. Πλειάς.

Eratosthenes always speaks of her in the singular number; which, compared with this passage, may sufficiently confirm that it was the figure of one of the Sisters only, with the Seven Stars represented on it; whence it was called Ἐπλάσερον.

VER. 241—250.

— “ * Suffire thymo, cerasque recidere inanes
 “ Quis dubitet? nam faepe favos ignotus adedit
 “ Stello, lucifugis congesta cubilia blattis:

C c

Immu-

“ Immunisque *² sedens aliena ad pabula fucus,
 “ Aut asper *³ crabro imparibus se immiscuit armis;
 “ Aut dirum tineae genus, aut invisae Minervae
 “ In foribus laxos suspendit aranea casset.
 “ Quo magis exhaustae fuerint; hoc *⁴ acrius omnes
 “ Incumbent generis lapsi facire ruinas,
 “ Complebuntque fœros, et floribus horrea texent.”

*¹ Columella speaks of frequent fumigations proper for bees; and directs, “ ut ab ortu Caniculae usque in Autumni aequinoctium decimo quoque die alvi aperiendae sint et fumigandae; quod cum sit molestum examini-
 bus, saluberrimum tamen esse convenit.” Lib. IX. c. xiv.

*² Sedens, properly used, being a lazy posture.

*³ Hornet; called now in Italian, Calabrone.

*⁴ Columella, speaking of the Fuci, says: “ Ego Magoni consentiens non in totum exterminari fucos oportere censeo, ne apes inertiam laborant: Quae, cum fuci aliquam partem cibarium absumunt, faciendo
 “ damna fiunt agiliores.” Lib. IX. c. xv.

VER. 251—259.

“ Si vero (quoniam *¹ casus apibus quoque nostros
 “ Vita tulit) tristi languebunt corpora morbo,
 “ Quod jam non dubiis poteris cognoscere signis:
 “ Continuo est *² aegris alius color: horrida vultum.
 “ Deformat macies: tum corpora luce carentum
 “ Exportant tectis, et tristia funera ducunt:
 “ Aut illae pedibus connexae ad limina pendent,
 “ Aut intus clausis cunctantur in aedibus omnes:
 “ Ignavaeque fame, et contracto frigore pigrae.”

*¹ As the Poet has carried on a comparison between bees and us through all parts of life almost, so he gives them our diseases too.

*² Columella, in his chapter De morbis apum, has copied Virgil, and given us almost a literal translation: “ Ille morbus maximè est conspicuus,
 “ qui horridas contractasque carpit, cum frequenter aliae mortuarum corpora domiciliis suis efferunt; aliae intra tecta, ut in publico luctu, moesto
 “ silentio torpent. Id cum accidit arundineis infusi canalibus offeruntur
 “ cibi, maxime decocti mellis, et cum Gallâ vel aridâ rosâ detriti. Gal-
 “ banum

“banum etiam, ut ejus odore medicentur, incendi convenit. Passioque et
 “defruto vetere fessas sustinere. Optimè tamen facit amelli radix,
 “cujus est frutex luteus, purpureus flos: Ea cum vetere Amineo vino
 “decocta exprimitur, et ita liquatus ejus succus datur.” Lib. IX. c. xiii.

VER. 271.

“Est etiam flos in pratis, cui nomen * amello
 “Fecere agricolae.”——

* Quaer. if the Aster Atticus? Columella calls it Frutex, lib. IX. c. iv. where, treating “de passionibus apum,” after having enumerated several plants, he says: “Mille praeterea femina vel crudo cespitate virentia, vel
 “subacta sulco flores amicissimos apibus creant, ut sunt in irriguo solo
 “frutices amelli,” etc. Yet Frutex is used by him for very small plants; for in the next chapter he calls “Thymus frutex. Amelli frutex luteus,
 “purpureus flos.” Col. lib. IX. c. 13.

VER. 275.

—— “* Violae subluceat purpura nigrae.”

* Virgil is very exact and picturesque in this expression. He shews the same sort of exactness, Georg. II. ver. 13; where he takes notice of the different colours of the upper and under side of the same leaf.

—— “Glaucâ canentia fronde falicata.”

Purpureus is used by the botanists for the violet colour: See Camden’s Britannia; Plants in Hampshire.

VER. 281—285.

—— “Si quem proles subito defecerit omnis,
 “Nec genus unde novae stirpis revocetur, habebit;
 “Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri
 “Pandere; quoque modo caesis jam saepe juvenis
 “* Infincerus apes tulerit cruor.”——

* Varro says: “Ex bove putrefacto scio nasci dulcissimas apes mellis
 “matres, à quo eas Graeci Βεργόνες appellant.” Lib. II. c. v. — And again:
 “Apes nascuntur partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto;

“ itaque Archelaus in epigrammate ait eas esse — βόδες φθιμένης πεπονημένα τέχνη.” Lib. II. c. xvi. — Virgil, who does not easily give credit to such stories, lays the scene of his fable in the country of the Gypsies. — Columella mentions Democritus and Mago to have asserted this generation: “ Progenerari posse apes juvenco perempto Democritus et Mago, nec minus Virgilius, prodiderunt.” Lib. IX. c. xiv.

VER. 287—294.

—— “ * Quà Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
 “ Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
 “ Et circum pictis vehitur sua rara phaselis;
 “ Quaque *² pharetratae vicinia Persidis urget
 “ † Et viridem *³ Aegyptum nigrâ foecundat arenâ,
 “ Et diversa *⁴ ruens *⁵ septem discurrit in ora.
 “ Usque *⁶ coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis;
 “ Omnis in hac certam regio jacet arte salutem.”

*¹ Virgil very properly lays this scene in Egypt, which always was, and is still, famous for witchcraft.

He describes the upper and lower Egypt; the three first verses relate to the lower Egypt, or the Delta; the two following to the upper Egypt; the two last to the course of the river: where in seven verses he comprehends what is most remarkable concerning that country, and its river, the Septemfluus Nilus.

*² Claudian, in his Eidyl. de Nilo, mentions, among other inhabitants bordering on that river, “ Gens compositis circumvallata sagittis.”

† This passage has long sounded wrong to me. There seems to me to be something in the construction not Virgilian, and something puzzled in the sense.

I find since, that Huet and Segrais had a dispute about it. Segrais thought it faulty, and corrupted: “ Ego contra (says Huet) integram esse affererem; planumque et intellectu facile; si modo perspecta esset veterum de ortu Nilî opinio; qui in Indiâ oriri eum, et ex eâ in Aegyptum profluere, falsò quidem, at pro certo et constanter arbitrati sunt.” Huet. Com. p. 265.

The Florentine manuscript reads the passage differently, but does not take away the difficulty. It only transposes the two verses: “ Et diversa,” etc. is first in it; and “ Et viridem,” etc. second.

“ Et

"Et viridem Aegyptum" is a repetition of what has been said before, ver. 287—289. It is suspicious, from its being placed differently in the Florentine manuscript. If it was omitted, and the other line understood of the Ganges, would it not set all right? The Ganges has its seven streams as well as the Nile; and is therefore joined with it again, Aen. IX. 20.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπία συμβάλοιμεν (τάττι δὲ ἡγάμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν (the Nile) πρῶτ' εἶναι) καὶ ἔγω συμμέτρῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω, τοσαύτη συνθεῖσθαι. Ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀμφὺν ὅμοιοι, λοισσαμένω τῇ Ἰνδῇ τε καὶ Νείλῳ· περαινῶσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἡπείρους ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔττες, ὅποτε ἡ γῆ ἔρα τέτα, etc. Philostr. de Vitâ Apol. lib. I. c. i.

*³ Herodotus, lib. II, gives the following description of Egypt: "Quum regionem supergressus est Nilus, solae urbes apparent, eatenus extantes, ut insulis Aegei maris fere assimiles esse videantur. Nam caetera Aegypti pelagus efficiuntur; ipsaeque urbes solae extant: Quae stationes navium faciunt. Nec jam, cum hoc contingit, per alveum fluminis, sed per medium campi navigatur," etc. p. 140. edit. H. Stephani, 1592.

In the same place, Herodotus, speaking of a particular custom used in Egypt, says: "Quod factum est, ex quo Aegyptus fuit ditionis Persarum."

Presently after, speaking of a tradition that the city of Memphis was built by Menes, who turned the course of the Nile thither, he says: "Supra Memphim centum circiter stadia meridiem versus, aggestâ humo ad anfractum fluminis arefecisse pristinum alveum: ita flumen facto alveo per medium montium fluere. Adeo nunc quoque sub Persis iste anfractus Nili qui coërcitus fuit, magnis praesidiis custoditur, quotannis obseptus aggeribus; quos si refringens flumen velit eâ parte redundare, omnis Memphis adibit periculum ne aquis operiatur." Pag. 141.

Again, immediately after, he says: "Est Memphis in angustiis Aegypti sita."

Again, enumerating the several tributes paid to Darius, he says: "Ab Aegypto et Lybibus Aegypto conterminis, et Cyrenâ et Barcâ (in portione namque Aegypti istae ordinantur) septingenta proveniebant talenta, praeter pecuniam è piscario proventu lacus Maerios. Exceptâ hac pecuniâ et certo frumenti numero, septingenta talenta obveniebant. Nam centum viginti millibus Persarum, qui in Albo muro Memphitico stationem habent, et eorum auxiliariis admetiuntur illi frumentum." Pag. 226.

A Babylon was built by the Persians on a steep rock over the Nile, a little above the head of the Delta, as appears by Strabo; “Uterius sursum naviganti est Babylon castellum naturâ munitum, à Babyloniis quibusdam conditum, qui huc secedentes, eo in loco habitationem à regibus impetrarunt. Nunc in eâ collocata est una ex tribus legionibus quae Aegyptum custodiunt.” Lib. XVII. — Quaer. Whether, if part of Grand Cairo is not still called Babylon?

Strabo gives the following account of Aegypt. — Of the Lower, he says; “Nilo exundante, tota regio undis tegitur praeter habitationes, quae aut nativis collibus aut aggeribus fascitiis impositae sunt, non pagi modo, sed etiam urbes memorabiles; quae eminus conspectae insularum speciem praebent.” Lib. XVII. — Of the upper Aegypt, he says; “Simili modo regio supra Delta irrigatur, nisi quod Nilus quatuor millibus stadiorum unico alveo rectâ delabitur, etc. Denique, ut verbo dicam, fluvio irrigua est sola ea pars Aegypti, quae jacet ad utramque Nili ripam, et raro usquam eorum continuam latitudinem habitabilem obtinet. Orditur ab Aethiopiae montibus et in ipsius Delta verticem definit: itaque similis est fasciae (as the translator renders it) in longum explicatae.”

As to the dykes or dams made on the side of the Nile, Strabo tells us, — “Artificium autem, quod Nilo adhibetur, tanti est, quanti industria naturam vincens,” etc.

*⁺ Ruens is used by Virgil rather than Fluens on account of the several cataracts in the Nile. Pliny says of the Nile from its first rise; “Postremò inclusus montibus, nec alibi torrentior, vectus aquis properantibus ad locum Aethiopum, qui Catadupi vocantur, novissimo cataracte inter occurstantes scopulos non fluere immenso fragore creditur, sed ruere,” lib. V. c. ix. where he manifestly only explains more at large the same thought which Virgil expresses in one word.

*⁵ As to the mouths of the Nile Pliny, says; “Undecim Nili ostia reperiuntur, quatuor quae ipsi falsa ora appellant: sed celeberrima septem;” which he names, lib. V. c. x.

And thus Strabo; “Nilus ab Aethiopiae finibus rectâ fluit ad septentrionem usque ad eum locum qui Delta appellatur, ubi tanquam à vertice quodam scissus (ut Plato inquit) figuram conficit triangulam. Latera trianguli alvei sunt duo Nili utrinque ad mare descendentes, alter ad dextram Pelusium usque, alter ad sinistram ad Canopum usque. — Duo itaque haec ostia Nili, alterum Pelusiacum vocatur, alterum Canopicum: inter haec alia quinque ostia sunt, quae quidem mentionem merentur; multa alia tenuiora.”

*^s Νεῖλ[⊙] μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῃ φερόμεν[⊙]. Procopius lib. VI. περὶ Κτίσμεν[⊙].

——— Custos Nili crescentis in arva
 “Memphis.” ——— Lucan, Lib. VIII. 477.

When Achoreus the Aegyptian priest is giving an account to Julius Caesar of the course of the Nile, he says that after it has passed the cataracts :

“Hinc, Abaton quam nostra vocat veneranda vetustas,
 “Terra potens, primos sentit percussa tumultus,
 “Et scopuli, placuit fluvii quos dicere venas,
 “Quod manifesta novi primum dant signa tumoris.
 “Hinc montes natura vagis circumdedit undis,
 “Qui Libyae, te, Nile, negent: quos inter in altâ
 “It convalle jacens jam molibus unda receptis.” ———

Pharfal. lib. X. 323.

Quaer. Whether Molibus, in the last verse, does not refer to the moles or dams at the Egyptian Babylon, made there on purpose to raise the water according to pleasure ?

VER. 317—320.

“† Pastor Aristaeus, fugiens †^s Peneïa Tempe,
 “Amiſſis, †^s ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,
 “Tristis ad †^s extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis
 “Multa querens ; atque hac affatus †^s voce parentem.”

† Virgil seems here to use the name of grazier, or herdsman, in introducing the hero of his story ; with the same sort of intent, that our dramatic writers formerly used to prefix the characters of their Dramatis Personae to their plays ; and the character thus affixed to him is very well kept up through the whole story. He appeared at first with his hair all rough and discomposed (from ver. 417.)—Is in a violent passion (329, etc.)—Bawls loud enough to frighten his poor mother (357, see 333, sonitum — 349, impulit — et 353, gemitu tanto) — calls her names (as I fear, from 360) ; and hints at a scandalous aspersión on her, and even on himself (323) ; — bursts into a loud halloo, when he runs at Proteus (438) ; and snaps him up short, when he speaks to him (447 et 450).

†^s The

† The epithet here is no idle one. The Romans seems to me to have used the word *Tempe*, as the Greeks did *Παράδεισος* (in general) for any very pleasing place; or pleasure-grounds, as our gardeners of late call them. Thus our own author:

——— “At latis otia fundis,
“Speluncae, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
“Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni,
“Non absunt.” ——— Georg. II. 471.

These *Tempe's*, or happy retirements, are (I think) always represented as cool and shady: thus Seneca, or whoever wrote the *Troas*, calls them, *Opaca*: and Statius, in one place, *Umbrosa*; in another, *Tenebrosa*. When they don't speak of pleasing places in general, they add the distinguishing name of the place: as *Peneia*, here; *Theffala*, for the same in Horace, (and Aelian); “*Heliconia, et Tecmessia Tempe*,” in Ovid, etc.

†³ I am apt to think that the Romans looked on their old fables, and stories, in three different views; some as certain, some as doubtful, and some as false: and should also think that they made use of the expressions, “*ut fama, ut perhibent, ut fertur*,” and the like, for the middle sort of the three: though, by the way, there is more authority for Aristaeus's method of procuring bees again, than one should at first suppose. It was from this notion that the Greeks gave the epithet of *Βεργενῆς* to bees; and one of their poets calls them,

——— Βοὸς φθιμένης πεπονημένα τέχνα.

Democritus, Aelian, and Hesychius, affirm it roundly, among their writers; and Varro and Columella make no doubt about it, among the Latin: not to speak of an African author, quoted for the same opinion by the latter. Virgil, you know, says it was used with the greatest assurance of success by the most knowing people of Africa, and by some of the neighbouring nations more to the east of them.

†³ *Extremi* signifies the extreme parts of any line, or thing; and, consequently, the beginning as well as the end of either. Here it is used evidently for the beginning or source of the river Peneus: and so Virgil uses it too in his first *Georgic*:

“Exercete, viri, tauros! ferite hordea campis!
“Usque sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem.”

that is, quite up to the borne (or beginning) of the *Bruma*; (about the middle

middle of December); when the great rains, and the great holidays in consequence of them, would not allow them to work.

†^s “Voce affari” (I should think) is no more common in Latin, than *he hears with ears* (which gave so much offence to poor parson Evans), is in English. It is said here, *Hæc voce*; “with this vociferation,” or, “in the following clamorous manner:” for which, see the speech itself; and ver. 333, 349, 353, after.

VER. 333—335.

— “† Mater fonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti
“ Senfit: eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphæ
“ Carpebant, hyali fatus fucata colore.”

† For the different sorts of habitations for the water-deities, and several descriptions of them, see Pol. XIV. 63.

VER. 345—347.

“ Inter quas curam Clymene * narrabat inanem
“ Vulcani, Martisque dolos, et dulcia furta,
“ Atque Chao densos Divûm numerabat amores.”

* The Poet seems here to intimate, that when ladies meet, the common topic of discourse amongst them is love-intrigue: at least, that it was so in former days.

† Virgil mentions this, as the most noted among all the stories, told by the water-nymphs in Cyrene’s grotto.

The water-nymphs, telling this kind of stories together, was so known a thing, that it was a subject even for statuary too:

“ Illic adspicias scopulis haerere forores;
“ Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:
“ Ut Semele est combustus, ut est deperditus Iö;
“ Denique ut ad Trojæ tecta volarit avis.”

Propertius, lib. II. xxiii. ver. 20.

Leuconoë and her sisters divert themselves in the same manner whilst they are at work; and Leuconoë, in particular, tells this very story of Mars and Venus. Ovid often calls it “the most trite story among the Gods.” Met. IV. ver. 189. — Art. Am. II. ver. 563. — Amor. lib. I. El. ix. ver. 40.

Both Virgil and Propertius call the subjects of these stories, *Dulcia*: and the latter uses the word, *Canere*, for the manner of telling them; as the former says, "*Carminibus quo captæ.*" The subjects in general agree with those most used in our novels and romances: and they were told, either in verse, or in an affected poetical kind of prose; for *Carmen* is used indifferently for the one or the other. Propertius might have an eye to this affected style, in those expressions of his relating to Jupiter's amours:

"*Ut Semele est combustus, ut est deperditus Iö.*"

Apuleius makes use of this affected, lulling style, in his romance: as one may see, by his very proposition itself; which ought to be plain and easy, even in a poem. He begins thus: "*At ego tibi, sermone isto Milesio, varias fabulas conferam; auresque tuas benevolas lepido fusurro permulceam: mox, si papyrus Aegyptiam argutiâ Nilotici calami inscriptam non spreveris inspicere, figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas, et in se rursus mutuo nexu resectas, ut mireris, exordior.*" Exord. to his *Asinus Aureus*.

VER. 358—362.

"*Duc, age, duc ad nos; fas illi limina Divûm
Tangere, ait. Simul alta † jubet discedere late
Flumina, quâ juvenis gressus inferret: at illum
Curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda;
Accepitque sinu vasto, misitque sub amnem.*"

† Thus Ovid says, very strongly, of another river-god:

"*Cedere jussit aquam; jussa recessit aqua.*"

Lib. III. El. vi. ver. 44.

This is represented sometimes in antiques; as particularly on a gem in Maffei's collection (Vol. II. pl. 34.), where you see Neptune beneath the water; which hangs suspended, in a sort of arch, over his head.

VER. 363—373.

"*Jamque domum mirans genetricis et humida regna,
Speluncisque * lacus clausos, lucosque *² fonantes,
Ibat; et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum,
Omnia sub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ*

"*Spectabat*

" Spectabat diversa locis; Phasimque, Lycumque *³,
 " Et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus;
 " Unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluens,
 " Saxosumque sonans Hypanis, Myfusque *⁴ Caicus;
 " Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
 " *⁵ Eridanus, quo non alius * per pingua culta
 " In mare purpureum *⁶ violentior influit annis."

*¹ Virgil does not mean here rivers in general, but such only as run under ground and hide themselves part of their course.

*² Ruacius's interpretation of this passage seems very forced: Virgil certainly means groves, echoing with falls of water; his nymphs being partly wood, and partly water nymphs, as appears both by their names, and by the following verses:

——— " Nymphasque sorores,
 " Centum quae sylvas, centum quae flumina fervant."

Ver. 383.

*³ Pliny, speaking of rivers which run partly under ground, and burst forth again, names first the Lycus in Asia. Nat. Hist. lib. II. c. 103.

— " Ubi terreno Lycus est epotus hiatu
 " Existit procul hinc, alioque renascitur ore."

Ovid Met. lib. XV. 273.

*⁴ " Et Mysum capitisque sui ripaeque prioris
 " Poenituiffe ferunt, aliâ nunc ire, Caicum."

Ovid, ibid. ver. 277.

*⁵ " Padus è gremio Vesuli montis celsissimum in cacumen elati, finibus
 " Ligurum Vagiennorum visendo fonte profluens, condensque sese cuniculo,
 " et in Forovibensium agro iterum exoriens, nulli annium claritate infe-
 " rior. Graecis dictus Eridanus." Pliny, lib. III. c. xvi.

* See Pol. p. 232.

*⁶ This may be understood of the Po emptying itself by very strong currents into the sea. I was assured by boatmen, as I sailed before the mouths of the Po, that the water continues fresh three or four miles into the sea; and, I observed, as I sailed by the embouchures, that the water looked white and muddy (as the Po is), as far as I could see. But without restraining it to this sense, Virgil may be understood by Violentior to mean the damages done by the overflowing of the Po all along its course, of which he himself must frequently have been an eye witness

ness. Pliny, lib. III. c. xvi. speaking of the overflowing of the Po, says, that it is "*Agris quàm navigiis torrentior;*" meaning, I suppose, in his *outré* stile, that it carries countries and fields with it rather than ships.

† I have, on another occasion, formerly (*Essay on the Odyssey*, Dial. V. p. 309.) taken notice of the beautiful contrast in the run of that couplet,

"Unde pater Tiberinus," etc.

the former line of which is one of the most soft-flowing verses, and the latter one of the roughest and most embarrassed, of any in the *Georgics*.

I have since been sometimes apt to imagine, that Virgil inserted the second of these lines, after the first writing of this passage, on purpose to make this contrast: because, if you leave out that line in the reading of it, the whole passage would be much more regular and exact than it is.

As it stands now, all the rivers seem to be named in disorder; but, omitting it, they will each follow the other, in an exact geographical order, from east to west: the first mentioned being the farthest east, in Armenia; the second, another Asiatic river, but nearer Greece; the third, in Greece; and the three others all in Italy, each lying farther and farther west, the Tiber, the Anio, and the Po.

VER. 374.

"Postquam est in thalami pendentia † pumice tecta
"Perventum." —

† The roofs of the great apartments in the old *Thermae* (as appears in those of *Caracalla* at Rome at this day) were chiefly composed of *Pumice* stone, for lightness.

They were used too for grottos: — "*Erosa faxa (pumices) in aedificiis, quae Musea vocant, pendentia; ad imaginem specus arte red-dendam.*" *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. XXXVI. c. 21. p. 503.*

"Antra subit topbris laqueata et pumice vivo."

Ov. Fast. II. 313. (Herc.)

VER. 382, 383.

—— "Simul ipse precatur

"† Oceanumque patrem rerum, nymphasque sorores,

"Centum quae fylvas, centum que flumina fervant."

† Virgil

† Virgil calls Oceanus, *Pater rerum*, "Lord of all the watery world;" whereas Juvenal calls Neptune only *Pater Aegei*, or, "Lord of all the in-land seas." Sat. XIII. ver. 81.

VER. 425—429.

" Jam † rapidus torrens sitientes Sirius Indos
 " Ardebat caelo, et medium sol igneus orbem
 " Hauserat: arebant herbae, et *¹ cava flumina ficcis
 " *² Faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant :
 " Cum Proteus consueta petens è fluctibus antra.
 " Ibat." —————

† So Manilius :

" Subsequitur rapido contenta Canicula cursu." I. ver. 386.

He is represented as running rapidly after the hare, in the Farnese globe ; Pol. pl. xxiv. and with rays of fire on his head.

*¹ Shallow, low within the banks, almost dry.

*² In allusion to throats parched with thirst.

VER. 465, 466.

" † Te, dulcis conjux, te solo in litore secum,
 " Te, veniente die, te decedente canebat."

† Mr. Benson, that studied versification so particularly, used to call this,
 " The softest couplet that ever was writ."

VER. 471, 472.

" At cantu commotæ † Erebi de sedibus imis
 " Umbrae ibant tenues, simulacraque luce carentum."

† The artist who designed the pictures for the famous manuscript Virgil in the Vatican, probably mistook the word Erebus here, if Erebus properly means the first region in Hades. He represents Ixion on his wheel, as drawn out of Tartarus, quite to the inner bank of Styx, by the music of Orpheus.

VER. 511—515.

" Qualis populeâ moerens Philomela sub † umbra
 " Amissos queritur foetus, quos durus arator

" Observans

“ Observans nido implumes detraxit ; at illa
 “ Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
 “ Integrat, et moestis late loca questibus implet.

† Mons. Huet makes a very indifferent objection to this passage. “ Com-
 “ ment,” says he, “ peuvent se rencontrer ensemble la nuit et l’ombre du
 “ peuplier ?” Huetiana, § xlv.

———— “ Tectæ fronde queruntur aves.” Ov. Ep. X.

VER. 563, 564.

“ Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
 “ † Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis otâ.”

† There may be a propriety in this that is not generally remarked.
 Naples was a place of pleasure and indolence : and it was therefore (as
 some suppose ; Addison’s Travels, p. 128.) said to have been founded
 by Parthenope, one of the Sirens ; who were Goddesses of Indolence
 and Pleasure.

———— “ Improba Siren
 “ Desidia.” ——— Hor. lib. II. Sat. iii.
 ——— “ Otiosa Neapolis.” Id. Epod. v.

Statius agrees with Virgil, in the character of his own city Naples.
 Sylv. lib. III. Eleg. ult.

“ Pax secura locis, et desidis otia vitæ.” Ver. 85. etc.

And Silius Italicus :

———— “ Molles urbi ritus, atque hospita musis
 “ Otia.” ——— L. XII. 31.

See the other quotations in Mr. Addison, *ibid.*

This idea too makes the contrast here, between Augustus and Virgil,
 the stronger.

* Pausanias, speaking of Troezen, says ; “ Musarum templum est ;
 “ et prope templum ara perantiqua visitur. Ad hanc Musis immolant, et
 “ Somno. Somnum etenim ex Diis maxime Musis charum esse dicunt.” —
 Upon which place there is a note, observing very justly ; “ Per somnum
 “ non desidiam et torporem, sed honestum otium animique tranquillitatem
 intelligi.”

This

This is a pretty antithesis, and a compliment to his patrons. As different countries have a different manner of agriculture, and indeed the difference of climates requires different methods, therefore it was proper that Virgil should signify where he was when he wrote his Georgics: for we are thereby informed, that the rules he gives particularly respect the place where he wrote, and are such as were practised chiefly in that country. I say chiefly, because he sometimes launches out into other countries; and gives more general rules. It is certain, that most of Virgil's instructions, and the customs he describes, are still chiefly used in the kingdom of Naples.

N O T E S

O N T H E

A E N E I D S.



A E N E I D T H E F I R S T †.

VER. 5—7.

“ **A** R M A virumque cano, Trojæ qui *¹ primus ab oris
 “ *² Italian, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
 “ Litora.”——

† That Virgil wrote this excellent poem with a design of assisting and confirming Augustus’s usurpation of the sole government of the Roman state, is proved at large in Polymetis, D. III. notes 6 to 13. One must use so hard a name for it, when one looks back upon his proscription; but one cannot use it without pain, when we look onward to the mildness of his administration, and his patronage of the most deserving in all works of genius or art.

*¹ It has been objected, that Antenor came *first* to Italy, that is, to Padua; but Padua was not formerly reckoned in Italy, but in Gaul. Dion Cassius expressly tells us, that even in Julius Caesar’s time it was reckoned in Gaul: for, speaking of a prodigy, which happened there on the day of the battle of Pharfalia, he says: Ἐν Παλαιῶ, τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας, τότε δὲ ἔτι Γαλατίας, ὀρνιδὸς τινας, etc.—But supposing it had been properly in Italy, what

what would it signify? Aeneas was the first, who came to that part of Italy (*Lavina litora*) where the foundation was laid of the Roman future greatness, in which Antenor was not any ways concerned.

*² That is, to that part of Italy, where the foundation of the Roman empire was to be laid; and therefore Virgil adds "*Lavinaque litora*" to confine his meaning. In the third Aeneid, ver. 381, Virgil uses *Italiam* in the same confined sense, in the prophecy of Helenus:

" *Principio Italiam, quam tu jam rere propinquam,*
 " *Vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,*
 " *Longa procul longis via dividit invia terris:*"

i. e. The whole body of Italy separates you from Italy; that is, that part of Italy, to which you are to go.

VER. 16—21.

" *Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni,*
 " *Carthago, Italiam contra, Tiberinaque longe*
 " *Ostia; dives opum, studiisque asperrima belli:*
 " *Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam*
 " *Posthabitâ coluisse Samo: hic illius † arma,*
 " *Hic currus fuit.*"——

† This is not spoken of the Roman, but the Carthaginian Juno. Thus Ovid of the latter:

" *Poeniteat quod non foveo Carthaginis arces,*
 " *Cum mea sint illo currus et arma loco.*"

Fast. lib. VI. ver. 46.

One would think from this, compared with what Apuleius says in his prayer of *Psyché*, that the Carthaginians represented their Juno sometimes in a chariot drawn by lions: "*Magni Jovis germana et conjuga! Sive tu Sami, quae querulo partu vagituque et alimoniâ tuâ gloriatur, tenes vetulâ delubra! Sive celsae Carthaginis, quae te virginem vectura leonibus caelo commeantem percolit, beatas sedes frequentas! Sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, et reginam Dearum memorat!*" etc. *As. Aur. lib. VI.*

VER. 25—26.

“ Hinc populum late regem belloque † superbum,
 “ Venturum excidio Libyae : sic volvere Parcas.”

† Superbus is used in Latin, and most of the languages derived from it, in a good sense, as well as a bad.—“ Superbae virtute et factis animae.” Sil. Ital. X. 573. — “ Superbi Tarchontis domus.” Id. VIII. 474. The house of the Great Tarchon, or Tarchon the Great.

VER. 40—49.

“ Cum Juno, aeternum fervans sub pectore vulnus,
 “ Haec secum : Mene incepto desistere victam,
 “ Nec posse Italiâ Teucrorum avertere regem ?
 “ Quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem
 “ Argivum, atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto,
 “ Unius ob noxam et furias Ajacis Oilei ?
 “ Ipsa, Jovis † rapidum jaculata è nubibus ignem,
 “ Disjecitque rates, everitque aequora ventis :
 “ ‡ Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammâ
 “ Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto.”

† The most distinguished three among the twelve great Gods, as they were called, to wit, Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno, were allowed to thunder; and no others. How closely these three were supposed by some to be connected, see Pol. VI. 80, 81, et 82.

‡ To this, Flac. Argonaut. I. 372.

The story is told more at large in Agamem. Act. III. Sc. i.

Virgil might have an eye here to some celebrated picture of this Ajax. — “ (Apollodori est) Ajax fulmine incensus, qui Pergami spectatur hodie.” Plin. lib. XXXV. c. ix. p. 249. ed. Elz.

Neptune pursued him still farther; which also was the subject of another noble picture, described by Philostratus in his Icones, II. 13.

VER. 86—95.

——— “ † Venti, velut agmine facto,
 “ Quà data porta, ruunt, et terras turbine perflant.

Incu-

- “ Incubuerè mari, totumque à sedibus imis
 “ Unà Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
 “ Africus: et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
 “ Insequitur clamorque virum, stridorque rudentum.
 “ Eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque
 “ Teucrorum ex oculis: ponto nox incubat atra.
 “ Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether:
 “ Praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.”

† This storm of Virgil's probably contributed towards setting all the Roman poets almost after him a storm-painting. — In Agamemnon, we have a puerile imitation of it. Lucan has another, carried to excess. Ovid (according to his manner) has several: and Flaccus one (Arg. I. 641.), which was certainly taken from this, unless both that and this were originally copied from Apollonius Rhodius. — Juvenal seems to ridicule their overcharging their pieces; where, speaking of a real storm, he says, it was as bad as a poetical one, Sat. XII. 24.

* The description of a storm was a common topic of the poets; and in which they frequently miscarried by too great exaggerations. Juvenal, describing what his friend Catullus suffered in a storm, says:

- “ Omnia fiunt
 “ Talia, tam graviter, si quando Poëtica surgit
 “ Tempestas.” ————— Sat. XII. 22.

VER. 128—131.

- “ Interea magno misceri murmure pontum,
 “ Emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus, et imis
 “ Stagna refusa vadis: graviter commotus, et alto
 “ Prospiciens, summâ † placidum caput extulit undâ.”

† The aspect of Neptune, in all the good antiques I have seen of him, is majestic and serene. The lower sort of artists represent him sometimes with an angry and disturbed air; and one may observe the same difference in this particular between the greater and less poets, as there is between the bad and the good artists. Thus Ovid describes Neptune with a fullen look:

“ Ter Neptunus aquis cum torvo brachia vultu
 “ Exferere ausus erat ; ter non tulit aëris aestus.”

Met. II. ver. 271.

whereas Virgil expressly tells us, that he has a mild face, even where he is representing him in a passion.

VER. 163—172.

“ + Est in secessu longo locus : insula portum
 “ Efficit objectu laterum ; quibus omnis ab alto
 “ Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
 “ Hinc atque hinc vastae rupes, geminique minantur
 “ In caelum scopuli : quorum sub vertice latè
 “ Aequora tuta silent : tum sylvis scena coruscis
 “ Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.
 “ Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum :
 “ Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia fano ;
 “ Nympharum domus.”——

+ There is a place in the kingdom of Tunis, under the promontory of Mercury (now called Cape Bon), a few miles east of Carthage, that exactly answers Virgil's description of the grotto, where Aeneas anchored on his first coming to Africa. This hollow goes in 20 or 30 fathoms under the rock ; and those who took out the stone from it (for it seems to have been a quarry), left a sort of pillars, at proper distances, to support the weight at top from falling in. The arches, which these pillars help to form, lye open to the sea ; there are little streams perpetually draining from the rocks, and seats of stone formed within, probably for the use of those who worked in that quarry. There is a cliff on each side, and the brow of the mountain is overshadowed with trees. From Dr. Shaw (then at Florence, in his return from the spot).

VER. 181—183.

“ Tum Cererem corruptam undis, Cerealiaque arma
 “ Expediunt fessi rerum : frugesque receptas
 “ Et * torrere parant flammis, et frangere fano.”

* Ruacus is mistaken in his observation on this passage. “ Torrere flammis Cererem” signifies, to dry their corn, as the ancients used to do before they ground it.—See Georg. I. 267.

VER.

VER. 188—190.

“ Navem in conspectu nullam, tres litore * cervos
 “ Prospicit errantes: hos tota armenta sequuntur
 “ A tergo, et longum per valles pascitur agmen.”

* Sallust, in his Jugurthine war, giving an account of the first inhabitants of Africa, says, that they lived chiefly upon venison: “ Africam
 “ initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyci, asperi, incultique; quæis cibus erat
 “ caro ferina.”

VER. 199—213.

“ † Vina (*a*) bonus quæ deinde cadis onerârat Acestes
 “ Litore Trinacrio, dederatque abeuntibus heros,
 “ Dividit; et dictis (*b*) moerentia pectora mulcet:
 “ O (*c*) focii (neque enim ignari fumus ante malorum),
 “ O passî (*d*) graviora; dabit Deus (*e*) his quoque finem.
 “ Vos et Scyllæam rabiem, penitusque sonantes
 “ Accêstis scopulos; vos et Cyclopea saxa
 “ Experti: (*f*) revoke animos, moestumque timorem
 “ Mittite: forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.
 “ Per (*g*) varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
 “ Tendimus in Latium: (*h*) sedes ubi fata quietas
 “ Ostendunt: illic fas regna (*i*) resurgere Trojæ.
 “ Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.
 “ Talia voce refert: (*k*) curisque ingentibus aeger,
 “ Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.”

† This speech has a good deal of the gay air that is in Teucer's in Horace: It is a gayety, mixed with concern. The occasions too were a good deal alike.—It is not easy to determine, which of the two might copy the other in this case: but from the subject, and turn of it, I should rather imagine that Horace's is the original. It is true, Virgil was the elder of the two; but the difference between their ages is so small, that it is scarce to be taken into the question: for the people, who have writ their lives, make Virgil but four years older than Horace. On the other side, this speech of Aeneas is in Virgil's last work; and that of Teucer was probably among Horace's earlier pieces: for it seems likely that his Odes
 in

in general (especially his drinking and love Odes) were writ in the gayer part of his life; and his discourses and moral pieces, when he grew more advanced in years, and consequently more serious.—I shall subjoin Horace's speech at full length, with marks to shew where they agree: by which it will appear, that it is in no less than ten particulars, in the compass of so few lines: and yet the different characters of the Epic and Lyric Poet are preserved; and something of the different tempers of the writers is visible in each: for Horace's mirth is (of the two) the more gay and jovial; and Virgil's the more modest and sedate.

- “ Teucer Salamina patremque
 “ Cum fugeret (*k*); tamen (*a*) uda Lyaeo
 “ Tempora populeâ fertur vinxisse coronâ,
 “ Sic (*b*) tristes affatus amicos.
 “ Quò nos cumque feret melior Fortuna parente,
 “ Ibimus, ô (*c*) focii, comitesque.
 “ Nil (*e*) desperandum, Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro:
 “ Certus enim (*b*) promissit Apollo,
 “ (*g*) Ambiguam tellure novâ (*i*) Salamina futuram.
 “ O fortes, (*d*) pejoraque passi
 “ Mecum sæpe viri, nunc (*a*) vino (*f*) pellite curas!
 “ Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

Lib. I. Od. vii. 32.

VER. 246—252.

- “ Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
 “ Illyricos * penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
 “ Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare * Timavi:
 “ Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
 “ It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva fonanti.
 “ Hic tamen ille urbem *² Patavi sedesque locavit
 “ Teucrorum; et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit
 “ Troïa.”——

* “ Satis constat — Antenorem cum multitudine Henetûm venisse in
 “ intimum maris Adriatici sinum: Euganeisque (qui inter mare Alpesque
 “ incolebant) pulsus, Henetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras: et in quem
 “ primûm egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur; pagoque inde Trojano no-
 “ men est: gens universa Veneti appellati.” Liv. lib. I. § i.

De

“ De Venetis duplex fertur sententia. Quidam enim eos quoque Gallos faciunt, Gallorum Venetorum qui ad occasum habitant Gentiles. Alii è bello Trojano cum Antenore eò locorum evasisse tradunt Venetorum Paphlagonum quosdam.” Strabo, lib. V.

* The river Timavus bursts out all at once from the bottom of a mountain, and divides itself into nine different streams before it runs on for the Adriatic sea. It is so large itself, that Virgil calls it a sea; and as it is at the head of the Gulph of Venice, the Italians now call it, La Madre del Mare: as if they thought all that sea was supplied from it.

*² Virgil very properly makes Antenor pass the Timavus; it was the boundary of the Veneti, as we are told by Strabo: “Quae trans Padum sunt Veneti incolunt et Histri, usque ad Polam;” and more expressly, that the Timavus was the boundary between the Histri and Veneti; “Post Timavum Histrorum est ora maritima usque ad Polam.”—And in another place he says; “Diomedes in Venetis apud Timavum honores et templum fuisse constitutum.”—Livy describes very well the country of the Veneti, when he says; “Venetos finum circumcolere Maris Adriatici.” Lib. V. — “In ipso autem intimo finus Adriatici, Timavum est Diomedis templum memorabile. Habet enim portum, et elegantem lucum, et fontes septem potabilis aquae statim in mare alto et lato excurrentes amne. Polybius dicit incolas locum hunc Fontem et Matrem Maris appellare.” Strabo, lib. V..

VER. 267—278.

“ Bellum ingens geret Italiâ, populosque feroces.
 “ Contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet:
 “ † Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
 “ Ternaque transferint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
 “ At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
 “ Additur, (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno)
 “ † Triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbes
 “ Imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
 “ Transferet, et Longam multâ vi muniet Albam.
 “ Hic jam † tercentum totos regnabitur annos
 “ Gente sub Hectoreâ, donec regina sacerdos,
 “ Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.”

† This division of 3, 30, and 300, seems too regular for any history, but a fabulous one; as the Roman was, perhaps, even long after this.

VER.

VER. 279—286.

“Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
 “Romulus excipiet gentem, et Mavortia condet
 “Moenia, Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
 “His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:
 “Imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Juno,
 “Quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
 “Consilia in melius referet; mecumque fovebit
 “Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.”

† The statue of Juno Regina was brought from Veii to Rome; and fixed in a temple built to her on the Aventine Hill; about the year 359, U. C. Livy, lib. V. § xxi. etc. Plutarch, in Camillo, seems to think, that she favoured the Romans at least from that time. Others make it much later. “Bello Punico secundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Juno coeperit fa-
 “vere Romanis.” Serv. in loc.

VER. 292.

“* Julius, à magno demissum nomen Iūlo.

* “Iulium eundem (scil. Aeneae et Creusae filium) Julia gens auctorem
 “nominis fui nuncupat.” Liv. lib. I.

VER. 298—300.

“Claudentur Belli portae: Furor impius intus
 “Saeva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus * ahenis
 “Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.”

† This seems to have been copied from some picture. Junius quotes Servius on this place for a picture of Bellum, and Furor, as here described; which hung in the entrance of Augustus's Forum, lib. II. c. viii. § x.

Virgil calls it Furor, or the party that opposed the Caesarean line, with the severity of one that had lifted himself on the other side.

* Ruæus in his note says; “Alludit, juxta Turnebum, ad imaginem
 “Belli, hoc habitu pictam ab Apelle, et ab Augusto dedicatam in foro
 “suo; ut est apud Plin. lib. XXXV. x. Sed nondum hoc tempore Fo-
 “rum dedicatum erat.” On the contrary, I should think, that this was
 a just observation of Turnebus, and that the objection made to it is
 idle;

idle ; for notwithstanding that Augustus had not yet dedicated his Forum when Virgil wrote this, yet it was sufficient, if the picture was then in Rome : for its being placed afterwards in a solemn manner by Augustus in his Forum, was a plain proof of his value for the piece ; and Virgil's allusion to it in this place was a compliment to Augustus's taste. The passage in Pliny is thus. Speaking of the famous pictures by Apelles renowned in several places, he adds : “ Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum
“ Victoriâ et Alexandro Magno mirantur : item Belli imaginem, restrictis à
“ tergo manibus ; Alexandro in curru triumphante. Quas utrasque ta-
“ bulas Divus Augustus in Fori sui partibus celeberrimis dicaverat.”

VER. 318—321.

“ Cui mater mediâ sese tulit obvia sylvâ,
“ Virginis os habitumque gerens, et virginis arma
“ Spartanae : vel qualis equos Threïssa fatigat
“ Harpalyce, volucrumque fugâ praevertitur † Hebrum.”

† Mons. Huet thinks it should be Eurum : See his reasons, Huetiana, § 64. which seem to be approved of by Ruæus.

VER. 406—409.

“ Dixit : et † avertens roseâ cervice refulsit,
“ Ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem
“ Spiravere : pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,
“ Et vera incessu patuit Dea.”

† Here are four signs of a divinity :

1. That beautiful Rubor in the Carnazione of Venus ; expressed by Apelles, and described by Cicero (De Nat. Deor. lib. I. p. 16. Ed. Ald.)

2. A fine Smell proceeding from them.

3. The Vest of Dignity, down the feet. And,

4. A Motion, not like that of mortals.

There were several others :

———— “ Divini signa decoris,
“ Ardentesque notate oculos ; qui spiritus illi ;
“ Qui voltus, vocisque sonus, vel gressus eunti.”

Aen. V. 650.

It is to this *Odour of Sanctity*, perhaps, that Virgil refers in his IVth Georgic, ver. 415; and Ovid certainly in his *Fasti*:

———— “*Tenues secessit in auras:
Manfit odor; posses scire fuisse Deam.*”

Other signals:

“*Os humerosque Deo similis: namque ipsa decorant
Caesariem gnato genetrix, lumenque juventae
Purpureum, et laetos oculis afflârat honores.*”

Aen. I. ver. 591.

—— “*Ego, quae Divûm incedo regina.*”—— Ver. 46.

“*Non ambulamus, sed incedimus,*” says Seneca.

Stukely says, the walking of the Gods is described by the antients as a swift, smooth, gliding motion; like the motions of a serpent. Heliodorus speaks of the wavy motions of the Gods, not by opening their feet, but with a certain aërial force. Sanchoniathon (in Eusebio, p. e. I. 7.) imagines that the serpent performs its motion by its spirit, and not by corporeal organs: and Pherecydes Syrus, where he says, the Gods have snakes feet, means that their motion was smooth and sweeping, without the alternate use of legs: It was called, *Incessus*. — Stukely, *Aburg.* p. 1. 57.

Virgil, describing the motion of a serpent, says, it was “*Attactu nullo,*” Aen. VII. 354.

VER. 450—453.

“*Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido
Condebat, donis opulentum et numine Divae:
Aerea cui gradibus furgebant limina †, nexaeque
Aere trabes: foribus cardo stridebat ahenis.*”

† This was not uncommon in the temples of the antients. The doors to the Rotonda at Rome are covered with brass, and turn on brass hinges. The Portico was covered with the same formerly; and it rested on brass beams, fastened with vast nails of the same metal. There is one of these very nails, which I have seen in the Great Duke’s gallery, so large that it weighs 46 pound.

* “*Prisci limina etiam ac valvas ex aere in templis factitavere.*” Plin. lib. XXXIV. c. iii. — The passage above was certainly intended as a compliment

compliment to Augustus; who in his third Consulship, that is, in the time that Virgil was writing his *Aeneis*, finished the Pantheon, and beautified it in the manner as Virgil here describes the temple of Juno. The brass doors are still there. The “*trabes nexae aere*,” Nardini assures us, were likewise remaining in his time: “*I travi pur di bronzo maestrevolmente fatti ciascheduno con tre grosse tavole da chiodi pur di bronzo connesse si son veduti a nostro tempo; finche Urbano VIII, l’anno 1627. le levò, per farne all’ altar maggiore della chiesa di S. Pietro colonne, et a Castel S. Angelo artiglerie, ponendove in loro luogo travi di legno.*” See Nardini, lib. VI. c. xvi. — Nardini likewise says; “*Affermano il Fulvio ed il Marliano haver veduto scoperto l’antico piano avanti al tempio, da cui tanto si saliva quanto ora si scende.*”

“*Aerea cui gradibus furgebant limina.*”

Desgodetz, in his *Edifices antiques de Rome*, Planche 13, gives us an elevation of one of the brass doors of the Pantheon, with its pilaster and cornice (or *limen*), which, as well as the doors and pilasters, was formerly covered with brass, as Desgodetz assures us, Planche 5. “*La fermeture de la porte est de bronze Corinthien appliqué sur du bois; les bazes et les chapiteaux des pilastres et la corniche de cette fermeture qui étoient aussi de bronze ont été emportés, et il ne reste plus que le bois qui étoit dessous; le treillis qui est par le haut est de bronze fondu, de l’épaisseur d’un pouce.*”

Desgodetz supposes likewise very justly, that the Pediment of the Por-tico was faced with brass in bas-relief: “*Dans le Timpan de dessous on voit plusieurs trous, qui font conjecturer qu’il y avoit un bas-relief de bronze attaché dans ces trous par des crampons.*” And further he says: “*Les inscriptions qui sont dans la frize et dans les bandes de l’architrave sont gravées dans le marbre, en sorte qu’il y a lieu de croire que dans ces graveures il y avoit des lettres de bronze, parceque les graveures sont percées fort avant en quelques endroits, comme pour y sceller les crampons qui tenoient les lettres attachées.*” See Planche 3.

VER. 468, 469.

——— “*Animum picturâ pascit inani,*
“*Multa gemens *; largoque humectat flumine vultum.*”

* We shall find (as Mr. Dryden observes, in his *Dedication to the Aeneis*), that the tears of Aeneas were always on a laudable occasion.

VER. 494—497.

- “ Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
 “ Penthefilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet ;
 “ Aurea subnectens * exertae cingula mammae
 “ Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.”

* Q. whether *Exerta* signifies cut off, as is commonly understood? or not rather at liberty, being naked and exposed. Claudian, in his *Paneg. de Consulatu Prob. et Olyb.* describing Rome in the habit of an Amazon, says:

- “ Dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
 “ Audacem reteggit mammam.”——

The Poet here fully represents the right side, particularly the breast, naked, and exposed; and though he endeavours so much to vary his expressions, yet he says nothing directly of the breast being cut off. He applies the word *Exerta* to the *Lacerti*, which cannot be supposed to be cut off. He must therefore mean only, “ having the right arm at liberty, “ and prepared for action.” Had the breast been really cut off, it is not probable that a poet, who was always so fond of expatiating, would have lost an opportunity of enlarging on such a topic.

† In all the figures of Amazons by the antient artists that I have ever observed (and I have observed a great number in statues, reliefs, gems, and medals), I never saw any one that had either breast cut off. There is one generally naked (or exerted), and the other is generally covered with part of the thin vest, that falls down toward their knees. Their legs are naked; and they are generally represented with a bow or ax, and the moon-shield; just as they are described by Virgil, and the other Roman poets:

- “ At medias inter caedes exultat Amazon,
 “ Unum exerta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla ;
 “ Et nunc lenta manu surgens hastilia pensat,
 “ Nunc validam dextrâ rapit indefessa bipennem :
 “ Aureus ex humero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.”

Aen. XI. 652.

- “ Nihil ipsa neque aurae,
 “ Nec sonitus memor, aut venientis ab aethere teli :

“ Hasta

“ *Haesta sub exertam donec perlata papillam*

“ *Haefit.*” ————— *Aen. XI. 803.*

————— “ *Amazonidum nudatis bellica mammis*

“ *Turba.*” ————— *Prop. lib. III. El. xiv.*

“ *Felix Hippolyte nudâ tulit arma papillâ.*” *Id. lib. IV. El. iii.*

————— “ *Inde Lycen ferit ad confine papillae ;*

“ *Inde Thoën, quâ pelta vacat.*” ————— *Flac. VI. 375.*

VER. 534—537.

“ *Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt :*

“ *Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae :*

“ *Oenotrii * coluere viri ; nunc fama, minores*

“ *Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*”

* “ *Prisci Oenotriam vocârunt Italiam, quicquid terrae à Siculo freto usque ad sinum Tarentinum et Posidoniâtem tendit ; quod nomen deinde ita obtinuit, ut usque ad Alpium radices proferretur.*—— Probabile est eos, qui primùm Itali sunt appellati, ob res secundas nomen cum finitimis communicâsse ; idque deinde ita auctum, tantisper dum ad Romanos summa rerum pervenit.” *Strabo, lib. V. initio.*

VER. 707—710.

“ *Quinquaginta intus *¹ famulae, quibus ordine *² longo*

“ *Cura penum struere, et flammis adolere Penates :*

“ *Centum aliae, totidemque pares aetate ministri,*

“ *Qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.*”

*¹ Housekeepers, and their attendants ; it appearing by a discourse in A. Gellius on the word *Penus*, that it signified all sorts of provision laid up in store for a family either for eating or drinking. *Lib. IV. c. i.*

*² It is disputed in the same place whether this ought to be read *longo* to agree with *Ordine*, or *longam* to agree with *Penum* : “ *Meministi enim credo quaeri solitum quid Virgilius dixerit ? Penum instruere, vel longam, vel longo ordine. Utrumque enim profectò scis legi solitum.*” Gellius, *ibid.*—If *longam* is the true reading, it means a great stock, or magazines to serve a great while : for we find by the same author, that the daily provisions for the table did not properly come under the word *Penus*..

Penus. “ Nam quæ ad edendum bibendumque in dies singulos prandii
 “ aut coenæ causâ parantur, Penus non sunt; sed ea potius quæ hujusce
 “ generis, longæ usionis gratiâ, contrahuntur et reconduntur.” Gellius,
ibid.

VER. 744, 745.

————— “ Citharâ † crinitus Iöpas
 “ Personat auratâ.” —————

† The bards of old were in the highest esteem. They sang to their golden harps, at the feasts of kings and princes; were usually dressed (among the Asiatics at least) in a long embroidered robe, which reached the ground; and had their hair finely dressed out, and flowing all down their shoulders. This latter therefore was one of their known characteristics; and Virgil, by his giving the epithet of Crinitus to Iöpas on this occasion, meant (in his usual short way) to intimate all the finery and dignity of his appearance. — Had the author of a piece published a few years ago (under a name that would make every body fond of reading it) been aware of this, methinks he could never have called Crinitus here, “ an epithet so wholly foreign to the purpose.” See *Disc. on antient and modern learning*, by Mr. Addison, p. 6.

VER. 760.

————— “ Te jam * septima portat
 “ Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus æstas.”

* The beginning of the seventh year, or rather summer. — This appears from *Aen. III. ver. 8.*

————— “ Vix prima inceperat æstas,
 “ Et pater Anchises dare fatis vela jubebat.”

AENEID THE SECOND.

VER. 8, 9.

——— “ Et jam * nox humida caelo
“ Praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera fomnos.”

* If the interpretation of Ruæus is right, that Aeneas does not begin his story till towards break of day (*die proximè imminente*), then, as it is long, and takes up the two following books, it could not possibly be finished till broad day; which is utterly inconsistent with the beginning of the IVth book.

VER. 21—24.

“ Est in conspectu * Tenedos, notissima famâ
“ Infula; dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant:
“ Nunc tantum sinus, et statio malefida carinis.
“ Huc se profecti deserto in littore condunt.”

* “ The island Tenedos is about four or five miles from the shore of Asia; is about twenty miles in circuit; and hath a town and castle, which lieth on the north end of it, regarding the promontory of Sigeum towards the east. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 66.

VER. 76—80.

“ † Ille haec, depositâ tandem formidine, fatur:
“ Cuncta equidem tibi, Rex, fuerint quaecunque, fatebor
“ Vera, inquit; neque me Argolicâ de gente negabo;
“ Hoc primum; nec, si miserum fortuna * Sinonem
“ Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.”

† This verse is omitted in the old Florentine manuscript; and has been added (with a different ink, and another hand) at the bottom of the page. Whoever added it seems to have overlooked the *Inquit*, in the very next line but one.

* Sinon:

* Sinon was no inconsiderable person; a relation of the ingenious Palamedes, ver. 86; and so ingenious himself as to have been the inventor of the watch-tower, built during the time of the siege of Troy. “Spectularum significationem Trojano bello invenit Sinon.” Plin. lib. VII. c. lvi.

VER. 152—157.

—— “ Ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasgâ,
 “ Sustulit exuras vinclis ad sidera palmas.
 “ Vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile * vestrum
 “ Testor numen, ait: vos arae ensesque nefandi,
 “ Quos fugi; vittaeque Deum, quas hostia gessi:
 “ Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere jura.”

* Markland reads here, Vestae; see his notes on Statius, Sylv. I. ver. 35. and concludes his note with this just observation: “Vide autem quàm artificiosè Sinonem inducit Virgilius ingredientem orationem ejus à mentione et invocatione Vestae; ut scilicet gratiam Trojanorum captaret: Vestâ enim ab iis maximè colebatur.

VER. 201—222.

“ * Laocoon, ductus Neptuno forte sacerdos,
 “ Solemnes taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.
 “ Ecce autem gemini à Tenedo tranquilla per alta
 “ (Horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues
 “ Incumbunt pelago, pariterque ad litora tendunt:
 “ Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta, jubaeque
 “ Sanguineae exuperant undas; pars caetera pontum
 “ Pone legit, sinuatque immensa volumine terga.
 “ Fit sonitus spumante falo: jamque arva tenebant,
 “ Ardentesque oculos suffecti fanguine et igni,
 “ Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.
 “ Diffugimus visu exangues: illi agmine certo
 “ Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum
 “ Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
 “ Implicat, et miseros morfu depascitur artus.
 “ Post, ipsum auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem
 “ Corripiunt, spirisque ligant ingentibus: et jam

“ Bis

- " Bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
 " Terga dati, superant capite et cervicibus altris.
 " Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos,
 " Perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno ;
 " Clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit."

* This story of Laocoon, so elegantly described by Virgil, alludes to a famous Grecian statue, which was esteemed one of the greatest master-pieces of the ancient sculpture; and which was undoubtedly well known to the Romans in Virgil's time, if not already brought thither. I know it is disputed by the virtuosi whether the statue was copied from Virgil, or Virgil's description taken from the statue. The latter is pretty manifest: For Pliny tells us expressly, lib. XXXVI. c. v. that this groupe was made by three eminent artists together, viz. Agessander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus: And, lib. XXXIV. c. viii. though he does not tell the time when they all lived, yet he tells us that Athenodorus was one of the scholars of Polycletus, who flourished about the 87th Olympiad, or near the 320th year of Rome, between the times of Phidias and Praxiteles: therefore we must suppose that this groupe was made near 400 years before Virgil wrote this. Pliny likewise in the same chapter tells us, that after the 120th Olympiad, this art declined: and though it revived again about the 155th, yet it never arrived to its former glory. And therefore, as this groupe was celebrated as one of the best pieces that ever was made, we may suppose reasonably that it was the work of the age when this art was in its greatest perfection. That this is the same statue, which is still preserved at the Belvidere in the Vatican, cannot be doubted; the whole groupe being of one piece of marble as Pliny describes it, and being found in or near the place where he says it stood in his time. Speaking of the works of the most famous statuary, he says: "Multorum obscurior fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus
 " eximiis obstante numero artificum; quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam,
 " nec plures pariter nuncupari possunt. Sicut in Laocoonte, qui est in
 " Titi Imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis
 " praefendum. Ex uno lapide eum et liberos draconumque mirabiles
 " nexus de consilii sententiâ fecere summi artifices, Agessander et Poly-
 " dorus et Athenodorus Rhodii." Lib. XXXVI. c. v. — Donatus, speaking of the baths of Titus, says: "In vineis loci statuam Laocoontis lau-
 " datam à Plinio, conservatamque in hortis Vaticani Pontificiis, inventam
 " viderunt tempora vix inchoata prioris seculi." Lib. III. c. x. — And

Nardini confirms the same: "La statua bellissima del Laocoonte con
 " duoi figli attornati da serpi ritrovata nel tempo di Leone X. presso a
 " S. Lucia in Selce, e le Sette Sale, e trasportata in Belvedere, dove hoggi
 " stà." Lib. III. c. x. — Though it cannot well be doubted but Virgil
 had the famous statue of Laocoon in view when he wrote this story, yet
 it is observed that he has varied from it in many particulars; and that,
 perhaps, for the following reason. In the statue the father and sons are
 represented entangled by the serpents in one groupe; which the statuaries
 were under a necessity of doing, because they could not represent succe-
 sion of actions in the same stone: but the Poet not being under the same
 restriction, relates the story as it may more naturally be supposed to
 have happened. He first makes the serpents seize the children, each
 of them one; and when they had dispatched them, then they seize the
 father coming to their assistance. A less judicious author would probably
 have endeavoured to have followed the statue as servilely as possible;
 but Virgil chose rather to copy the most masterly strokes of it; the ser-
 pents twisting themselves about and entangling their bodies; Laocoon
 " tendentem manibus divellere nodos," and " clamores horrendos ad sidera
 " tollentem:" and where it was proper, he varies from the original.

† As statuary is confined to one single point of time, in the famous
 groupe of the Laocoon, in the Vatican, you see the serpents killing him
 and his two sons together. Poetry has a larger scope; and can describe
 each step of any action distinctly. Virgil therefore, in his description of
 the same thing, gives the whole course of it, and every part of it suc-
 cessively. — You first see the serpents on the sea; then on the shore;
 then killing the sons of Laocoon; and lastly killing Laocoon himself.
 This must make that figure and his description differ in most particulars;
 and indeed there is scarce any thing in which they agree, except the at-
 titude of Laocoon himself, and the air of his head: in which Virgil seems
 to have copied that statue very strongly.

VER. 264.

—— " Primusque Machaon,
 " Et Menelaus; et, ipse doli fabricator, * Epeus."

* That there was a tradition in Italy, that Epeus was the builder of
 the Trojan horse, is manifest from Justin: " Metapontini in templo Mi-
 " nervae ferraamenta quibus Epeus, à quo conditi sunt, Equum Trojanum
 fabri-

“ fabricavit, ostentant. Lib. XX. c. ii. — Pliny seems to speak of this horse, as if it was the same with the battering-ram: “ Equum, qui nunc
“ Aries appellatur, in muralibus machinis Epeum ad Trojam invenisse dicunt.” Nat. Hist. VII. 56.

VER. 293—297.

“ * Sacra, fuosque tibi commendat Troja Penates :
“ Hos cape fatorum comites : his moenia quaere,
“ Magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.
“ Sic ait, et manibus vittas, Vestamque potentem,
“ Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.”

* Dryden, in his dedication to the Aeneis, remarks very judiciously, that a compliment is here paid to Augustus: and that Virgil plainly touches at the office of high-priesthood with which Augustus was invested; and which made his person more sacred and inviolable, than even the Tribunitial power: and that it was not for nothing that this most judicious Poet made that office vacant by the death of Pantheus, ver. 429, for his hero to succeed in it.

VER. 351.

“ Excessere omnes adytis * arisque relictis
“ Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat.”——

* This was a general superstitious thought among the old Heathens.— See Curtius, lib. IV, of Apollo’s preparing to quit the Tyrians.— See also Macrob. Sat. lib. III. c. ix.—Plin. lib. XXVIII. c. ii.—Liv. lib. V.

VER. 396—401.

“ Vadimus immixti Danaïs, haud numine nostro :
“ Multaque per caecam congressi praelia noctem
“ Conferimus, multos Danaûm demittimus Orco.
“ Diffugiunt alii ad naves, et littora cursu
“ Fida petunt : pars ingentem formidine turpi
“ Scandunt * rursus equum, et notâ conduntur in alvo.”

* This is more outré, than any thing I know of in all the Aeneid. It may be a pretty thought, but it would perhaps better become Lucan

than the gravity of Virgil. After the discovery of the trick, the horse was a very improper place to hide in; but indeed Virgil represents them seized, "formidine turpi;" and in such a case people seldom know what they do.

VER. 416—418.

"Adversî rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
"Confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque, et lætus Eois
"Eurus † equis."——

† The author of Polymetis suspects, from this passage, that Eurus might be sometimes represented by the antient artists, either on horseback, or perhaps in a chariot whirling through the air: The Roman poets, says he, sometimes using the expression *in equis*, to signify a person's being in a chariot; and so may possibly use *Equitare* for the same. Flaccus uses an expression of another wind (the north), which seems to imply his being in a chariot:

—— "Fundunt se carcere læti
"Thraces equi; Zephyrusque."—— Arg. I. ver. 611.

See Pol. XIII. 10. — Horace uses *Equitavit* of Eurus:

"Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas,
"Ceu flamma per taedas, vel Eurus
"Per Siculas equitavit undas."

Lib. IV. Od. iv. ver. 44.

VER. 431—436.

"Iliaci cineres, et flamma extrema meorum,
"Testor, in occasu vestro, nec tela, nec ullas
"Vitavisse vices Danaûm; et, si fata fuissent
"Ut caderem, meruisse manu. Divellimur inde,
"Iphitus et Pelias mecum: quorum Iphitus aevo
"Jam gravior *, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulyssæi."

* These circumstances are added very properly. That Dido might not suspect that Aeneas deserted his friends, who were engaged in the same party with him, and ran away, he says:

—— "Si fata fuissent
"Ut caderem, meruisse manu."——

And

And to prove that it was purely Fate or Providence which protected him, he adds, that the two friends preserved with him were Iphitus and Pelias; the one very old, the other lame; persons very unlikely to escape by flight. We must farther observe, that *Divellimur* expresses violence, and by it Aeneas declares that, after the loss of so many friends, it was with difficulty and reluctance that he was obliged to retire. “*Divellimur inde.*”

VER. 567.

“† *Jamque adeo super unus eram,*” etc.

† All this passage (from “*Jamque adeo super unus eram,*” to “*furiatâ mente ferebar,* ver. 588.) is omitted in the Florentine manuscript; and no manner of notice taken of it in the margin.

* There is a little treatise written by one Franciscus Campanus in the year 1536, and printed at Milan 1540, relating to the 22 disputed verses here, “*Jamque adeo super unus eram,*” etc. where Aeneas tells Dido, that whilst Troy was in flames he discovered Helen at the altar of Vesta; and was so far enraged against her, that in his passion he had thoughts of killing her, had he not been prevented by Venus. These verses are left out of many manuscripts and editions of Virgil; and it is pretended they were struck out by Tucca and Varus, as being inconsistent with the account which Deiphobus gives of Helen in the VIth book.

——— “*Me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae*

“*His misere malis,*” etc.———

This author shews plainly, that by leaving out those 22 verses, the sense and connexion of that part of the poem must utterly be destroyed; and thinks it would be more pardonable to strike out the speech of Deiphobus in the VIth, than those verses in the IId, supposing it necessary to strike out either: but he apprehends no necessity of doing either; both passages, as he thinks, being reconcileable.

The account Aeneas gives of Helen being real according to the situation in which he says he himself saw her; and the account Deiphobus gives of her only conjectural, and what he had good reason to suspect, but the truth of which he could not be sure of, being, as he himself declares, fast asleep when the enemy broke in upon him.

VER.

VER. 681—693.

—— “ Manus inter moestorumque ora parentum,
 “ Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli
 “ Fundere lumen apex †¹ ; tractuque lanoxia molli
 “ Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci:
 “ Nos pavidi trepidare metu, crimineque flagrantem
 “ Excutere, et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignes.
 “ At pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
 “ Exrulit, et caelo †² palmas cum voce tetendit.
 “ Jupiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
 “ Aspice nos, hoc tantum : et, si pietate meremur,
 “ Da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.
 “ Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore
 “ Intonuit * laevum.”——

†¹ This is not a poetical ornament, any more than the account of the light seen on Lavinia's hair (Aen. VII. 71—101. posth.) — It was looked on as a great omen, and even to portend the regal dignity to those on whom it appeared. Livy records a like phaenomenon's happening to Servius Tullius, while yet a boy in Tarquinius Priscus's family, (lib. I. § 39. See ib. § 41.) — “ Hominum quoque capita vespertinis horis magno “ praefagio circumfulgent :” Pliny, of the lambent lights called Castor and Pollux, lib. II. c. xxxvi.

†² This was an attitude used by the Romans of old when they prayed, and is said to be used among the Africans to this day. Virgil repeats it in other places.

—— “ Duplices tendens ad sidera palmas,
 “ Talia voce refert.”—— Aen. I. 97.

“ Ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra ;
 “ Lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.”
 Ib. II. 406. of Cassandra.

—— “ Amens animi, et rumore accensus amaro
 “ Dicitur ante aras, media inter numina Divum,
 “ Multa Jovem manibus supplex orasse supinis.”
 Ib. IV. 205. of Iarbas.

And

And so Horace, to his servant in the country :

“ Caelo supinas si tuleris manus,

“ Nascente lunâ, rustica Phidile,” etc. Lib. III. Od. xxiii.

* Thunder on the left hand was a fortunate and confirming omen. When the prophet Amphiaraus in Statius, by order of Adrastus king of Argos, consults the heavens, whether the people of Argos ought to make war with Thebes in favour of Polynices against his brother Eteocles, or not : He prays to Jupiter, that, if they were to march on, and attack Thebes, he would thunder on the left ; but if they ought to stay at home, he would then give a signal to the right.

“ Si datur, et duris fedet haec sententia Parcis

“ Solvere Echionias Lernaëâ cuspide portas;

“ Signa feras, laevusque tones.——

“ Si prohibes, hic nocte moras ; dextrisque profundum

“ Alitibus praetexe diem.”—— Statius, Theb. lib. III. 491.

VER. 707—710.

——“ Age, chare pater, cervici imponere nostrae :

“ Ipse * subibo humeris : nec me labor iste gravabit.

“ Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periculum,

“ Una falus ambobus erit.”——

* “ Qualis Aeneas patrem gestans pingitur, reverendus et hostibus.” Appian. lib. IV. 986.——† There is a figure of this in Polymetis, p. 64.

VER. 745, 746.

“ * Quem non incusavi amens hominumque Deorumque ?

“ Aut quid in eversâ vidi crudelius urbe ?

* Mr. Dryden, very justly, takes notice of the address of Virgil, in speaking of the loss of Creûsa here. “ It was not for nothing,” says he, “ that this passage was related with all these tender circumstances: Aeneas “ told it, Dido heard it.” Dedication to his Transl. of Virgil.

AENEID THE THIRD.

VER. 4—7.

“ *Diverſa exilia, et *¹ deſertas quaerere terras,*
 “ *Auguriis agimur Divum: claſſemque ſub ipſa*
 “ *Antandro, et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae:*
 “ **² Incerti quo fata ferant; ubi ſiſtere detur.”*

*¹ Father Catrou has here altered the text, and reads *Diverſas*; and thinks the repetition a beauty: but certainly there is no reaſon for the alteration; *Deſertae*, or *Vacuae terrae*, were the moſt proper to plant colonies in, and exiles to look for: and one may obſerve that Virgil uſes the ſame word *Deſerta* (ver. 112. “*Deſertaque litore Crete*”) where it is particularly urged as an inducement to go and ſettle in Crete.

*² Ruæus has the following note on this paſſage: “*Tamen Creüſa*
 “ *monuerat, Aen. II. 781. in Hæſperiâ ad ripas Tybris ſedes eſſe futuras.*
 “ *Ergo, vel non credidit inani Creüſæ ſimulacro; vel illud Creüſæ vati-*
 “ *cinium ex iis eſt locis, quos Virgilius emendare debuiffet.*”—— Virgil, a few verſes after (viz. 186.), gives a good reaſon why Aeneas did not entirely depend upon what was told him by Creüſa; when he makes Anchifeſ, on the like occaſion, (viz.) on reflecting on Caſſandra’s propheſies, cry out,

“ *Quis ad Hæſperiae venturos littora Tencros*
 “ *Crederet?*”——

See other reaſons given by Father Catrou, in his remarks on this place: to which one may add, that this critic does not conſider that, among other things, Creüſa foretold “*longa exilia*;” and therefore, ſuppoſing Aeneas gave entire credit to the viſion, he could not expect to find an immediate ſettlement in Italy on his firſt landing, without taking proper meaſures to effect it. And if ſo, in what country could he hope to find the firſt reception and aſſiſtance ſooner, than Thrace? “*Hospitium antiquum*
 “ *Trojae.*”

VER.

VER. 11—18.

——— “ *¹ Feror exul in altum,
 “ Cum fociis, natoque, Penatibus, et magnis Diis.
 “ Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis,
 “ Thraces arant, acri quondam regnata Lycurgo :
 “ Hospitium antiquum Trojae, sociique Penates,
 “ Dum fortuna fuit. *¹ Feror huc, et litore curvo
 “ *² Moenia prima loco, fatis ingressus *³ iniquis;
 “ Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo.”

*¹ Feror, twice repeated here. Observe the expression. He seems to be forced in by fate, not to go by choice : yet “ Hospitium antiquum” was reason sufficient for going thither.

*² The city of Aenos ; where Caepio, Cato’s brother, died, and was there buried by him ; and a stately monument of Thasian marble erected over him : Plutarch, Life of Cato the younger. It is now called Eno. See Ruæus.

*³ The Poet seems here, by a spirit of prophecy, to foretel that this country would be fatal to the descendants of Aeneas ; as Constantinople afterwards proved.

VER. 22—29.

“ † Forte fuit juxtà tumulus, quo cornea summo
 “ Virgulta, et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.
 “ Accessi, viridemque ab humo convellere sylvam
 “ Conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,
 “ Horrendum et dictu video miserabile monstrum.
 “ Nam, quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbor
 “ Vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae,
 “ Et terram tabo maculant,” etc.———

† The only way to judge truly of the ancients, in points that are purely ancient, is to imagine ourselves in their places ; in the same circumstances, and with the same sort of ideas they had. As we can very seldom do this, we are very often mistaken about them.

I can’t say that I approve this passage ; but is not the fault in myself ? Would it have shocked me, had I been born a Roman, in the time of Augustus, and had read it soon after the Aeneid was published ?

II h

They

They stocked every thing with Divinities and Intelligences : there was not a river, a lake, a grot, or a grove, without them. These were not poetical ornaments ; but the real object of the belief and religion of the common people ; and the professed religion of the great.

When they believed every grove and every tuft of trees to have some particular Divinities belonging to it ; it was but one step farther to entertain the notion of Intelligences vitally annexed to a tree, which was their received notion of the Hamadryades. (See Bayle, Art. HAMAD.)

Those stories of Daphne, Phaëton's sisters, and the like, were known stories too ; and tolerably well received by the most believing part of mankind, the vulgar.

There is even an Embassador in Livy, that treats a consecrated tree in general as an intelligent being, and as a Deity. " Tum ex legatis unus abiens ; " Et haec (inquit) sacrata quercus, et quicquid Deorum est, " audiant foedus à vobis ruptum." Lib. III. § xxv.

VER. 73—77.

- " Sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
- " Nereïdum matri et Neptuno Aegeo :
- " Quam pius Arcitenens oras et littora circum
- " Errantem, * Mycone celsâ Gyaroque revinxit ;
- " Immotamque coli dedit, et contemnere ventos."

* Delos being reputed the birth-place of Apollo, the circumjacent islands (therefore called the Cyclades), to make it the more famous, sent thither by public order priests, sacrifices, etc. instituting there public solemnities : Sir G. Wheeler, p. 53. He was on the spot ; and tells us, that the island is but small, not exceeding five or six miles about ; that it hath the island Rheucia westward, from which it is parted by a channel of about half a mile over ; the southern parts of Mycone east ; and the channel between Mycone and Tino to the north. It is now utterly disinhabited ; but the ruins of its former glory still remaining, of which Sir George gives a description, with a draught of the island. He says, the island lieth low in respect of the circumjacent isles, which are beyond proportion higher, p. 58.

By Mycone and Gyarus, the Poet probably means all the Cyclades, though he names only two instead of the whole. He adds, Celsâ, with respect to what is observed above by Sir George Wheeler. — Mycone

is

is not so far distant from Delos, as Ferrarius in his Dictionary assureth; it being but four miles at the most. It may have 25 or 30 miles in circumference. Sir G. W. p. 62.

Statius, in describing a storm in the Aegean sea, says:

———— “Dubiae motis radicibus obstant
 “Cyclades: ipsa tuâ Mycone Gyaroque revelli,
 “Dele, times; magnique fidem testaris alumni.”
 Thebaid. lib. III. ver. 438.

VER. 94—98.

“* Dardanidae duri, quae vos à stirpe parentum
 “Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
 “Accipiet reduces: antiquam exquirite matrem.
 “Hic domus † Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
 “Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.”

* Observe, the oracle speaks to the Trojans by this name, not Teucri, to intimate their descent from Dardanus; but this circumstance Anchises might easily overlook.

† Homer had said long before,

———— Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
 Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μέλοπιθε γένωσται. Il. γ. 308.

It was not uncommon of old, to have nations entertain prophecies of their being designed by Heaven to be masters of all the world. Such were pretended among the Romans, from the very infancy of their state; and was confirmed on the building of the old Capitol; to which Virgil alludes in another place:

“Dum domus Aeneae Capitolî immobile faxum
 “Accolet, imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit.”
 Aen. IX. 449.

See this proved more at large, in Pol. III. 11.

VER. 102—113.

- “ Tum genitor, veterum * volvens monumenta virorum :
 “ Audite, ô proceres, ait, et spes dîcite vestras.
 “ Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto ;
 “ Mons * Ilæus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostræ :
 “ Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
 “ Maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
 “ Teucus Rhaeteas primum est adveſtus in oras,
 “ Optavitque locum regno : nondum Ilium et arces
 “ Pergameæ ſteterant ; habitabant vallibus imis.
 “ Hinc mater cultrix Cybele **, Corybantiaque aera,
 “ Idaeumque nemus : hinc fida ſilentia ſacris ;
 “ Et juncti currum dominae ſubiere leones.”

* See Dr. Trapp's note on Ruæus's remark on this paſſage. The Doctör obſerves, that Ruæus gives no answer to the charge : and the Doctör's answer is very ſhort. I think, much more may be ſaid in favour both of Anchifeſ and his ſon. Anchifeſ gives many arguments to juſtify his interpretation of the oracle ; (viz.) their origin from Crete by Teucer, from whom they were deſcended ; their mount Ida ; their great Goddeſs Cybele, and all the ceremonies uſed in her worſhip : all Cretan. Beſides, for their greater encouragement to go thither, they had reaſon to believe that they ſhould find no oppoſition to their ſettling there :

“ Fama volat pulſum regnis ceſſiſſe.” Ver. 121, etc.

Afterwards, when Anchifeſ was convinced of his miſtake, he acknowledges that Caſſandra had often foretold that Italy was the country deſtined to them :

“ Et ſæpe Hesperiam, ſæpe Italia regna vocare.”

But, for his excuſe, he ſays ;

“ Quis ad Hesperiae venturos littora Teucros

“ Crederet ? aut quem tum vates Caſſandra moveret ?”

Now when Anchifeſ was ſo fully perſuaded that all the foregoing circumſtances concurred evidently in favour of Crete ; that he had not any regard to Caſſandra's prophecy, nor in the leaſt thought of Italy ; to what purpoſe ſhould Aeneas at ſuch a time advertiſe his father of Creüſa's prophecy,

prophecy, in opposition to an oracle, that seem'd so clear for Crete: or how indeed could he be supposed to understand a prediction, which was in itself very obscure? It was this:

“Ad terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
“Inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Tybris.” Aen. II. 781.

Here we must observe, she does not name Italy, but Terram Hesperiam, a western country; so the Greeks called not only Italy but Spain too, as lying west from them; and the same name might be applied by a Trojan to any country lying west from Troy. What follows, viz.

——— “Ubi Lydius arva,” etc.

could give no light in ascertaining Italy: for the epithet Lydius given to Tybris required a long historical explanation, and Tybris was then unknown (for this was a new name given to the river, the old one, Albula, being changed, as we find, Aen. VIII. 330.); and Aeneas himself hints in the fifth book, ver. 83, that this name was unknown, when, addressing himself to his father's ghost, he says;

“Non licuit fines Italos, fataliaque arva,
“Nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Tybrim.”

The “quicumque est” seems to be added on purpose to shew that the Tyber, as famous as it became afterwards, was then utterly unknown to them. But supposing Aeneas to have an imperfect idea that by Hesperia Creüsa meant Italy, we must allow him the same excuse as Anchises makes for himself;

“Quis ad Hesperiae venturos littora Teucros
“Crederet?” ———

It was a country they were strangers too; and therefore how should it enter into their heads to think of settling there? When the Penates afterwards appear to Aeneas, and explain the oracle of Apollo expressly in favour of Italy, they describe it as any one would do a country before unknown:

“Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;
“Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae.
“Oenotrii coluere viri.” ——— Ver. 163.

and when they name Italy they mention it only as reported to be called by that name.

——— “Nunc

———— “Nunc fama minores

“Italiam dixisse.” ———

And after this particular description of Italy by the Penates, yet still Aeneas was at a loss what part of the country they were to go to, and what course to take thither (notwithstanding Creüsa had named Tybris) till Helenus afterwards informs him at large, ver. 381, etc.

*² “In medio insulae (Cretae) quæ latissima est, mons est Ida altissimus
“omnium qui in eâ sunt.” Strab. lib. X.

⊙¹ Strabo, speaking of the Curetes, or Corybantes, says; “Ingens
“est diversitas illarum narrationum,” etc. Lib. X. And, a little afterwards, he adds, — “Sceptus ait, in Cretâ honores Rheae (i. e. Cybeles)
“non esse in usu, neque receptos ibi ritus ejus, sed in Phrygiâ tantum
“ac Troade; qui aliter affirmant eos fabulam potius quam historiam tra-
“dere; ad quam rem eos fortassis nomina locorum ambigua induxerunt.
“Ida enim mons est et Trojae et Cretae.

VER. 124—127.

“Linquimus *¹ Ortygiae portus, pelagoque volamus:
“Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donyfam,
“Olearon, niveamque Paron, sparsasque per aequor
“Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta *² confita terris.”

*¹ “Delos olim dicta fuit Ortygia.” Strab. lib. X. ——— “Delon ita
“appellatam prodidit Aristoteles quoniam repente apparuerit enata.”
Plin. lib. IV. c. 12.

*² The most proper word that could be used, alluding to the Sporades.
—— Having mentioned the Cyclades by name, Virgil, for variety, ex-
presses the latter by a periphrasis.

VER. 131—133.

—— “Tandem antiquis Curetum allabimur oris.
“Ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis,
“* Pergameamque voco.” ———

* Pliny reckons Pergamum amongst the cities of Crete. L. IV. c. xii.

VER. 142—146.

“Arebant herbae, et victum seges aegra negabat.
“Rursus ad * oraculum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso

VER.

“ Hortatur pater ire mari, veniamque precari :
 “ Quem fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum
 “ Tentare auxilium jubeat, quo vertere curfus.”

* This advice of Anchises was very proper: what other expedient could be thought of in their distress? But yet supposing Aeneas had returned to Delos; what must have been the consequence without the particular intercession of some Deity? Oracles were not used to explain themselves: and therefore, without that, the second answer must have been as dubious as the first; and Aeneas left in the same uncertainty as before. To avoid this difficulty, Virgil very opportunely introduces the apparition of the Penates, etc.

VER. 147—152.

“ Nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat.
 “ Effigies sacra Divûm, Phrygiique Penates,
 “ Quos mecum à Trojâ mediisque ex ignibus urbis
 “ Extuleram, visi * ante oculos astare jacentis
 “ In somnis, multo manifesti lumine: quæ se
 “ Plena per infertas fundebat Luna fenestras.”

* Plutarch, in the life of Julius Caesar, relates a dream or vision of Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, the night preceding his murder; which he introduces in the following manner. “ As Caesar was in bed with his wife, all the doors and windows of the house flew open together; he was startled at the noise, and at the light which broke into the room, and sat upon his bed, where, by the moonshine, he perceived Calpurnia fast asleep,” etc. Virgil was probably well acquainted with the story, being about twenty-seven years of age at Caesar's death. If he may be supposed to allude to some of the aforesaid circumstances of that vision, he has very judiciously chosen only such as were proper to enforce the clearness of it; (viz.)

———— “ Multo manifesti lumine: quæ se
 “ Luna,” etc. ———

and has omitted the other circumstances of all the doors and windows of the house flying open together, and the startling at the noise; which were proper preludes to the butchery of Caesar, but not to his story.

* See Dr. Trapp's Translation and note on this passage.

VER. 163—168.

“ Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt ;
 “ Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae ;
 “ Oenotrii coluere viri : nunc fama minores
 “ Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
 “ Hae nobis propriae sedes : hinc Dardanus ortus,
 “ * Iâsiusque * pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.”

*¹ Marianus de Etruriâ metropoli, asserts ; “ Dardani fratrem Jasium, qui Cybelem uxorem duxit, in Etruriae agro mansisse, atque inde petiisse Arcadiam, Samothraciam, et Phrygiam, cum Curetibus et magnis Diis. Ea sacrificia antiquissima renovata demum ab Jasio Corybantis patre tradit Diodorus Siculus. Homerus Odyss. V. et ipse Diodorus Cererem ipsam narrant Jasio nuptam, quod Cybelem et Cererem eandem esse argumento est,” etc. Marianus, cap. v.

*² Some interpreters give a very strange ungrammatical construction of this place, which may be solved by supposing that Virgil artfully gives the title of Pater, to signify old Jasius, meaning that he lived till he was old ; and joins them very lovingly together, on purpose to discredit and shew his disbelief of the story of Dardanus’s having murdered Jasius, not thinking it to their honour, or a thing to be boasted of, to be descended from one who was banished from his own country for the murder of his brother. I am the more inclined to believe that this was Virgil’s intention, from observing that he has used the like caution with respect to Romulus and Remus, which is almost a parallel case ; and though that story of Romulus’s murdering Remus was a common tradition at Rome, Virgil never gives the least hint of it ; on the contrary he joins them both together very honourably in two several places (viz.) ;

“ Hanc Remus et frater.” Georg. II. ver. 533.

and, again, Aen. I. ver. 296.

“ Remo cum fratre Quirinus.”

VER. 172—179.

“ * Talibus attonitus visis ac voce Deorum
 “ (Nec sopor illud erat ; sed coram agnoscere vultus,
 “ Velatasque comas, praesentiaque ora videbar ;

“ Tum

“ Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore fudor),
 “ Corripio è stratis corpus, tendoque supinas
 “ Ad caelum cum voce manus, et munera libo
 “ Intemerata focus : perfecto laetus honore
 “ Anchisen facio certum, remque ordine pando.”

* Compare this with the appearance of Mercury to Hannibal, Sil. Ital. lib. III. from ver. 168 to 216. (particularly, “ neque enim fopor “ ille,” ver. 198.), and Isis’s appearance in a dream to Telethusa, Ovid. Met. lib. IX. Fab. xii.

VER. 210—212.

——— “ *¹ Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae
 “ Infulae *² Ionio in magno : quas dira Celaeno,
 “ Harpyiaeque colunt aliae.” ———

*¹ Sir G. Wheeler tells us that the Strophades, called now Strovadi or Strivalli, are judged about 50 miles from Zant, and 30 from the Morea ; very low, and the biggest not above 5 miles in circuit, p. 45.

*² See Georg. I. ver. 281.

VER. 255—257.

“ Sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
 “ Quàm vos dira fames, nostraeque injuria caedis,
 “ Ambefas subigat * malis absumere mensas.”

* See Georg. III. ver. 268.

VER. 270—276.

“ Jam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa †¹ Zacynthos *¹,
 “ *² Dulichiumque *³ Sameque, et Neritos ardua faxis ;
 “ Effugimus scopulos *⁴ Ithacae, Laërtia regna,
 “ Et terram altricem faevi execramur Ulyssis :
 “ Mox et Leucatae nimborum cacumina montis,
 “ Et formidatus nautis aperitur † Apollo ;
 “ Hunc petimus fessi, et parvae succedimus urbi.”

† Dionysius Halicarnassens (after having spoken of the various stories relating to Aeneas's voyage; where he is giving that which may be most depended upon) says; Εκείθεν (from Zacynthos) πελάγιον ποιησάμενοι ἔπλεον εἰς Λευκάδα κατέλκοντο, κατεχόντων ἔτι τὸ χωρίον Ἀκαρνανῶν· καὶ ταύτην πάλιν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἰδρύοντο. Τῆτο ὁ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ νησίδι τῇ μετὰ τῷ Διορύκτι τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως· καλεῖται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνεαῖος. Ἀρκαίης δὲ αὐτόθεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀκτίον ἐλθόντες, ὁρμίζουσι τῷ Ἀμυρακικῇ Κόλπῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκρωτήριο· κακῆθεν εἰς Ἀμυρακίαν ἀφικνῶν πόλιν. Lib. I. p. 40.

Virgil perhaps makes them stay at Actium, to celebrate the games there, in compliment to Augustus; who instituted the Actian Games, three years after his victory off this shore; in gratitude to the Actian Apollo, who was said personally to assist him in that victory.

Ovid, who describes this voyage of Aeneas so much in haste, does not omit his compliment on the same occasion:

——— “Versique vident sub imagine faxum

“Judicis, Actiaco quae nunc ab Apolline nota est.”

* Zacynthos, now Zant, one of the famous Currant Islands, subject to the state of Venice. Sir G. Wheeler tells us, that it is about thirty miles in circuit; and is one of the most fruitful and pleasant places he ever saw. It lyeth, he says, about thirty miles distant from the Morea, and about ten miles or more south from Cephalonia or Samè. Pag. 39.

*² Over against Pescarda (which is a harbour on the east side of Cephalonia), is the Isle Thiaki, separated from Cephalonia only by a streight of three or four miles over; for which reason some call it, Little Cephalonia. The likeness of its name hath made it be taken for Ithaca, one of the principal isles of Ulysses's kingdom; and is placed therè by Sanfon and Sophianus. But they may be deceived: for Strabo speaking of Ithaca, gives it but eighty stadia about, which maketh ten Italian miles; and this island is at the least double. Therefore I believe that Ithaca is another little island, seven or eight miles from hence, called yet Ithaca: which is much less than this; which Sir George Wheeler believes was anciently called Dulichium, because it hath on the east side a port with the ruins of a town called yet Dolichia. In a wood there are to be seen the ruins of an old castle, which the islanders tell you was the palace of Ulysses. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 35, etc.

*³ The isle of Cephalonia in Homer's time was called Samos; it was the greatest island of Ulysses's kingdom. And I wonder (says Sir G. Wheeler) that Strabo maketh it not above 300 stadia in circuit, which amount

amount but to 38 Italian miles; and Pliny no more than 44 miles; although indeed it hath more than 120 miles in compass, p. 36.

*⁴ As to the Isle Ithaca, it is desert; and those of Thiaki go thither to till it, in its seasons, p. 35.

*⁵ The island of St. Mauro was antiently called Leucada; and the modern Greeks call it so yet: for the castle only is properly called St. Mauro, from a convent which stood there, whilst it was under the Venetians. Strabo says, that it was antiently joined to the land; and that the strait was dug to separate it; which is likely enough; for in the straightest part it doth not much exceed fifty paces over, and almost every where three or four feet of water. It is in this narrowest part of the strait that the ancient city Leucada had its situation, upon an eminence a mile from the sea; of which some remains are yet to be seen. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 36.

†² This is meant of the famous statue of Apollo, placed on the promontory of Actium: which, as it stood so high, was visible to the mariners a good way out at sea; and was much revered by them. Pol. VIII. 64 and 65.

VER. 283—288.

“Interea *¹ magnum sol circumvolvitur annum;
 “Et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas.
 “Aere *² cavo clypeum, magni gestamen Abantis,
 “Postibus adversis figo, et rem carmine signo;
 “*Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.*”

Quaer. If, by “Magnum annum” here, Virgil does not mean Quinquennium; the usual time for celebrating these times? If so, we are hereby informed of the time since Aeneas left Troy.

*² This alludes to the dedication made by Augustus at the place after the battle of Actium, as Aeneas’s celebrating the games there does to his sports. Strabo tells us that, “De praedâ ex hostibus captâ Caesar “dedicavit decem naves, ab uno remorum ordine acta ad decirem usque, “primitias spoliis.” Lib. VII.

VER. 339—341.

“Quid puer Ascanius? superatne, et vescitur aurâ?
 “Quem tibi jam Troja *¹ ———
 “Ecquae jam puero est amissae cura *² parentis?”

*¹ This break was certainly intended, and is a great beauty. Virgil through this whole passage makes Andromache express her passionate enquiries in broken sobs. ——— What if we suppose that Aeneas, perceiving by this beginning that Andromache was going to enquire after Creüsa, stops her, to prevent her naming her name; and, by some sign, signifies that she was dead? It is very common among the Italians to this day to express their meaning by signs; and supposing this to be the case, the enquiry in the next verse follows very properly.

*² Some commentators explain Parentis (Patriae), the sense of which would be very good, and be very properly followed by the two ensuing verses; but as it would be unmannerly and inexcusable in Andromache, if she had not known Creüsa's fate, not to make the least mention of or enquiry after her, therefore we must suppose that she did not know it; and her condoling compliment to be paid here; and the word here used (viz.) Amissae, is the most proper that could be used on the occasion; and shews plainly that Andromache condoles the loss of Creüsa, and that tenderly without mentioning her name. Ruæus tells us how Andromache might be informed of the story: but supposing that she could not know it before this interview with Aeneas, would these critics have Virgil introduce her enquiring of Aeneas where his wife was? That could not be without obliging Aeneas at the same time to relate again in form the whole story of the loss of her, which would have been absurd. Therefore, allowing she was told by Aeneas, it was necessary that it should be in private, and not related here. As we must suppose many things to have passed in their discourse touching this long voyage, which could not properly be related here: and this is agreeable to Horace's rule:

————— “In medias res,
“Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit; et quae
“Desperat tractata nitefcere posse, relinquit.”

It is sufficient that she hints by the word Amissae, that she knew the story. We must suppose that Aeneas answered Andromache's questions; “Tibi qui cursum venti,” etc. “Quid puer Ascanius,” etc. though Virgil does not say it. We must likewise suppose that enquiry was made after Anchises, though not asserted here; for we find afterwards presents sent to him:

————— “Sunt et sua dona parenti.”

If all had been related in form, in questions and answers, this pathetic interview must have proved a very insipid one.

VER. 377—383.

“ *Pauca tibi è multis, quo tutior hospita Iustres*
 “ *Aequora, et Ausonio possis confidere portu,*
 “ *Expeditam dictis: prohibent nam caetera Parcae*
 “ *Scire Helenum, † farique vetat Saturnia Juno.*
 “ *Principio Italiam, quam tu jam rere propinquam,*
 “ *Vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,*
 “ ** Longa procul longis via dividit in via terris.”*

† Virgil represents the prophet Helenus, as restrained in his discoveries of what was to happen to Aeneas, in his going for Italy. The great point in which he was thus restrained, was Aeneas's delay at Carthage; and the danger that arose from it, of his quite breaking off his voyage, and settling in that city. Hence he says afterwards, ver. 440. “If Juno does not prevent it, you shall go from Sicily to Italy;” and it is true, he did so; but that was after the second time of his being in Sicily: and the whole affair of his being driven to the coast of Africa, and his staying so long at Carthage (which happened after his first leaving Sicily), is totally dropped by Helenus. All he does tell him, is; how he may escape the other dangers in his voyage; and what he is to do, and where to fix, when he is got to Italy.

* This verse hints at the form of Italy; which is extended in length like a leg, and has one side divided from the other by a craggy ridge of mountains.

VER. 389—393.

“ *Cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam*
 “ *Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus † fus*
 “ *Triginta capitum foetus enixa jacebit,*
 “ *Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati;*
 “ *Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.”*

† “Quod portenderit factum 30 annis ut Lavinienfes condiderint oppidum Albam. Hujus suis ac porcorum etiam nunc vestigia apparent Lavinii; quod et simulacra eorum aenea etiam nunc in publico posita,

“ et

“et corpus matris, quod in falsurâ fuerit, demonstratur.” Varro, De re rust. l. II. c. iv. § 18.

VER. 399—402.

“Hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri,
 “Et Salentinos obsedit milite campos
 “Lyctius Idomeneus: hic illa ducis Meliboei
 “Parva * Philoctetae subnixa Petilia muro.”

* “Thurinorum urbem condidisse Philocteten ferunt, ibique adhuc Monumentum ejus visitur.” Justin. lib. XX. c. i.

VER. 410—413.

“Ast, ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae
 “Ventus, et angusti * rarefcent claustra Pelori;
 “Laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur
 “Aequora circuitu: dextrum *² fuge littus et undas.”

* Dr. Trapp has translated this very justly: “And strait Pelorus shews its narrow passage.” But in his notes he says; “One would think the word Rarefcent should signify the direct contrary,” etc.—Any one who only looks on the map will observe, that Italy and Sicily must appear at some distance to sailors as one land, till they come in a direct line with the Straights; and then the Claustra Pelori must open and discover its narrow passage. In this point of view Virgil should be understood.

*² See the account of Octavius’s sufferings in the streights of Messina. Appian, from p. 1142 to 1148. edit. Toll.

VER. 433—439.

“* Praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,
 “Si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo;
 “Unum illud tibi, nate Dea, praeque omnibus unum
 “Praedicam, et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo;
 “Junonis magnae primum prece numen adora;
 “Junoni cane vota libens, dominamque potentem
 “Supplicibus supera donis.”——

* Observe

* Observe with how much earnestness Helenus gives this admonition; he repeats it over and over, and insists upon it as his principal instruction; as Aeneas himself observes afterwards, ver. 546, "*Dederat quae maxima.*" The occasion, I suppose, was; the Poet hereby pays a compliment to Augustus for the temples he built in honour of Juno, notwithstanding her former hatred to the Trojans. Compare this with book XII. 840.

VER. 456, 457.

" *Quin adeas vatem, precibusque oracula poscas :*

" * *Ipſa canat, vocemque volens atque ora resolvat.*"

* Emphatically, Sibylla herself. See lib. VI. ver. 76.

VER. 521, 522.

" *Jamque rubescebat ſtellis Aurora fugatis :*

" *Cum procul * obſcuros colles, humilemque videmus*

" *Italiam.*"——

* At ſuch a diſtance that one ſcarce diſtinguiſhes whether they are mountains, or not. Lucan expreſſes this thought very prettily :

—— " *Dubios vaneſcere montes.*" *Pharſ. lib. III. ver. 7.*

VER. 564—567.

" *Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem*

" *Subductâ ad manes imos descendimus undâ.*

" *Ter ſcopuli clamorem inter cava faxa dedere ;*

" † *Ter ſpumam eliſam et rorantia vidimus aſtra.*"

† Mr. Holdſworth thinks this line may poſſibly mean, " the foam daſhed from the rocks, and falling in ſparkling drops." I wiſh it would fairly admit of his meaning; becauſe otherwiſe the ſenſe draws too far toward the extravagant; though not ſo much as Lucan's, in his ſtorm, where he ſays, that their ſails ſometimes touched the clouds, and their keel the bottom of the ſea :

" *Nubila tanguntur velis, et terra carinâ.*" *Pharſ. V. 642.*

VER.

VER. 630—636.

— “ Simul expletus dapibus, vinoque sepultus
 “ Cervicem inflexam posuit, jacuitque per antrum
 “ Immenfus, faniem * eructans, ac frustra cruento
 “ Per fomnum commixta mero; nos, magna precati
 “ Numina, fortitque vices, unà undique circum
 “ Fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto
 “ Ingens, quod torvâ solum sub fronte latebat.”

* This is a very natural description, and well suited to such a brute as Polypheme; but would be too gross for the ears of a Queen, if we don't consider the story as related by Aeneas, “ totidem verbis,” from Achemenides. However, I think it was well that supper was over.

VER. 682—688.

“ Praecipites metus acer agit quocunque rudentes
 “ Excutere, et ventis intendere vela secundis.
 “ Contrâ, * jussâ monent Heleni Scyllam atque Charybdim
 “ Inter utramque viam, leti discrimine parvo,
 “ Ni teneant cursus: certum est dare lintea retro.
 “ Ecce autem Boreas angusta à sede Pelori
 “ Missus adest.”——

* Aeneas is here in such difficulty from the danger of being driven on Scylla and Charybdis to avoid the Cyclops, that methinks he seems somewhat embarrassed even in his account; till a northerly gale springs up, and sets him clear.

AENEID THE FOURTH.

VER. 24—27.

“ **S**ED mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat ;
 “ Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
 “ Pallentes umbras †¹ Erebi, noctemque profundam,
 “ †² Ante Pudor quam te violo, aut tua jura resolvo.”

†¹ For the situation of Erebus in the supposed subterraneous world, and the propriety of Virgil's description of it in this line, see Pol. XVI. 4 and 13.

†² Prius, ver. 24, makes this Ante a needless, or rather a faulty, repetition. — It was probably, according to Markland's conjecture, SANTE, or SANCTE PUDOR, in the old manuscript.

VER. 40, 41.

“ Hinc Getulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
 “ Et Numidae * infraeni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis.”

* Infraeni here is very improperly interpreted Indomiti, by Ruæus. Virgil certainly means their governing their horses without a bridle, by a wand only. See Lucan, lib. IV.

———— “ Gens fraenorum nescia,” etc. ————

Martial, lib. IX. Ep. xxiii.

“ Et Massylæum virga gubernet equum.”

Claudian, De bello Gildon.

———— “ Sonipes ignarus habenae ;
 “ Virga regit.” ————

Silius Italicus describes this horsemanship of the Numidae most particularly :

“ Hic passim exultant Numidae, gens inscia fraeni ;
 “ Queis inter geminas per ludum mobilis aures
 “ Quadrupedem flectit non cedens virga lupatis.” Lib. I. 215.

VER. 120—122.

“ His ego nigrantem commista grandine nimbū,
 “ Dum trepidant alae, saltusque indagine cingunt,
 “ Desuper infundam, et tonitu † caelum omne ciebo.”

† That Juno and Minerva shared the high privilege of managing the thunder, with Jupiter, is proved at large in Pol. VI. 80.

VER. 141—150.

——— “ Ipse ante alios † pulcherrimus omnes
 “ Infert se focium Aeneas, atque agmine jungit.
 “ Qualis, ubi hybernā Lyciam, Xanthique fluenta
 “ Deferit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo,
 “ Instauratque choros : mixtique altaria circum
 “ Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt, pictique Agathyrsi :
 “ Ipse jugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem
 “ Fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat auro :
 “ Tela sonant humeris. Haud illo segnior ibat
 “ Aeneas : tantum egregio decus enitet ore.”

† Virgil, in speaking of Aeneas, has often an eye toward Augustus : how particularly so in this comparison of Aeneas to Apollo, see Pol. VIII. 1, and 10 to 22. — The Apollo here described has a great resemblance to the famous Belvedere Apollo. Ib. 23.

VER. 165.

“ Speluncam Dido †, dux et Trojanus eandem
 “ Deveniunt.” ———

† Mr. Addison used to observe, “ that Virgil was more judicious in
 “ the use of his epithets than Homer. Homer’s usual epithet for his
 “ hero (said he) is *ποδας ωκυς*, or *ποδας γρηης* ; and is used by him of Achilles
 “ whether he is fighting, standing, sitting, or lying down. Virgil’s most com-
 “ mon epithet for his hero, is *Pius*, or *Pater* ; and I have considered what
 “ passage there is in any part of the Aeneid, where either of these ap-
 “ pellations would be the most improper for him : and this, I think, is
 “ his meeting with Dido in the cave ; where *Pius Aeneas* would have
 “ been absurd, and *Pater Aeneas* a burlesque. The Poet has therefore
 “ judiciously

“ judiciously dropped them both for *Dux Trojanus* : which he has repeated twice ; in Juno’s speech, and in his own narration : for he very well knew, a loose action might be consistent enough with the usual manners of a soldier ; though it became neither the chastity of a pious man, nor the gravity of the father of a people.” From the Tatler, N^o VI. It was this observation of his, which he had communicated before to his school-fellow Steel, which discovered to the former who was the author of the Tatlers ; and, in about half a year after, engaged him to join in the work : and so, at the long run, was the occasion of all his fine Spectators, etc.

VER. 181—183.

“ Monstrum horrendum, ingens ; cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
“ Tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
“ Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.”

† In Pol. (pl. XXIX.) is a figure of Fame, the under side of whose wings is all studded with eyes. — I am apt to imagine, that some of the lower painters of old used to represent Fame (as some of the moderns have done of late) with eyes and ears all over her body ; even to her fingers ends : for which, in particular, Lucian seems to ridicule them in the following passage. Πολυώλον σεαυτοῦ αναπεφηνας, τοσαυτα ακηκουας· ὡς και καὶ το τετραῖδες, και Ἀγ. των ουχων κηκουεις. Tom. II. p. 756. ed. Blaeu. Lucan here calls Fame, *τετραῖδες*, as Virgil calls her *Monstrum*.

VER. 246, 247.

—— “ Jamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
“ Atlantis duri, caelum qui † vertice fulcit.”

† In another place Virgil says, that he supports it with his shoulder (Aen. VIII. 137.) ; and Ovid says in one place, he supports it with his shoulders (Fast. V. 169.) ; and in another, with his neck (Met. VI. 175.) These seeming contrarieties are reconciled by the Farnese Atlas : in which figure he is represented as supporting the globe of the heavens, at the same time, with his head, neck, and shoulders. See Pol. pl. XXXIV.

VER. 345—361.

—— “ Italiam magnam Grynæus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae † jussere capeffere fortes :

K k 2

“ Illic

" Hic amor, haec patria est. Si te Carthagini arces
 " Phoenissam, Libyaeque aspectus detinet urbis :
 " Quae tandem Aufoniâ Teucros confidere terrâ
 " Invidia est ? et nos fas exera quaerere regna.
 " Me patris Anchisae, quoties humentibus umbris
 " Nox operit terras, quoties astra ignea surgunt,
 " Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago :
 " Me puer Ascanius, capitisque injuria chari,
 " Quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
 " Nunc etiam interpret Divûm, Jove missus ab ipso
 " (Testor utrumque caput), celeres mandata per auras
 " Detulit : ipse Deum manifesto in lumine vidi
 " Intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hausi.
 " Define, meque tuis incendere, teque querelis :
 " Italiam non sponte sequor." —

† Aeneas's reason for leaving Dido is the very strongest that could have been given, to an Heathen. "He had repeated commands from the Gods to leave her ; and therefore could not stay."

The reason why it sounds so weak to many of the modern critics must be ; either from those who were then looked upon as Gods being now seen in a ridiculous light ; or from our critics not having so strong a notion of the interposition of Providence as the Heathens had.

I do not remember that any one of these critics has ever observed that this speech is left unfinished by Virgil : and yet a good natured critic, that was not satisfied with the reasons given, might well say, "that Virgil probably had others in reserve, had he lived to complete his work."

VER. 402—405.

" Ac veluti ingentem formicae farris acervum
 " Cum populant, hiemis memores, testoque reponunt :
 " It * nigrum campis agmen, praedamque per herbas
 " Conveſcant calle angusto." —

* Jodocus Badius Ascensius, in his notes on Horace, lib. I. Sat. vii. observes, that this verse is taken from Ennius, who speaks it de Barris, i. e. Nigris Elephantis ; from whence Virgil very beautifully applies it to ants.

VER.

VER. 435—440.

“Extremam hanc ora veniam; miserere fororis:
 “Quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam *¹ morte remittam.
 “Talibus orabat, talesque miserrima fletus
 “Fertque refertque foror: sed nullis ille movetur
 “Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit.
 “Fata obstant: *² placidasque viri Deus obstruit aures.”

*¹ Quaer. If this must not be supposed to be spoken aside, so as not to be overheard by her sister? Otherwise it contradicts what follows.

*² Aeneas in his speech to Dido's shade, lib. VI. 460, speaks to the same purpose, and owns that he loved her:

“Invitus, Regina, tuo de littore cessi:” etc.

And Anchises's ghost declares as much to Aeneas:

“Quàm metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!”

Lib. VI. 694.

The greatest souls are subject to this passion.

VER. 509—511.

“Stant arae circum: et crines effusa faceros
 “Tercentum tonat ore Deos; Erebumque Chaosque,
 “† Tergeminamque Hecaten tria virginis ora Dianae.”
 “† Ora vides Hecates, in tres vertentia partes.”

Ovid. Fast. I. ver. 141.

“Diana interim est altè succincta, venatrix; et Ephesia, mammis multis, et veribus extructa; et Trivia, multis capitibus et multis manibus horrida.” Minutius Felix, § XXI. p. 108. ed. Davis.

Her own proper name, under this appearance, was Hecate. Trivia is only an accidental one; from her statues being usually placed where three streets (or ways) met together.

VER. 560—562.

“Nate Deâ, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?
 “Nec, quae circumstant te deinde pericula, cernis?
 “Demens! nec * Zephyros audis spirare secundos?”

* How

* How does this agree with the beginning of the fifth book? Unless by Zephyros is meant only fine weather? — But supposing we take it for the south-westerly winds; we must consider this only as a vision to hasten Aeneas's departure; and, therefore, in this place, when Mercury is hurrying him to be gone instantly, it would have been ridiculous to have made him dream that the wind was contrary; it was necessary to represent it as favourable as it could blow, yet I see no necessity of his finding it so when awake: it was then (we will suppose) northerly; yet he obeys the admonition, and rows out of the harbour. Compare this with the second verse of the fifth book:

———— “Fluctusque atros Aquilone fecabat.”

VER. 569, 570.

“Eia age, rumpe moras: * varium et mutabile semper
“Femina.” —————

* Dryden, in his dedication to the Aeneis, observes, that this is the sharpest satire, in the fewest words, that ever was made on womankind; for both the adjectives are neuter, and Animal must be understood to make them grammar. Virgil, says he, does well to put those words into the mouth of Mercury, etc.

VER. 581, 582.

“Idem omnes simul ardor habet: rapiuntque, ruuntque;
“Litora deseruere; * latet sub classibus aequor.”

* From their going close and compact together.

VER. 600—612.

“Non potui abreptum divellere corpus, et undis
“Spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
“Afcanium, patriisque epulandum apponere mensis?
“Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna! fuisset.
“Quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem,
“Implésssemque foros flammis; natumque patremque
“Cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.
“* Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras:
“Tuque harum interpret curarum, et conscia Juno,
“Nocturnisque

“Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
 “Et Dirae ultrices, et Dii morientis Elifae,
 “Accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen,
 “Et nostras audite preces.” ———

* Dr. Trapp here remarks that after all the rage and madness, and variety of passion, expressed in the most rapid style, with short quick sentences, questions, exclamations, etc. in Dido's foregoing speech; she here, in the very next words (between which and the foregoing she must be imagined to have paused, and panted, and taken breath), cools, and settles, falls into the long, and slow style, and prays for plagues upon the head of her false lover, with such religious formality, and solemnity of horror, as is enough to chill one's blood, while one reads it. See his Introductory Remarks on the fourth book, part II. — At the conclusion of this excellent remark he has the following observation: “I much question whether Virgil did not leave the last verse imperfect at,

“Imprecor, arma armis.” ——— Ver. 629.

“And whether some editor did not fill it up with,

— “pugnent ipsique nepotes;”

“Which seems (says he) to be a very flat and bald hemistich (more like “one of Ovid's than of Virgil's), especially at the very conclusion of so “noble a speech; and yet more especially since it is a tautology with,

“Tum vos, O Tyrii, stirpem, et genus omne futurum

“Exercete odiis,” etc.

I must beg leave to differ from this excellent critic. Let us consider then the whole drift of these twenty-three lines: Dido having invoked all the Gods and Goddesses, proper to be applied to on this occasion, to revenge her on Aeneas, is by them inspired with a kind of prophetic spirit, to call down such judgments upon him, and his posterity, as were afterwards in some measure fulfilled. The first part of her imprecation is levelled at Aeneas. And here we must observe, that Virgil takes this opportunity, which he has not elsewhere done, of hinting at the latter part of Aeneas's history, after he had killed Turnus (viz.); his short reign, and the manner of his death: Ver. 618, etc. It is true, indeed, that scarce any of these curses against Aeneas were completed according to the full import of the words, or, as we may suppose Dido wished. But we know by a parallel case that the terrible curse of the Harpy was accomplished.

plished in a joke : and even the predictions of oracles, which were seemingly most dreadful, often ended in trifles. The latter part of Dido's imprecation relates to the posterity of Aeneas. And this we find actually fulfilled in Hannibal, in the frequent breach of leagues ; and the perpetual enmity between the Romans and Carthaginians, till the latter were certainly destroyed. Dido, not contented to stop here, entails the completion of her curses upon all the descendants of the Carthaginians :

—— “ pugnent ipsique nepotes.”

This seems to take in Juba more particularly, who descended, as it is said, from a sister of Hannibal ; and so the imprecation is continued to Virgil's own time. There is a passage in Lucan to this purpose, which supposes Juba derived a natural hatred to the Romans from this very cause, his descent from the Carthaginians. When Pompey, after the battle of Pharsalia, was consulting with his friends what course to take, and some of them proposed to fly for succour to Juba, Pompey opposed it and said ;

—— “ Anceps dubii terret solertia Mauri :

“ Namque memor generis, Carthaginis impia proles

“ Imminet Ilesperiae, multusque in pectore vano est

“ Hannibal, obliquo maculat qui fangine regnum,

“ Et Numidas contingit avos.” —— Pharf. lib. VIII. 283.

Plutarch likewise tells us, that when Cato was for defending Utica against Caesar, his friends opposed his shutting himself up there, because they suspected the Uticenses, as being of the race of the Carthaginians. In short, it was the general opinion of the Romans, that Hannibal and the Carthaginians had tainted the whole country.

VER. 612—629.

—— “ Si tangere portus

“ Infandum caput, ac terris adnare necesse est ;

“ Et sic fata Jovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret :

“ At * bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,

“ Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,

“ Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna fuorum

“ Funera : nec, cum se sub leges pacis *² iniquae

“ Tradiderit,

- “ Tradiderit, regno aut optatâ luce fruatur ;
 “ Sed *³ cadat ante diem, mediâque *⁴ inhumatus arenâ.
 “ Haec precor ; hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
 “ Tum vos, ô Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
 “ Exercete odiis ; cinerique haec mittite nostro
 “ Munera : nullus amor populis, nec foedera funto.
 “ Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
 “ Qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos ;
 “ Nunc, olim, quocunque dabunt se tempore vires,
 “ Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
 “ Imprecor, arma armis : pugnent ipsique nepotes.”

*² “ Quasi has inferias sibi Saguntinorum ultimae dirae in illo publico
 “ parricidio incendioque mandassent ; ita manibus eorum, vastatione Italiae,
 “ captivitate Africae, ducum et regum, qui id gessere bellum, exitio pa-
 “ rentatum est.” Florus, lib. II. c. vi. To which Minellius has this note ;
 “ Non leve momentum habere putabantur pereuntium imprecationes ; ad-
 “ versus eos qui salutem eorum injustè impugnaverant,” etc. See likewise
 the curse of Eumenes, Justin. XIV. iv.

*² Iniquae may here signify unequal, as it often does : and so be ful-
 filled by the peace with Latinus, notwithstanding Aeneas had the advan-
 tage of the conditions. The ambiguity of the word makes it suit better
 with the prophetic stile.

*³ Aeneas lived to be old, as Anchises assures, lib. VI. 764. “ Quem
 “ tibi longaevo,” etc. therefore this curse of Dido was accomplished by
 fame only, or vulgar opinion.

*⁴ Dionysius Halicarnassensis says ; “ Commisso acri praelio, multisque
 “ utrinque caesis, Aeneae corpus nusquam apparuit : alii in Deos transla-
 “ tum putârunt, aliimersum fluvio juxta quem proelium fuerat. Latini
 “ templum Aeneae condiderunt, cum inscriptione, Jovi Indigeti, seu Patri
 “ Divo terrestri, qui fluvii Numici undas gubernat.” Lib. I. Juvenal
 hints at this tradition ; when speaking of Hercules and Aeneas, he says ;

“ Alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.” Sat. XI. 63.

Silius Italicus agrees with Virgil that Aeneas had quiet possession of the
 kingdom of Latinus ; and enjoyed it for some time. At the beginning

of his eighth book, when Anna, Dido's sister, is relating the story of her being driven on the coast of Laurentum, she says ;

“ Ecce autem Aeneas sacro comitatus Iulo,

“ Jam regni compos, noto sese ore ferebat.” Lib. VIII. 71.

And a few verses before she says, this was two years after the death of Dido :

“ Ast ea dum flavas bis tondet messor aristas

“ Servata interea sedes ; nec longius uti

“ His opibus Battoque fuit”. —

VER. 659, 660.

“ Dixit, et os impressa toro, moriemur inultae ?

“ Sed moriemur, ait : sic, † sic, juvat ire sub umbras.”

† It is at this instant that she stabs herself (like the tyrants in our tragedies — *Thus, thus, I thank thee !* — when they give two or three repeated strokes of the poniard). Her last resolution is taken immediately before this ; and she has given the blow before ver. 663.

* Methinks, says Dr. Trapp, I see her strike two strokes while she pronounces these words : and I am confident Virgil intended by that repetition to convey that image to the mind. As in another place ;

———— “ Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas

“ Immolat.” —

See his Introductory Remarks to this Book ; part II.



AENEID THE FIFTH.

VER. 1—4.

“ Interea medium Aeneas jam classe tenebat

“ Certus iter, fluctusque atros * Aquilone secabat :

“ Moenia respiciens, quae jam infelicis Elifae

“ Collucent flammis.” —

* I cannot agree with Ruæus that Virgil means by Aquilone the wind in general: at least I think he would not in this place have expressed himself by Aquilone, if he meant a contrary southerly wind, though not favourable, to shew his hero's resolution: and this thought is still heightened by "fluctus atros;" he was determined to be gone, though the wind was contrary and the sea black, and rough weather. This explanation corresponds exactly with Dido's speech to Aeneas, upon her first discovery of his intention to leave her:

"Quin etiam hiberno moliris fidere classem,
 "Et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum;
 "Crudelis!" ——— Lib. IV. 310.

And when Dido finds Aeneas deaf to her entreaties, and determined to be gone, she then desires her sister Anna to prevail on him, only to defer his voyage till he might go more easily, when the winds were favourable:

"Quò ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti;
 "Expectet facilisque fugam, ventosque ferentes." Lib. IV. 429.

VER. 10—21.

"Olli caeruleus supra caput astitit imber,
 "Noctem hiememque ferens; et inhorruit unda tenebris.
 "Ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab altâ:
 "Heu! quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbî?
 "Quidve, pater Nuptune, paras? Sic deinde locutus,
 "Colligere arma jubet, validisque incumbere remis;
 "Obliquatque sinus in ventum, ac talia fatur:
 "Magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Jupiter auctor
 "Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
 "* Mutati transversa fremunt, et vespere ab atro
 "Confurgunt venti; atque in nubem cogitur aër.
 "Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum
 "Sufficimus." ———

* It might here be objected, that as Aeneas, verse 2, set out from Carthage with a contrary wind, its shifting to the west was rather an advantage to him and ought to have made Palinurus rejoice rather than complain. But to this we may answer; that although the northerly wind is far from

being favourable from Carthage to Italy; yet supposing it regular and steady, as it commonly is from that quarter, they might sail out with it and row; whereas upon the wind changing, it immediately threatened a storm:

———— “Supra caput astitit imber

“Noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.” Ver. 111.

This obliged them to take to their oars; “Colligere arma, validisque
“incumbere remis;” the storm increasing and blowing a hurricane across them, “transversa fremunt,” they could no longer make use of their oars, “nec obniti contra nec tendere sufficimus.” Upon this they are forced, “flectere viam velis,” to hoist their sails; and go directly before the wind, which drove them to the coast of Sicily, as fortune and the Gods directed.

VER. 116—122.

“Velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristin,
“Mox Italus Mnestheus, genus à quo nomine Memmi:
“Ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
“Urbis opus; triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
“Impellunt, terno confurgunt ordine remi.
“* Sergestusque, domus tenet à quo Sergia nomen,
“Centauro invehitur magnâ.” ———

* See an account of Sergius, Appian, lib. IV. 989. There is a triumphal arch still remaining at Pola in honour of the family.

VER. 129—131.

“Hic viridem Aeneas † frondenti ex ilice metam
“Constituit, signum nautis, pater; unde reverti
“Scirent, et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.”

† This was in the winter (from IV. 309 anteh.): but the Ilex is an ever-green. They are very frequent in Italy, where they call them Ilce: and begin to be not uncommon in England: we call them Ever-green Oaks.

Horace speaks of the Quercus and Ilices together, lib. III. Od. 33. 10. — Ep. I. xvi. 9. — and Virgil, G. III. 332.

The

The leaf of the Ilex is like that of Holly ; only of a darker dirtier green : " Ilice sub nigrâ." Ecl. VI. 54.

" Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus.

" Nigrae feraci frondis in Alcido." Hor. lib. IV. Od. iv. 58.

VER. 144—147.

" Non tam praecipites bijugo certamine campum

" Corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus ;

" Nec sic immixtis aurigae undantia lora

" Concussere jugis, pronique in verbera pendent."

* See Pope's Odyssæy book XIII. note on verse 98.

VER. 235—238.

" Dii, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro ;

" Vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum

" Constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque falsos

" * Porriciam in fluctus, et vina liquentia fundam."

* " Exta Deis cum dabant, Porricere dicebant." Varro De Re Rust. lib. I. c. xxix.

VER. 250, 251.

—— Chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum

" Purpura * Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit."

* " Maeandrus genus picturae dictum a similitudine flexûs amnis qui appellatur Maeandrus."——" Solevano adornare e guarnire l'estremità delle veste con certe strisce di porpora riportate con lavori di questi Maeandri." Buanorroti's Medaglioni, p. 93. where he represents in a plate the figure of some Goddesses in a habit hemmed with such Maeanders.

VER. 379.

—— " Manibusque inducere * caestus."

* See Fabretti, Column. Trajan. c. viii. et ver. 403. posthac.

VER. 490.—493.

“ Convenere viri, * dejectamque aerea fortem
 “ Accepit galea : et primus clamore secundo
 “ Hyrracidae ante omnes exit locus Hippocoontis ;
 “ Quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine *² victor
 “ Consequitur.” ———

*¹ Ruæus here, in his interpretation, turns this into the plural : and Dr. Trapp in a note on the place, says, that if any edition favoured his conjecture he should rather think it should be *Dejectas Sortes* the plural, for a reason too plain to be mentioned. — But they had not observed that Virgil at least never chooses to use this word in the plural, but when he is speaking of oracles or predictions, unless in Book VI. 22. which is likewise on a solemn mournful occasion.

*² “ Who was victorious, a conqueror, one of the conquerors, who got
 “ one of the prizes :” Either of these expressions answer Virgil’s meaning ; and therefore I am very much surprized that Dr. Trapp should except against the word, and not think it good sense. See his note on the place. The first part of this remark in answer to La Cerda is right ; but I wish he had stopped there, without giving us the latter part.

VER. 568, 569.

“ Alter Atys, genus unde * Atti duxere Latini :
 “ Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.”

* This is a compliment to Augustus, who, by his mother’s side, was descended from the Attii ; for Augustus’s mother, Atia, was daughter to M. Atius Balbus by Julia, Julius Caesar’s sister. As Julius Caesar is represented under the character of Ascanius, the alliance between Caesar’s family and the Atian is prettily foretold and represented as in embryo in this verse ;

“ Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.”

The family of Atius was of Aricia. See Suetonius in Octav. et Vulpii Latium Vetus, tom. IV. p. 91.

VER.

VER. 731—735.

——— “Ditis tamen ante
 “Infernas accede domos ; et Averno per alta
 “Congressus pete, nate, meos. Non me impia namque
 “† Tartara habent, † tristesque umbrae ; sed amoena piorum
 “Consilia, Elysiumque colo.” ———

† Are not these the three divisions of Hades, that are described so much more distinctly in the next book ? If so, the reading should be “Tristesve umbrae ;” not “Tristesque umbrae,” as in the Delphin edition ; and much less not “Tartara habent, tristes umbrae ;” as in Mattaire’s.

VER. 738, 739.

——— “Torquet † medios nox humida cursus,
 “Et me faevus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis.”

† There was a distinction that prevailed very early among the Romans, of the civil and the natural day. The natural day was most commonly reckoned from sun-rise to sun-set ; the civil day, from midnight to midnight again. Virgil, in speaking personally of the latter, calls it Oriens : a name that was not much used in his time ; but which he (as a professed lover of antiquity and of their antient words) chose to use, where it was more proper than Sol (or even Dies) would have been.

Macrobius, in speaking of this passage, says ; “Virgilius id ipsum ostendit, ut hominem decuit poeticas res agentem, reconditâ atque opertâ veteris ritûs significatione : — his enim verbis diem, quem Romani civilem appellavere, à sextâ noctis horâ oriri admonet” Saturn. lib. I. c. iii.

VER. 743—745.

“Haec memorans, cinerem, et fopitos fuscitat ignes :
 “Pergameumque Larem, et canae penetralia Vestae
 “Farre pio et plenâ supplex veneratur * acerrâ.”

* Acerra and Lanx were both used for the Thura, etc. in sacrifices ; the former signifying a small dish or plate, the latter a large one, as is expressly said by Ovid :

“Thura minus, grandi quam data lance, valent.”

De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. viii.

VER.

VER. 813, 814.

“ Tutus quos optas portus † accedet Averni :

“ Unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeret.”

† Venus desires Neptune to grant Aeneas a safe voyage from Sicily to Latium (ver. 796—798.); and Neptune answers, that he shall come safe to the coast of Cumae :

“ Tutus quos optas portus accedet Averni.”

Is that a satisfactory answer to her request ?

The Florentine manuscript reads it ACCEDIT. Will not that set it right ? As if he had said ; “ He is going on to the port of Avernus, as safely “ as you could wish : (and he shall go on as safely the rest of his voyage).” — Nothing is more common in Virgil than this way of not mentioning expressly what may be easily inferred : it is one of the distinguishing differences between his and Homer’s manner of writing.

* Mr. Spence informs me, that a very good Florentine manuscript has Accedit : and observes that, when Venus requests of Neptune for Aeneas,

—— “ Liceat Laurentem attingere Tybrim,” ——

it is very odd that Neptune should promise only to bring him safe half way, —— “ Tutus portus accedet Averni :” and therefore imagines it should be Accedit. — By which Neptune assures her that her request is so far granted, that Aeneas is already entering into the port of Cumae : or rather that she might be assured he was as safe as if he was already arrived there ; for it is plain by what follows that he was not yet arrived. — But, after all, I would rather choose to put the stop after Accedet, and construe Averni with Gurgite.

VER. 854—860.

“ † Ecce Deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem,

“ Vique soporatum Stygiâ, super utraque quassat

“ Tempora ; cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.

“ Vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus :

“ Et superincumbens, cum puppis parte revulsâ,

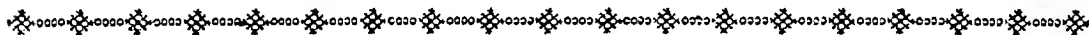
“ Cumque * gubernaculo, liquidas projecit in undas

“ Praecipitem.” ——

Virgil’s

† Virgil's account of Palinurus's death is in the strong oriental taste.— In this place it is said; "That a God took away all his vigilance, tore off " the rudder he should have guided; and flung him overboard with it " into the sea:" in another (VI. 351.) "That the God had nothing to " do in it; but that it was wholly owing to himself." There are frequent instances of the very same orientalism in Homer, and in the sacred writings.

* It is not improbable, that Virgil may here allude to an accident which happened to Augustus: "Aliâ tempestate in trajetû bis conflictatus, primò inter Promontoria Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa " montes Ceraunios, utrobique partè Liburnicarum demersâ, simulque ejus " in quâ vehebatur fufis armamentis, et gubernaculo diffractò." Sueton. in Aug.



AENEID THE SIXTH.

VER. 1, 2.

"SIC fatur lacrymans: classique immittit habenas:
" Et tandem Euboïcis * Cumarum allabitur oris."

* Baiae was reckoned formerly the port of Cumae; and that Aeneas landed there appears from Ovid's account, who says expressly that he came to the shores of Cumae, leaving Naples to the right hand and Misenum to the left:

"Has ubi praeteriit et Parthenopeia dextrâ
" Moenia deferuit; laevâ de parte canori
" Aeolidae tumulum, et loca foeta palustribus ulvis
" Littora Cumarum, vivacisque antra Sibyllae
" Intrat."———— Met. XIV. 105.

VER. 9—12.

"At pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo
" Praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta *¹ Sibyllae,
M m " *² Antrum

“ *² Antrum immane, petit : magnam cui mentem animumque
 “ Delius inspirat vates, aperitque futura.”

*¹ In Virgil's account of Aeneas's preparation for his descent into hell, most people are apt to confound the Priestess of the Sibyl, and the Sibyl herself together.—The Priestess's name is Deïphobe, the daughter of Glaucus ; which was not the name of any of the Sibyls.—The Sibyl herself was a Goddess ; and as such required an introduction to her : and Scipio, in Silius Italicus (lib. XIII.), has the Priestess Autonoë to conduct him to this very Sibyl.—Virgil calls Deïphobe, generally, by the name of Sacerdos ; and the Sibyl, Vates, and Dea : Silius calls Autonoë only Vates ; and the Sibyl, Vates, Major Vates, Magna Sacerdos, Veri facunda Sacerdos, Docta comes Triviae, Phoebæi pectoris umbra Fatidica, Cumes anus, Virgo, Sibylla, and Umbra Sibyllae.—The Priestess comes to conduct Aeneas to the temple where the Sibyl was, ver. 35 ; and it is she that speaks to ver. 55 : It is the Sibyl herself that speaks afterwards, from ver. 82 to 155. The Priestess appears again, ver. 244 ; and is succeeded again by the Sibyl, from ver. 258 to the end.

The whole course of the thing is thus :

Aeneas puts in with his fleet near Cape Miseno, ver. 2. He sets out from thence for Cumæ ; and stops in the Portico of Apollo's temple there, whilst Achates goes for the Priestess, ver. 13. She comes, ver. 35 ; and introduces him into the temple, ver. 41 ; where he makes his prayer, ver. 56 ; and has the answer from the Sibyl herself, ver. 83, etc. who orders him to search for the Golden Bough ; and to bury the person, who lies dead in his fleet. He returns ; and finds that person to be Misenus, ver. 162.

Aeneas himself assists in getting the wood for Misenus's funeral pile, ver. 183. which, at the same time, occasions his finding the Golden Bough, ver. 187. He carries it to the Sibyl, ver. 211 ; and returns to pay his last rites to Misenus, ver. 232.

Aeneas goes to the lake of Avernus, ver. 236, between his fleet and the city of Cumæ ; and is met there by the Priestess, ver. 244. They perform the sacrifice, ver. 250. The Sibyl comes, ver. 258 ; and leads the way, ver. 262, through the cave, to hell.

*² The Sibyl's Grot (as it is called), by which Virgil makes Aeneas descend into hell, has one opening by the Lake Avernus ; and had another at Cumæ : and there was a passage went all under the hill from one to the other. — † Virgil makes Aeneas go quite thorough it, by
 his

his perpetual way of inferring things, rather than saying them directly : and then return the nearest way (ver. 900.) to his fleet, and set sail for Caieta. Ovid says expressly, that he came out at Cumae :

- “ Talia convexum per iter memorante Sibyllâ,
 “ Sedibus Euboïcam Stygiis emergit in urbem
 “ Troïus Aeneas; sacrisque à more litatis
 “ Litora adit nondum nutricis habentia nomen,”

Met. XIV. 157.

Mr. Holdsworth had some thoughts of publishing an exact map of all that part of the country that lies between Cape Miseno and Gaëta; which would be the best comment on a great part of the Sixth Aeneid, or at least help to illustrate it much better than any of the commentators have done.

* Augustus shewed particular regard to the oracles of the Sibyl.—Strabo, speaking of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon in Afric, tells us that it was entirely neglected in his time : *Τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχαίων τοῖς Σιβυλλῆς χρησμοῖς καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνικοῖς θεοπροπιοῖς διὰ τε σπλαγχνῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλειας, καὶ διοσημειῶν.* Lib. xvii. And Suetonius, speaking De Pontificatu Augusti, says; “ Quicquid fati-
 “ dicorum librorum Graeci Latiniq̃ue generis nullis vel parum idoneis
 “ auctoribus vulgò ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit :
 “ at solos retinuit Sibyllinos (hos quoque delectu habito) condiditque duo-
 “ bus forulis auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi.”

VER. 20—23.

- “ * In foribus, letum Androgeo : tum pendere poenas
 “ Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis
 “ Corpora natorum : stat ductis fortibus urna.
 “ Contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus.”

* We are to consider this as a sculpture, where Crete is to be shewn at a great distance from Athens, in a farther corner of the piece, and represented in relief; the sea, in a plainer surface, lying between.—The parts of the piece are very well disposed.

The folding doors of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, built by Augustus, were adorned in like manner with stories in relief; as we find by Propertius (lib. II. El. 29.) here alluded to.

- “ Et valvae Lybici nobile dentis opus.
 “ Altera, dejectos Parnassi vertice Gallos;

M m 2

“ Altera,

- “ Altera, moerebat funera Tantalidos.
 “ Deinde inter Matrem Deus ipse interque Sororem
 “ Pythius in longâ carmina veste sonat:
 “ Illic aspicias scopulis hæcrere Sorores,
 “ Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:
 “ Ut Semele est combustus ; ut est deperditus Io ;
 “ Denique ut ad Trojae tecta volavit Avis.”

Fores in this place cannot mean the doors of the temple, but some outward part leading to the temple : for Virgil makes his hero amuse himself with perusing the history of Daedalus carved there, whilst Achates was gone to call the Priests. She afterwards, “ vocat alta in templa :” after which it is said ; “ Ventum erat ad limen.” And again afterwards, “ Ante fores.” These last Fores cannot be the same with the former. The latter may signify properly the doors of the inner or principal part of the temple, where the oracles were given (the Sanctum Sanctorum, as I may call it) ; the former Fores must mean the first approach to the temple. See Georg. III. ver. 26. and Aen. I. ver. 509.

VER. 24—26.

- “ Hic crudelis amor Tauri, suppositaque furto
 “ Pasiphaë, mistumque genus, prolesque † biformis
 “ Minotaurus inest ; Veneris monimenta nefandæ.”

† The Minotaur is represented in antiques as mostly human, but with the head of a bull. Mr. Dryden, in his translation of this passage, has just reversed the form of him ; for he says,

“ The lower part a beast, a man above.”

Such of the antients as describe the form of the Minotaur most exactly, agree with the antient artists.

———— “ Minoï brachia Tauri.”

Stat. Achil. I. 192.

———— “ Theseus

- “ Centum urbes umbone gerit, centenaque Cretæ
 “ Moenia : seque ipsum monstrosi ambagibus antri
 “ Hispida torquentem luctantis colla juvenci :
 “ Alternasque manus circum, et nodofo ligantem

“ Brachia,

“ Brachia, et abducto vitantem cornua vultu.”

Theb. XII. 671.

Ενεμολύο αἰήην ἀνθρώποι αἰετοί, βεκεφαλοὶ, κεράτ' εχούεις· οἶον παρ' ἡμῖν τοῦ Μινόλαυρον
ἀνατλάτ' ἔστι. Lucian's True Hist. lib. II. p. 407. ed. Bourdelotii.

VER. 33—36.

———“ Quin protinus omnia

“ Perlegerent oculis: ni jam praemissus Achates

“ Afforet; atque unà Phoebi Triviaeque * sacerdos,

“ † Deiphobe Glauci.”———

* That Virgil, by Sacerdos, means a Priestess attending on the Sibyl, is manifest by his whole account; for at Cumae the Sacerdos comes to Aeneas, and is conversing some time with him; whilst the Sibyl is within in the cell, and does not appear till the doors open. Again afterwards, at the lake Averno, the Priestess with Aeneas performs the sacrifices in the night, in the absence of the Sibyl, and then she appears; for Virgil expressly says that after the sacrifices were performed,

“ Ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus,

“ Sub pedibus mugire solum, etc.———

“ Adventante Deâ.”———

Without this distinction between the Vates and Sacerdos, that is, between the Sibyl and the Priestess, this whole passage would be very unintelligible. It is true that afterwards in hell, on the banks of Acheron, he calls the Sibyl “longaeva Sacerdos.”

† The name of the Priestess is Deiphobe, that of the Cumaean Sibyl was Demo. Pausanias, p. 828. (ed. Khunii, 1696.)

Silius Italicus imitates Virgil in this, as in many other things. The name of his inferior Priestess is Autonoe. See latter part of the note on ver. 237. posth.

VER. 51—53.

———“ Cessas in vota precesque

“ Tros, ait, Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante dehiscit

“ * Attonitae magna ora domûs.”———

* Ruæus's interpreting “Attonitae domûs” by “Antri terrifici,” and supposing this epithet given to the cave, “quia attonitos ac trepidos facit,”
is

is very unpoetical. The Poet's thought is certainly to make the house convulsed, as well as the Priests. The parallel he makes of Death being called Pallida, "quia pallorem inducit," is likewise wrong. When Horace says, "Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede;" he must make Death personal to knock at the door; and if Death appears in person, it ought to be Pallida.

VER. 98—101.

"Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
 "Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit,
 "Obscuris vera involvens: ea * fraena furenti
 "Concutit, et stimulis sub pectore vertit Apollo."

* So Lucan, in speaking of the Priests of Delphi, says;

"Accipit et fraenos; nec tantum prodere vati,
 "Quantum scire, licet."——— Lib. V. 176.

VER. 106, 107.

———"Quando hic inferni janua regis
 "Dicitur, et tenebroso palus * Acheronte refuso."

* This lake, called Acherusia, lies between Cumae and Misenum. So Strabo describes it: Πλησιον δε της Κυμης το Μισηνον ακρωτηριον, και εν τω μελαξυ Αχερυσια λιμνη, της θαλασσης αναχυσις τις τεναλιδης. It is a different lake from the Avernus; and Silius Italicus, as well as Virgil, speaks of it as such, lib. XII. where, after having described Avernus, he adds;

"Hinc vicina palus (fama est Acherontis ad undas
 "Pandere iter) caecas stagnante voragine fauces
 "Laxat; et horrendos aperit telluris hiatus,
 "Interdumque novo perturbat lumine Manes."

† Mr. Holdsworth also refers to Mr. Pope's *Odyssæy*, B. X. note on ver. 602. That note is on the directions for Ulysses's descent to hell.

"This whole scene is excellently imagined by the Poet, as Eustathius observes; the trees are all barren, the place is upon the shores where nothing grows; and all the rivers are of a melancholy signification, suitable to the ideas we have of those infernal regions. Ulysses arrives at this place, where he calls up the shades of the dead, in the space of
 "one

“ one day; from whence we may conjecture, that he means a place that
 “ lies between Cumae and Baiæ, near the lake Avernus, in Italy; which,
 “ as Strabo remarks, is the scene of the necromancy of Homer, accord-
 “ ing to the opinion of antiquity. He further adds, that there really are
 “ such rivers as Homer mentions, though not placed in their true situa-
 “ tion; according to the liberty allowed to poetry. Others write, that
 “ the Cimmerii once inhabited Italy, and that the famous cave of Pau-
 “ lypo was begun by them about the time of the Trojan wars: Here
 “ they offered sacrifice to the Manes, which might give occasion to
 “ Homer’s fiction. The Grecians, who inhabited these places after the
 “ Cimmerians, converted these dark habitations into stoves, baths, etc.
 “ Silius Italicus writes, that the Lucrine lake was antiently called Co-
 “ cytus, lib. XII.

“ Ast hic Lucrino mansisse vocabula quondam

“ Cocyti memorat.”——

“ It is also probable, that Acheron was the antient name of Avernus,
 “ because Acherusia, a large water near Cumæ, flows into it by con-
 “ cealed passages. Silius Italicus informs us, that Avernus was also called
 “ Styx.

“ Ille olim populis dictum Styga, nomine verso,

“ Stagna inter celebrem nunc mitia monstrat Avernum.”

“ Here Hannibal offered sacrifice to the Manes, as it is recorded by Livy;
 “ and Tully affirms it from an ancient Poet, from whom he quotes the
 “ following fragment:

“ Inde in viciniâ nostrâ Avernî lacus

“ Unde animæ excitantur obscurâ umbrâ,

“ Alti Acherontis aperto ostio.”——

VER. 125, 126.

“ Tunc sic orsa loqui vates: Sate sanguine Divûm,

“ Tros Anchisiade, † facilis descensus Avernî,” etc.

† “ Omnia proclivia sunt; facilè descenditur: itaque quamvis podagricus
 “ esset, momento temporis pervenit ad januam Ditis.” Seneca, Apoth.
 Claudii.

VER.

VER. 140—144.

——— “ Non antè datur telluris operta subire,
 “ Auricomos quàm quis decerpserit arbore foetus;
 “ Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
 “ Instituit. Primo avulso non deficit alter
 “ Aureus, et simili frondescit * virga metallo.”

* Mercury by his Caduceus opens and shuts the gates of hell; and therefore very properly puts a bough or twig into Aeneas's hand, when he was going into those regions. The power of the Divine Rod was grown into a proverb amongst the Romans, as appears from Cicero: “ Quod si
 “ omnia nobis, quae ad victum cultumque pertinent, quasi Virgulâ Divinâ
 “ (ut aiunt) suppeditantur,” *Offic. lib. I.* — The most ancient histories, sacred and profane, give us sufficient testimonies of the use of the Virga, on solemn occasions.

VER. 182—188.

——— “ Advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos.
 “ Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
 “ Hortatus focios, paribusque accingitur armis.
 “ Atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,
 “ Aspectans sylvam immensam, et sic ore precatur:
 “ Si * nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
 “ Ostendat nemore in tanto!” ———

* The discovery of the Golden Bough, at the same time that Aeneas was seeking for timber in the woods for the funeral of Misenus, is artfully interwoven.

VER. 203, 204.

——— “ Gemina super arbore fidunt,
 “ Discolor unde auri per ramos * aura refulsit.”

* Ruæus explains the word *Aura* by *Fulgor*.—So, possibly, Horace's,

——— “ Tua nè retardet
 “ *Aura* maritos.” *Lib. II. Od. viii. 24.*

VER.

VER. 212—216.

“ Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri
 “ Flebant, *¹ et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.
 “ Principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
 “ Ingentem struxere pyram : cui frondibus atris
 “ Intexunt latera, et *² ferales ante cupressos
 “ Constituunt.”——

*¹ The solemn funeral of Misenus prepares the mind for the descent into hell ; and Virgil likewise takes this opportunity of celebrating so remarkable a promontory near his favourite city, Naples.

*² Ovid alludes to the same custom, when he says ;

“ Funeris ara mihi ferali cincta cupressu
 “ Convenit.”—— De Trist. lib. III. El. penult.

† Dr. Middleton says (Mon. p. 86.), “ that it was customary among the Romans, when any great man died, to have a cypress tree placed on each side of his door ; and when the body was carried out, these were carried after him in the funeral procession. Hence Horace’s ;

“ Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
 “ Uxor : neque harum, quas colis, arborum
 “ Te praeter invisas cupressos,
 “ Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.” Lib. II. Od. xiv. 24.

VER. 237—242.

“ † Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
 “ Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris ;
 “ Quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
 “ Tendere iter pennis ; talis sese halitus atris
 “ Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat ;
 “ Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Avernum.”

† Virgil calls it Spelunca here, and Antrum, 268 posth. He describes it as near the lake of Avernus (238, etc.), with a wide opening (237 et 262), covered with dark woods (238) ; and a dark passage afterwards, 270—272.

—— “ Ad Avernales scopulos et opaca Sibyllae
 “ Antra.”—— Stat. Sylv. V. iii. 173.

N n

—— “ Penitus,

— “*Penitus via longa patefcit*

“*Manibus egregiis. Eat,*” etc. *Ib. III. iii. 28.*

Statius mentions *Baiae*, the *Tecta Sibyllae*, and *Misenus's Promontory* together. *Sylv. V. iii. 173.*—See *ib. IV. iii. 24 et 133.*

Ovid's description of the *Cave of Sleep* (*Met. XI. 592.*), is much more like what they call the *Sibyl's Grot* at present, than this opening described by *Virgil*.

Quaer. Where that place *Tacitus* speaks of? — “*Nero, ut erat in-credibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno juga connixus est; manentque vestigia irritae spei.*” *Annal. lib. XV.*

The entrance is more distinctly marked in *Silius Italicus*, *lib. XIII.* *Scipio* goes to *Autonoë* the priestess of *Apollo*: she tells him what sacrifices he is to prepare; bids him come with them just after midnight, “*ad fauces vicini Avernii,*” the “*turbida portae ostia Tartareae;*” and promises to meet him there, and call forth the *Sibyl*. When he comes, he finds *Autonoë* within the cave. She performs part of the sacrifice. *Scipio* sees into hell; and talks with *Appius*: the *Sibyl* comes, and tastes the blood; and *Autonoë* goes away. The *Sibyl* foretells his future actions; describes hell to him; enables him to know the persons that taste the blood, and points out others to him. The *Sibyl* returns to the shades, and *Scipio* to his companions, *lin. ult.*

VER. 243—247.

“** Quatuor hic primum nigrantes terga juvencos*
 “*Constituit, frontique invergit vina sacerdos;*
 “*Et, summas carpens media inter cornua fetas,*
 “*Ignibus imponit sacris libamina prima,*
 “*Voce vocans *² Hecaten, caeloque Ereboque potentem.*”

*¹ See *Mr. Pope's* account of the antient sacrifices in his *Remarks on the Odyssey*: *B. XIV. ver. 469.* and other places of *Homer*.

*² *Hecate* and *Diana* are the same Deity; not *Proserpina*, as *Ruæus* thinks; which immediately appears by *ver. 251.* And *Statius*, in his *Balneum Etrusci*, *Sylv. I. 5.* expressly calls *Diana* by the name *Hecate*.

“*Hic velox Hecate velit et deprensa lavari:*”

alluding to the story of *Actæon*.

VER.

VER. 249—251.

——— “ Ipse atri velleris agnam
 “ Aeneas * matri Eumenidum magnaëque forori
 “ Enfe ferit ; sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.”

* Silius Italicus, on the like occasion, makes this sacrifice to Alecto and Megaera.

“ Inde tibi, Alecto ; tibi, nunquam laeta Megaera,” etc. Lib. III.

VER. 285—289.

“ Multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,
 “ Centauri in foribus stabulant, † Scyllaeque biformes ;
 “ Et centum geminus Briareus, ac Bellua Lernae
 “ Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera :
 “ Gorgones, Harpyiaeque, et forma tricorporis umbrae.”

† The word Scyllae is sometimes used for any thing of a confused and imaginary make. — Lucretius speaks of them in the same manner :

“ Centauros itaque, et Scyllarum membra videmus,
 “ Cerbereasque canum facies. ——— IV. 737.

that is, we make these odd mixtures of animals in our own fancy. He speaks of them again, V. 876—892.

VER. 298, 299.

“ Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina fervat
 “ Terribili * squalore Charon.”

* Mr. Holdsworth here refers to Note the first, Book XI. of Mr. Pope's edition of Homer's *Odyssæy*. Where Mr. Pope says ;

‘ I will take this opportunity briefly to mention the original of all these
 ‘ fictions of infernal rivers, judges, etc. spoken of by Homer, and re-
 ‘ peated and enlarged by Virgil. They are of Aegyptian extract, as
 ‘ Mr. Sandys (that faithful traveller, and judicious poet) observes, speak-
 ‘ ing of the mummies of Memphis, p. 134.

“ These ceremonies performed, they laid the corpse in a boat to be
 “ wafted over Acherusia, a lake on the south of Memphis, by one only

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“ These ceremonies performed, they laid the corpse in a boat to be wafted over Acherusia, a lake on the south of Memphis, by one only

“ person, whom they called Charon ; which gave Orpheus the invention
 “ of his infernal ferryman ; an ill-favoured slovenly fellow, as Virgil de-
 “ scribes him, Aen. VI. About this lake stood the shady temple of He-
 “ cate, with the ports of Cocytus and Oblivion, separated by bars of
 “ brass, the original of like fables. When landed on the other side,
 “ the bodies were brought before certain judges ; if convinced of an evil
 “ life, they were deprived of burial ; if otherwise, they suffered them
 “ to be interred.” — This explication shews the foundation of those an-
 cient fables of Charon, Rhadamanthus, etc. and also that the poets had
 a regard to truth in their inventions, and grounded even their fables upon
 some remarkable customs, which grew obscure and absurd only because
 the memory of the customs to which they allude is lost to posterity.

VER. 378, 379.

— “ * Tua finitimi longè lateque per urbes,
 “ Prodigis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt.”

* Markland, in his notes on Statius, taking occasion to quote these two
 verses, attacks them in the following furious manner — “ Qui locus, nisi
 “ omnia me fallunt, insigni absurditate foetus est. Si enim *Finitimi*,
 “ quomodo *Longe lateque per urbes*? idem ac si dixisset, *Finitimi* longin-
 “ que piabunt tua ossa: quod sanè mirum ducerem, nisi quod nihil
 “ mirum habendum est in poemate tam imperfecto.” See Markland’s
 Statius, lib. III. 127. — This critic ought to have been sure that this
 was a blunder in Virgil, not in himself, before he brought so severe
 a charge against him as he does in this place, and likewise at the latter
 end of his preface. For my part I see no absurdity in the passage.
 Virgil makes the Sibyl comfort Palinurus by assuring him that the people
 bordering on the shore, where he was murdered, should be persecuted
 by judgments from heaven, *throughout all* the cities of their territories ;
 and be therefore compelled to expiate his death, and to perform his fu-
 neral rites, and erect a monument to his memory. Supposing Virgil to
 have said *finitimi* simply, without any other addition, this word, strictly
 speaking, might have meant only the nearest inhabitants ; perhaps a few
 fishermen in their huts : but Virgil is to be understood in a larger sense.
 All Lucania suffered for the death of Palinurus, as appears by the pas-
 sage quoted on this occasion by Mr. Markland from Servius. Therefore
Finitimi must here mean, not barely the inhabitants next immediately ad-
 joining.

joining, but the whole people of the adjoining province, who were punished throughout all their districts, far and near, which Virgil expresses by "Longè latèque per urbes."

VER. 412—416.

——— "Simul accipit alveo

"Ingentem Aeneam. Gemuit sub pondere cymba

"Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.

"Tandem trans fluvium incolumes vatemque virumque

"Informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva."

* See Montfaucon, tom. IV. part II. l. ii. c. 2. — Leather boats are now used in several places in England and Wales, and called Coracles. But Lucan tells us, that the boats used by the Aegyptians, when the Nile overflowed, were made of Papyrus :

——— "Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,

"Conferitur bibulâ Memphitis cymba papyro." Lib. IV. 135.

And as it is generally allowed that the poets in their stories concerning the infernal regions alluded to customs in Aegypt, it is probable that Virgil chuses the same sort of boat as was used on the Nile.

VER. 417—423.

"Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci

"Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.

"Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,

"Melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam

"Objicit : ille fame rabidâ † tria guttura pandens,

"Corripit objectam ; atque immania terga resolvit

"Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro."

† So Ovid ;

——— "Nec uti villosa colubris

"Terna Medusaei vincirem guttura monstri."

Met. X. ver. 22. (of Orpheus).

And Horace ;

"Cessit immanis tibi blandienti

"Janitor aulae

"Cerberus :

“ Cerberus : quamvis furiale centum

“ Muniant angues caput ejus : atque

“ Spiritus teter, faniesque manet

“ Ore trilingui.”

Lib. III. Od. ii. ver. 2. (of Mercury's great descent into hell).

He is also represented with snakes about his neck, in the Vatican Virgil. See Pol. pl. XXXVII. i. and XXXVIII. i.

VER. 434—437.

“ Proxima deinde tenent moesti loca : qui sibi letum

“ Infantes peperere manu, lucemque perosi

“ * Projecere animas. Quam vellent aethere in alto

“ Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores !”

* Projicere signifies properly to cast off or throw away as vile and contemptible. — See Lucan, VI. 626.

“ Corpora caesorum tumultis projecta negatis ;”

and in many other places.

VER. 459—462.

— “ Per fidera juro,

“ Per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub imâ est,

“ Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi :

“ Sed me jussa Deum, quae * nunc has ire per umbras,

“ Per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,

“ Imperiis egere fuis.” —

* A fine thought is couched here, for this insinuates to Dido, that leaving her was hell to him ; and that only those powers, which sent him hither, could have forced him to quit her.

VER. 570—579.

“ Continuò fontes altrix accincta flagello

“ Tisiphone quatit insultans : torvosque finistrâ

“ Intentans angues, vocat agmina saeva fororum.

“ * Tum demum horrifono stridentes cardine sacrae

“ Panduntur portae. Cernis, custodia qualis

“ Vestibulo

“ Vestibulo fideat? facies quae limina fervet?
 “ Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
 “ † Saevior intus habet sedem: tum Tartarus ipse
 “ ‡ Bis patet in praeceps tantum, tenditque sub umbras;
 “ Quantus ad aethereum caeli suspectus Olympum.”

* This break is wrong. Virgil does not intend to open the gates of hell to give his hero a view of the horrid scene within, as some of the commentators understand it; but means, that after the criminals are tried and found guilty, they are conducted by the Furies to the gates, which open to receive them. The scene is described by Sibylla.

† Fiercer than the common Hydra, the Bellua Lernae; which he places without; “ primis in faucibus Orci.” Ver. 273 et 287, anteh.

‡ Homer makes it as far from earth to hell downwards, as it is upwards from earth to heaven: it has been observed, that two of the best Poets since have enlarged it gradually, Virgil to twice, and Milton to thrice that depth: but, if I mistake not, Hesiod of old has carried the mind further than either of them: it would please you to see how exact he is in his measures: “An anvil,” says he, “will be nine days complete in falling from heaven to earth; and as many in falling from our earth to Tartarus.” *Ælog.* ver. 722. — This is the distance from us to the gates of Tartarus only: he afterwards carries the mind much farther, in this description:

“ There lie the treasures of the stormy deep,
 “ Of earth, and water, and extended darkness.
 “ A dreadful chasm! squalid and uninformed,
 “ And hateful ev’n to Gods. Whoe’er, within
 “ The dreadful opening of its gates, should plunge
 “ Prone thro’ the great abyss; twelve times the course
 “ Of the pale moon, should feel its storm and tempest.
 “ In dire descent; still hurry’d on precipitate,
 “ Amidst the various tumult and confusion
 “ Of disagreeing natures. Oft the powers
 “ Immortal cast their eyes upon these regions,
 “ And shudder at the sight. ——— *Ælog.* 744.

From Essay on Mr. Pope’s *Odyssey*; Evening V. p. 253.

VER. 601—607.

- “ Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona, Pirithoûmque?
 “ Quos super atra flex jamjam lapsura, cadentique
 “ Imminet affimilis. Lucent genialibus altis
 “ Aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
 “ Regifico luxu: Furiarum † maxima juxta
 “ Accubat, et manibus prohibet contingere mensas;
 “ Exurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore.”

† It appears from Statius, that this Fury (whom Virgil does not name) was Megaera.

- “ Ultrix tibi torva Megaera
 “ Jejunum Phlegyam, subter cava fava jacentem,
 “ Aeterno premit accubitu; dapibusque profanis
 “ Instimulat: sed mista famem fastidia vincunt.”

Theb. I. ver. 715.

Virgil on this occasion calls her *Furiarum maxima*; which may signify either a chief, or the chief, of the Furies; but, considering her sisters characters (who are, at least, her equals), I think it should be taken in the former sense here.

VER. 656, 659.

- “ Conspicit ecce alios dextrâ laevâque per herbam
 “ Vefcentes, laetumque choro pacana canentes,
 “ Inter † odoratum lauri nemus: unde supernè
 “ Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis.”

† This is, I think, the most pleasing idea in all Virgil's *Elysium*: and, possibly, he had an eye in it to the famous valley of Tempe in Thessaly, reckoned the most delightful spot in the whole world; and beautified, in particular, by the fall of the river Peneus, from mount Pindus; with woods on each side of it. (See Ovid's *Met.* lib. I. ver. 568 to 572.)

May I add another conjecture here, which would yet give farther beauty to this part in Virgil's *Elysium*? It is, that he may possibly mean, that the groves on each side of his cascade are groves of orange-trees; and consequently as pleasing in their smell as in their look. Orange-trees were first brought into Italy in Virgil's time. As they were so lately intro-

introduced among them, the Romans had as yet no name for them; and it is therefore that Virgil, where he is supposed by some very good judges to speak of this tree in his Georgics, is forced to point it out, by a good deal of circumlocution; and by describing it very particularly. It is a tree which, according to his account, was brought into Italy from Media, whose fruit had a sharp, sour taste; he says, that it was very good for the stomach and breath, and an excellent remedy against infections and poisons; that it was a large tree (as the orange-trees are much larger in Italy than with us, and much larger in Media than in Italy); that the leaf of it was very much like the leaf of the laurel; but that it was distinguished from the laurel, by its lasting flowers, and by the fine perfume that they cast all around it. (Georg. lib. II. ver. 126 to 135.) As they had then no distinct name for orange-trees, Virgil may here call them laurels, from their likeness to that tree; but, at the same time, he takes care to distinguish them from the common laurel, by mentioning the most striking character of them, their fine smell: "Odoratum lauri nemus."

VER. 660—665.

"Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi;
 "Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat;
 "Quique pii vates, et Phoebæ digna locuti;
 "Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes;
 "Quique fui memores alios fecere merendo:
 "Omnibus his niveâ cinguntur tempora * vittâ."

* Canini, in his Iconografia, plate xxvii, on Homer's medals, observes thus: "Tiene il capello legato da una fascia.—Era questa fascia di lana candida, come si comprende dalle parole di Platone quando vuole che nella sua repubblica non si riceva il Poeta; ma si bene, come cosa maravigliosa s'honori, spargendovi sopra il capo unguenti odoriferi e coronandoli di lana. Unguentum in caput ejus effundentes, lanâque coronantes." And then adds, "Virgilio dice portarsi questa candida banda in segno di celeste honore:" and quotes these verses; "Quique Sacerdotes," etc.

VER. 719—721.

"O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
 "Sublimes animas? iterumque ad tarda reverti
 "Corpora? quæ † lucis miseris tam dira cupido?"

O o

† This

† This may shew that Virgil had nobler notions of life and death than Homer; as Lucan has nobler than either of them.

VER. 724—727.

“ * Principio caelum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
 “ Lucentemque globum Lunae, Titaniaque astra
 “ Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per artus
 “ Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.”

* See Dr. Trapp's excellent remarks on this place, ver. 933. of his translation.

VER. 756—759.

“ * Nunc age, Dardanium prolem quae deinde sequatur
 “ Gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
 “ Illustres animas, nostrumque in nomen ituras,
 “ Expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.”

* See Dr. Trapp's note on this place, to which may be added what I have observed, Georg. III. ver. 27.

VER. 830—835.

“ *¹ Aggeribus focer Alpinis, atque arce *² Monaeci
 “ Descendens gener adversis instructus Eois.
 “ Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis affuescite bella:
 “ Neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires.
 “ Tuque *³ prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo:
 “ Projice tela manu, fanguis meus.”——

*¹ Aggeribus, very properly; the Alps being always looked upon as the ramparts of Italy. So Tully, in Orat. in L. Pisonem, calls them *Alpium vallum*: and, *Philippicâ 5ta*, *Alpium murum*. “ *Ejus furorem ne Alpium quidem muro prohibere possemus.*”

*² See Lucan's description, lib. I. ver. 405.

Lucan does not explain where Caesar passed the Alps when he went from Gaul to the Rubicon; he only says in short, lib. I. ver. 183,

“ *Jam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes.*”

But it is pretty evident from other places in Lucan, that the passes of the Maritimæ Alps, that is, the passes between Provence and Italy, were known to J. Cæsar; for when he marched from Italy into Spain, after Pompey's retirement from Brundisium, he passed the Alps and came directly to Marseilles.

“ Agmine nubiferam rapto superevolat Alpem :
 “ Cumque alii famæ populi terrore paverent,
 “ Phocæis in dubiis ausa est fervare juvenis
 “ Non Graiâ levitate fidem,” etc.—— Lucan. lib. III. 299.

A very noble trophy was raised to Augustus at Torbia near Monaco; of which see an account in *Théâtre des États du Duc de Savoye*, vol. II. The ruins of this trophy are still seen on a hill about three miles above Monaco, and are very considerable; appearing, as one sees them at a little distance from sea, like the Torre Magne at Nîmes.

Cæsar himself tells us in his Commentaries, at the end of the first book of the Civil War, that after his conquest of Petreius and Afranius, he sent his army into Italy by the river Var: “ Ex Hispaniâ ad Varum flumen est iter factum.” *De Bell. Civ. lib. I.* From whence the road goes through the territory of the Prince of Monaco.

* We are informed by History, that, before the Civil War actually broke out, Cæsar offered by his friends at Rome, and by letters to the Senate, to lay down his command, upon condition that Pompey was obliged to do the same. See Appian, *de Bell. Civ. lib. II.* from p. 735 to 740. edit. Tollii. See likewise Plutarch's *Lives of Cæsar and Pompey*. N. B. Appian tells us, that when Cæsar had passed the Rubicon after his proposals were rejected; “ Senatus nec opinatâ impressione Cæsaris territus, ut imparatus, sibi metuebat, non admissarum Cæsaris conditionum acquissimarum tum demum poenitens, postquam timor à contentione eos ad recta consilia traduxerat.” p. 740.

VER. 841, 842.

“ Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum; aut te, Cossæ, relinquat?
 “ Quis Gracchi genus? aut geminos, duo † fulmina belli,
 “ Scipiadas ?”——

† There is perhaps no one word in the whole Roman language, whose signification is more distinctly determined by their ancient writers them-

selfes, than that of the word Fulmen. One could give several absolute definitions of it, in their own words.—“ Si in nube luctetur flatus aut vapor, tonitrua edi; si erumpat ardens, fulmina; si longiore tractu nitatur, fulgetra.” Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. II. c. xliii.

“ Quem autem se in nubem induerint, ei usque tenuissimam quamque partem coeperint dividere ac disrumpere, idque crebrius facere et velie-
“ mentiùs, tum et fulgores et tonitrua existere: si autem *nubium conspectu*
“ *arder expressus se emisèrit, id esse fulmen.*” Cicero, de Divin. lib. II.
§ 64.

———— “ Igneus ille

“ Vortex, quod patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen.”

Lucretius, VI. ver. 297.

When we are taught (as we generally are) to translate the word Fulmen by the word Thunder, we use a word that is apt to give an idea of noise, without any idea of the light, for a Latin word which gave an idea of light, without any idea of the noise.

This mistake is very apt to make people lose the beauty of several passages in the old Roman writers; as, for instance, where Cicero speaks of the “ fulmina verborum,” or Virgil calls the two Scipios the “ duo fulmina belli.”

The meaning of Virgil in this expression is opened to us, more at large, in a simile of Lucan’s; which, by the way, is one of the best, perhaps, in the whole *Pharsalia*. It is where he is giving us the character of Julius Caesar, toward the opening of that poem.

“ Acer, et indomitus, quò spes quòque ira vocasset
“ Ferre manum; et nunquam temerando parcere ferro;
“ Successus urgere suos, instare favori
“ Numinis, impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti
“ Obstaret; gaudensque viam fecisse ruinâ.
“ Qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen
“ Aetheris impulsû sonitu mundique fragore
“ Emicuit, rupitque diem; populosque paventes
“ Terruit, obliquâ praeistinguens lumina flammâ:
“ In sua templa furit; nullâque exire vetante
“ Materiâ, magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
“ Dat stragem latè, sparsosque recolligit ignes.”

Lib. I. ver. 157.

Where

Where Mr. Pope makes use of the same image to point out the particular character of the late Earl of Peterborough;

—— “ He, whose light’ning pierc’d th’ Iberian lines;”

how much of the beauty and justice of it would have been lost, had he used the word thunder, instead of the word he has used?

VER. 847—853.

“ † Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
 “ Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
 “ Orabunt causas melius; caelique meatus
 “ Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
 “ Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
 “ Hæc tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem;
 “ Parcere subjectos, et debellare superbos.”

† The Romans did not stick at owning, that the Greeks exceeded them in all the polite arts, and in every branch of literature. This passage is a remarkable proof of it; and one might load several pages with others from their writers both in verse and prose. — The Roman arts were the arts of war and government. “Ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis, “vincam,” says Camillus to the Schoolmaster of Falisci: Liv. lib. V. § xxvii. — “Ut virtutis a nostris, sic doctrinae sunt ab illis exempla “repetenda:” Cic. de Orat. lib. III. § cxxxvi.

VER. 872—874.

“ Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
 “ Campus aget gemitus! vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
 “ Funera, cum † tumulum præterlabere * recentem!”

† Part of the sepulchre, in which the ashes of Marcellus were deposited (and which was built by Augustus, for Julius Caesar, himself, and the rest of his family), is still remaining. It stands in the Campus Martius, near the banks of the Tyber; and when one sees it, puts one strongly in mind of these verses of Virgil, where he speaks of the funeral of that young prince. It is what they now call the Mausoleum Augusti.

* “Tumulum recentem;” the Mausoleum lately built by Augustus for his family. Suetonius says; “Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque “Tyberis sexto suo consulatu extruxerat.” Marcellus died in the 11th Consulship

Consulship of Augustus; and was probably the first of the family, who took possession of this noble Mausoleum; as appears by the following epigram, quoted by Nardini:

“ Condidit Agrippam, quo te, Marcellie, sepulcro,
“ Et cepit generos jam locus iste duos,” etc.

This occasioned the epithet *Recentem*. — See the description of this Mausoleum by Strabo.

VER. 893—896.

“ Sunt geminae Somni * portae: quarum altera fertur
“ Cornea, quâ veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
“ Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
“ Sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.”

* Statius mentions the gates of hell at the end of his *Epicedion ad Patrem*:

“ Inde tamen venias melior, quâ porta malignum
“ Cornea vincit ebur; Somnique in imagine monstra,
“ Quae solitus.” — Sylv. lib. V. iii. 288.



AENEID THE SEVENTH.

VER. 11—13.

“ **D**IVES inacceffos ubi Solis filia lucos
“ Affiduo refonat cantu, teftisque superbis
“ Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina * cedrum.”

* Oil of cedar, for lamps. — “ Quemadmodum ex cupreffu et
“ pinu refina; fic ex cedro oleum, quod cedreum dicitur, nascitur.” —
Vitruv. lib. II. c. ix.

VER.

VER. 37—41.

“Nunc age, qui reges †, Erato, quae tempora rerum,
 “Quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem
 “Cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
 “Expediam: et primae revocabo exordia pugnae.
 “Tu vatem, tu, Diva, mone: dicam horrida bella,
 “Dicam acies.” ———

† Does not it seem as if Virgil wandered here from his usual propriety, in addressing himself to Erato to sing of wars? Ovid's invocation of her is certainly much more proper, when he invokes her to sing of loves.

“Nunc mihi, si quando, puer et Cytherea, favete!
 “Nunc, Erato; nam tu nomen amoris habes.”

Art. Am. lib. II. ver. 16.

Erato was so much the patroness of lovers, that the same author in his *Fasti* speaks of her and Venus as one and the same. He speaks of her as Venus in the following verses:

“Alma, fave vati, geminorum mater Amorum!” *Fast.* IV. ver. 1.

“Mota Cytheriacâ leviter mea tempora myrto

“Contigit; et coeptum perfice, dixit, opus.” *Ib.* 16.

And as the muse, in these:

“Talibus Aoniae facundâ voce Camoenae

“Reddita quaesiti causa furoris erat.” *Ib.* 246.

“Substitit hic Erato.” ——— *Ib.* 349.

He farther says, in one place, that the month of April was dedicated to Venus; and in another, that it was the month of Erato:

“Venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima, mensem;

“Et vatem et mensem scis, Venus, esse tuos.” *Ib.* 14.

“Sic Ego: sic Erato. Mensis Cythereius illi

“Cessit, quod teneri nomen amoris habet.” *Ib.* 196.

If Venus and Erato might be looked upon as the same person, Virgil might properly enough invoke her to sing the wars and glorious achievements

achievements of her own son Aeneas. Though this does not thoroughly satisfy myself; I think it rather better than the reason by Ruæus; "that he calls on Erato to sing this war, because it was occasioned by the love of Turnus and Aeneas for Lavinia."

VER. 107—117.

"Aeneas, primique duces, et pulcher Iulus,
 "Corpora sub ramis deponunt arboris altae:
 "Instituuntque dapes, et adorea liba per herbam
 "Subjiciunt epulis, (sic Jupiter ipse monebat)
 "Et Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent.
 "Consumptis hic forte aliis, ut vertere morsus
 "Exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi;
 "Et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem
 "Fatalis crusti, patulis nec parcere quadris:
 "✱ Heus! etiam mensas consumimus? inquit Iulus.
 "Nec plura alludens. Ea vox audita laborum
 "Prima tulit finem." —

✱ Most of the historical passages in the Aeneid, and this little circumstance in particular, are mentioned by Dionysius Halicarnassæus in his History.

VER. 122, 123, etc.

"Hic domus, haec patria est: genitor mihi talia (namque
 "Nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit +," etc,

+ The prophecy, that Aeneas and his companions should be reduced to the necessity of eating their tables before they should settle in Italy, was an antient tradition, and is mentioned as such by Dionysius Halicarnassæus. Virgil very judiciously made use of every thing that he could find recorded in that manner, in order to give an air of historical truth to his fable. He has therefore introduced it, and with the greatest solemnity in the third Book. It is with great propriety put into the mouth of the Harpy Celaeno: she delivers it as a denunciation of vengeance, with all the circumstances proper to create awe and horror:

"Quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
 "Praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando."

Ver. 251, 252.

The

The Trojans are struck with the utmost terror and astonishment on the occasion; and Anchises in particular with prayer and sacrifice solemnly addresses the Great Deities, beseeching them to avert those dreadful threatenings. In the same book Aeneas, the horror of this prophecy still remaining upon his mind, consults Helenus particularly upon it; who gives him a short intimation, that he will not find it so dreadful in the event as he apprehends :

“ Nec tu menfarum morfus horrefce futuros :

“ Fata viam invenient, aderitque vocatus Apollo.”

Ver. 294, 295.

After this we hear no more of it till the seventh Book; when young Ascanius, by a jocular remark suitable to his age, happily gives the solution of the prophecy. Upon which Aeneas, as if he had totally forgotten the delivery of the prophecy by the Harpy, which had made so strong an impression upon them all; his having consulted Helenus upon it; and the hint that Helenus had given him relating to it, now so happily cleared up and verified; without the least reference to all or any of these circumstances, says, that he now recollects, that his father Anchises had foretold to him, that when, upon an unknown shore, they should be forced to eat their tables, then his labours and wanderings should end, and he should build his city. Ruæus says, that perhaps Anchises might tell him this in the infernal regions: it may be so; but this is no answer to an objection that may be raised against this passage: Why is not the solution of the prophecy connected with the delivery of it; as the Reader, recollecting the latter, must naturally expect? Why is it here put upon a new foundation, different from that upon which it was at first raised, after it had been so solemnly introduced, and so strongly marked? Why is the delivery of it attributed to a different person; and the form of it totally altered, from a menace and a curse into the promise of a blessing? By this alteration the solution also of the prophecy loses much of its effect: the fulfilling of the promised blessing, upon this latter hypothesis, has nothing very striking in it; but the turn given to the Harpy's prophecy, converting the curse into a blessing, would have been unexpected and surprising. Besides, if Anchises explained the matter beforehand to his son, he must naturally be supposed to have done it, as Helenus had in part done before, with reference to the Harpy; especially as Anchises is the very person who is represented

as expressing his horror on occasion of the first discovery of it by her : but not a word of this here ; and the Harpy is as much out of the question, as if she had never been mentioned.

I cannot but look upon this as an inconsistency, or at least an inaccuracy, which Virgil would probably have corrected, if he could have given the last finishing to his admirable poem. But fate prevented him ; as if determined that no human work should ever arrive at absolute perfection.

VER. 170—176.

“ *¹ Tectum angustum, ingens, *² centum sublime columnis,
 “ Urbe fuit summâ, Laurentis regia Pici ;
 “ Horrendum sylvis et religione parentum.
 “ Hinc sceptrâ accipere, et primos attollere fasces
 “ Regibus omen erat : hoc illis curia templum,
 “ Haec sacris sedes epulis : hic ariete caeso
 “ Perpetuis soliti patres confidere mensis.”

*¹ Observe what majesty there is in this verse.

*² Servius remarks, that in his description of the palace of Latinus, Virgil had a view to Augustus's palace on the Palatine hill. “ Domum quam in palatio diximus ab Augusto factam per transitum laudat,” etc. — Bianchini in his Palazzo de' Cesari is of the same opinion, and observes, moreover, that at this passage the Vatican Virgil has a portico of eight pillars in front, of the Corinthian order and fluted, which he supposes to represent the vestibule of Augustus's palace ; which, as he says, might probably be standing, when that manuscript was writ. See Bianchini, pag. 198, etc. — There is likewise a passage in Statius, which seems to justify this remark of Servius : for that author speaking of the palace in Domitian's time as much aggrandized by him, calls it ;

“ Tectum augustum, ingens ; non centum insigne columnis,
 “ Sed quantae Superos Caelumque, Atlante remisso,
 “ Sustentare queant.” — Sylv. IV. 2.

where he manifestly insinuates, that Virgil's description of the palace in Augustus's time, was not equal to what Domitian had made it.

Centum

Centum Columnae, indeed, may signify only many ; a certain number being used for an uncertain. However, supposing this intended for Augustus's palace, there was probably no great exaggeration in the number. For if there were fifty columns in the court of Apollo only, with the like number of statues in the intercolumniations (as we learn from Ovid, *De Trist.* lib. III. El. i. and from Propertius, lib. II. El. 29.), then we may reasonably allow fifty more in the rest of the palace. It is probable, this palace was built just about the time that Virgil was writing this.

VER. 177—180.

“ Quinetiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
 “ Antiqua è cedro, Italusque * paterque Sabinus
 “ Vitifator, curvam fervans sub imagine falcem ;
 “ Saturnus senex, Janique bifrontis imago,
 “ Vestibulo astant.” —

* Sabus, or Sabinus ; who gave name to the Sabines. He is called Vitifator, and represented,

—— “ Curvam fervans sub imagine falcem,”

because he was esteemed their Bacchus. See Claud. Dausqueius's notes on Silius Italicus, lib. VIII.

—— “ Pars laudes ore ferebant,
 “ Sabe, tuas ; qui de patrio cognomine primus
 “ Dixisti populos magnâ ditione Sabinos.”

VER. 187—189.

“ Ipse Quirinali * lituo parvâque sedebat
 “ Succinctus trabeâ, laevâque ancile gerebat
 “ Picus equum domitor” —

* The Lituus and Trabea of Romulus, and the Ancilia, were kept in the Sacrum of the Salii adjoining to the palace on the Palatine hill ; as plainly appears from Bianchini's Palazzo de' Cesari, and other Antiquaries : which is a farther proof that Virgil had Augustus's palace in view, in this description of the palace of Latinus. But though he took his hint from thence ; he disposes these things in his own way, in a very elegant manner, by placing them to adorn the statue of Picus.

VER. 292—296.

—— “ Quassans caput, haec effudit pectore dicta :
 “ Heu stirpem invisam, et fatis contraria nostris
 “ Fata Phrygum ! num Sigeïs occumbere campis,
 “ Num * capti potuere capi ? num incensa cremavit
 “ Troja viros ? medias acies, mediosque per ignes
 “ Invenere viam.” ——

* Dr. Trapp tells us, that he heard a judicious critic object against this passage as trifling, and jingling ; and more like one of Ovid's turns, than Virgil's majestic sentences. —— But we must consider that Juno was a woman, and in rage. And perhaps this broken stile, with an affectation of wit, might be thought in character for some furious lady in those days, whom Virgil had particularly in view : or he might think these little turns of wit as suitable to the character of woman in general, as the short interrupted sentences to rage and passion.

VER. 337—340.

—— “ Tibi nomina mille,
 “ Mille nocendi artes : foecundum concute pectus,
 “ Disjice compositam pacem, fere crimina belli :
 “ Arma † velit, poscatque simul, rapiatque juvenus.”

† Mr. Holdsworth observes the fineness of the climax in this verse.

VER. 341—345.

“ Exin Gorgoneis Aleſto infecta venenis
 “ Principio Latium et Laurentis tecta tyranni
 “ Celsa petit, tacitumque obsedit limen *¹ Amatae.
 “ Quam super adventu Teucrûm, Turnique hymenaeis,
 “ *² Femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant.”

*¹ Quaer. Whether Virgil, under the character of Amata, does not describe some particular character in the Roman history ; perhaps Cleopatra ?

*² Virgil seems to declare often against womens intermeddling in public affairs : which occasions this expression, which carries satire in it ; he afterwards makes her reason weakly. And ver. 444, he declares himself expressly :

“ Bella

“Bella viri pacemque gerant, queis bella gerenda.”

This sentiment of the Poet might, possibly, cost Camilla her life.

VER. 376, 377.

“* Tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstis,
“ Immenfam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.”

* In this character Virgil, perhaps, draws the picture of Fulvia, Antony's first wife: who incensed the people against Caesar, after the battle of Philippi, and by her turbulent spirit occasioned many fresh disturbances in Italy; and when she was still unsuccessful, and had thereby disgusted her husband, she at length died of grief and despair.

VER. 408.

“ Protinus hinc fuscis tristis † Dea tollitur alis
“ Audacis Rutuli ad muros.” ———

† That the Greeks and Romans looked on the Furies as Goddesses; and built temples, and made prayers to them; see Pol. XVI. 113.

VER. 411—413.

———— “Locus Ardua quondam
“ Dictus avis, et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen:
“ * Sed fortuna fuit.” ———

* “Sed fortuna fuit,” certainly means, “Its glory was past;” which very properly follows, “Magnum manet nomen,” speaking of an ancient city run to ruin. So, Fuimus Troes.

VER. 445—451.

“ Talibus Aleôto dictis exarsit in iras.
“ At juveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus;
“ Diriguere oculi: tot Erinny's sibilat hydris,
“ † Tantaque se facies aperit. Tum flammea torquens
“ Lumina, cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura
“ Reppulit, et geminos erexit crinibus angues,
“ Verberaque insonuit.” ———

† Virgil

† Virgil gives us the forms and appearances of their Deities as strongly as if we had so many pictures of them preserved to us, done by some of the best hands in the Augustan age. It is remarkable, that he is commended by some of the antients themselves, for the strength of his imagination as to this particular; though in general that is not his character, so much as exactness. Juvenal chooses this passage as one instance of Virgil's great excellence that way:

“ Magnae mentis opus ———
 “ ——— Currus et equos, faciesque Deorum,
 “ Concipere; et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnyes.
 “ Nam si Virgilio puer et tolerabile desit
 “ Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri:
 “ Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.”——— Sat. VII. ver. 71.

Juvenal on this occasion points to the very noblest efforts of imagination that Virgil has shewn in his whole poem; and it is remarkable, that they all relate to their Deities. “ Currus et equos,” may refer to that terrible description of Mars in his chariot, Aen. XII. ver. 332, or that mild one of Neptune, Aen. I. ver. 127. 155; as “ facies Deorum,” to that noble passage, in the description of Troy sinking in its flames:

“ Aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
 “ Mortales hebetat visus tibi, et humida circum
 “ Caligat, nubem eripiam)———
 “ Hic, ubi dejectas moles avulsaque faxis
 “ Saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,
 “ Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
 “ Fundamenta quatit; totumque ab sedibus urbem
 “ Eruit. Hic Juno Scaeas faevissima portas
 “ Prima tenet, sociumque furens à navibus agmen
 “ Ferro accincta vocat.———
 “ Jam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
 “ Infedit; nimbo effulgens, et Gorgone saevâ.——
 “ Apparent dirae facies, inimicaque Trojae
 “ Numina magna Deûm.”——— Aen. II. ver. 625.

The next words are, evidently, spoken of the passage at the head of this note.——And the last, as evidently, of this:

“ At

- “ At faevâ, è speculis tempus Dea nacta nocendi
 “ Ardua tecta petit stabuli; et de culmine summo
 “ Pastorale canit signum, cornuque recurvo
 “ Tartaream intendit vocem: quâ protinus omne
 “ Contremuit nemus, et sylvae intonuere profundae.
 “ Audiit et Triviae longè lacus; audiit amnis
 “ Sulfureâ Nar albus aquâ, fontesque Velini:
 “ Et trepidæ matres preffere ad pectora natos.”

Aen. VII. ver. 518.

VER. 475—482.

- “ Dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet,
 “ Alecô in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis:
 “ * Arte nova speculata locum, quo litore pulcher
 “ Infidiis curfuque feras agitabat Iûlus.
 “ Hic subitam canibus rabiem Cocytia virgo
 “ Objicit, et noto nares contingit odore,
 “ Ut cervum ardentes agerent: quæ prima malorum
 “ Causa fuit, belloque animos accendit agrestes.”

* Ruæus and others seem to me to mistake the meaning of this place, which is owing to the wrong pointing it. I think, there ought not to be so much as a comma after *Alis*, but after *Arte novâ*: for what art or trick did Alecô shew in espying the place where Ascanius was hunting? Her new trick, or design, was, “ Canibus rabiem objicere, quæ prima malorum causa fuit,” etc. And therefore *Arte novâ* must not relate to *Speculata*, but to the whole scene which follows, till Alecô leaves Italy, ver. 543. — If so, this place should be pointed thus:

- “ Alecô in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis
 “ Arte novâ, speculata locum,” etc. —

VER. 483—492.

- “ † Cervus erat forma præstanti et cornibus ingens:
 “ Tyrrheidæ pueri quem matris ab ubere raptum
 “ Nutribant, Tyrrheusque pater, cui regia parent
 “ Armenta, et late custodia credita campi.

“ Assuetum:

- “ Affuetum imperiis foror omni Sylvia curâ
 “ Mollibus intexens ornabat cornua fertis :
 “ Pectebatque ferum, puroque in fonte lavabat.
 “ Ille manum patiens, mensaeque affluens herili,
 “ Errabat sylvis : rursusque ad limina nota
 “ Ipse domum ferâ quamvis se nocte ferebat.”

† This passage is all in Virgil’s truest Pastoral style; and most of the lines run more in his Pastoral than in his Epic versification.

VER. 563—571.

- “ Est locus, Italiae in medio sub montibus altis,
 “ Nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,
 “ Amfancti * valles : densis hunc frondibus atrum
 “ Urget utrinque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
 “ Dat sonitum faxis et torto vortice torrens.
 “ Hic specus horrendum, et faevi spiracula Ditis
 “ Monstrantur : ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
 “ Pestiferas aperit fauces : queis condita Erinnys,
 “ Invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat.”

* L. Alberti has employed some pages to prove that Virgil designed this as a description of the cascade of Terni; and Mr. Addison is of the same opinion: but Cicero and Pliny both place the Amfancti Valles in the country of the Hirpini. See Cicero, de Divinit. lib. I. and Plin. lib. II. c. xciii. “ In Hirpinis Amfancti, ad Mephitis aedem locum, quem “ qui intravere, moriuntur.”

* The Vale of Amfanctus is in the midst of the Apennines, at about an equal distance from the Mare Inferum one way, and from the Mare Superum the other. It is in the kingdom of Naples, between Trevicum and Acherontia. The best modern geographers speak of it as there; and so do all the antient writers that mention it particularly. When I went to see the place, we were directed to the spot we wanted, by the sound of what Virgil calls the Spiracula Ditis there. It still retains its old character too; for the country people in the neighbourhood of it desired us not to go to it; and look upon the air and smells there as infectious. From Mr. Holdsworth. — This is proved more at large; chiefly from the same gentleman’s reasonings on it, in Polymetis, XVI. 162.

VER.

VER. 629—636.

“ Quinque adeo magnae positis incudibus urbes
 “ Tela novant : Atina potens, *¹ Tyburque superbum,
 “ Ardea, Crustumerique, et turrigeræ *² Antemnae,
 “ Tegmina tuta cavant capitum, flectuntque salignas
 “ Umbonum crates ; alii thoracas ahenos,
 “ Aut leves ocreas lento ducunt argento.
 “ Vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri
 “ Cessit amor : recoquunt patrios fornacibus enses.”

*¹ There are iron and copper mills now at Tivoli ; and that there were so formerly, appears by an inscription in the Villa Justiniani at Rome.

*² “ Antemnae dictae sunt, quod eas annis praeterfluit, quasi ante annem posita,” Servius. This, as Cluver observes, was probably taken by Servius from Varro, who says ; “ Oppidum Interamna dictum, quod inter amnes est constitutum ; item Antemnae, quod ante annem qui influit in Tyberim ; quod in bello male acceptum consenuit :” De linguâ Latinâ, lib. IV. And Festus says ; “ Interamna et Antemnae dictae sunt, quod inter amnes sint posita, vel ante se habeant amnes.” These passages prove the situation of Antemnae on the banks of a river discharging itself into the Tyber. This must be the Anio : for Strabo positively asserts that it was very near Rome, lib. V. where, speaking of Rome, he says ; “ Qui enim tum circa ea loca erant, ii pro se quisque seorsim habitabant, moenia urbis, quae tum condebatur, contingentes ; erant autem Collatia, Antemnae, Fidenae. And he asserts that these places were about xxx or xl stadia or little more from Rome : “ Tunc quidem oppidula, nunc vero vici, privatorum praedia, xxx aut xl paullo plus ab Româ stadiis distita.”

VER. 641—644.

“ Pandite nunc Helicon, Deae, cantusque move :
 “ Qui bello exciti reges ; quae quemque secutae
 “ Complerunt campos acies ; * quibus Itala jam tum
 “ Floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arserit armis.”

Q q

* This

* This list of the forces takes in all the parts of Italy between the Mare Inferum and the Apennines, included; Mantua is the only place out of this line, which is attached with a great deal of address to Tuscany, Aen. X. 198—214. posth.

VER. 664, 665.

“ Pila manu, faevosque gerunt in bella dolones :
“ Et tereti pugnant mucrone, veruque Sabello.”

* *Ξιφιδιον ληστρικον, ο δολωνα καλυσιν*, Plutarch, in Graccho.

VER. 666, 667.

“ Ipse pedes ; tegmen torquens immane leonis
“ Terribili impexum feta, cum dentibus + albis,
“ Indutus capiti.”——

+ Quintilian (Instit. Orat. lib. VIII. c. vi.) is as wrong in reckoning the “ dentibus albis” of Virgil among the superfluous epithets, as his “ humida vina” in the Georgics, III. 364. Both those epithets are very proper and beautiful, from the particular occasions on which they were used. Auditor Benfon.

VER. 682—685.

“ Quique altum Praeneste viri, quique arva Gabinae
“ Junonis, *¹ gelidumque Anienem, et roscida rivis
“ Hernica faxa colunt : quos, dives Anagnia, pascis ;
“ Quos *² Amasene pater.”——

*¹ The epithet shews that Virgil means the country towards the head or fountains of the Anio. Silius, who always imitates Virgil, says ;

“ Quique Anienis habent ripas gelidoque rigantur
“ Symbrivio.”——

*² Qu. if this does not mean the country about Alatri? in the neighbourhood of which is a place now called Santa Maria d’Amaseno, on the right hand of the road between Anagnia and Sora.

VER.

VER. 686—690.

- “ Pars maxima glandes
 “ Liventis plumbi spargit ; pars spicula gestat
 “ Bina manu, fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros
 “ Tegmen habet capiti : vestigia nuda sinistri
 “ Instituire pedis, * crudus tegit altera pero.”

* The people in those parts to this day wear a piece of crude leather (half-prepared) under the soles of their feet; with Vincula that come over their feet, and half-way up the leg.

VER. 691—698.

- “ At *¹ Messapus equum domitor, Neptunia proles,
 “ Quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro,
 “ Jampridem resides populos desuetaque bello
 “ Agmina in arma vocat subito, ferrumque retractat.
 “ Hi Fescenninas acies, aequosque Faliscos ;
 “ Hi Soraëtis habent arces, *² Flaviniaque arva,
 “ Et Cimini cum monte lacum, *³ lucosque Capenos.
 “ Ibant aequati numero, regemque canebant.”

*¹ We may observe that these troops under the command of Messapus were the only people on the Tuscan side of the Tyber, who joined with Turnus against Aeneas. And since all Etruria was in confederacy against Mezentius and his friend Turnus, how comes it that Virgil makes this district dissent from the rest ; and, though not naturally a warlike people, take up arms on the other side ? I don't know whether any of the commentators have taken notice of this difficulty. But the reason seems plainly this ; that these people (though reckoned part of the Tuscans) were reputed by the Romans, even in Virgil's time, to be of a different race ; probably the remains of the old Pelasgi, formerly masters of all Etruria, who, being driven thence by the Lydians, retired to the mountains, as is usual on such occasions, and continued in possession of the Sylva Ciminia, and that rough tract between those mountains and the Tyber ; from whence it was not easy, or not thought worth while, to dislodge them. For these people, it was more natural that they should join with Turnus, than with the Trojans who came from the same country with their old enemies the Lydians.

That they were different from the Etrusci, and esteemed of the race of the Pelasgi, we have the authority of Pliny, Strabo, and Dionysius Halicarnassæus. — “Falisca, Argis orta, ut auctor est Cato:” Plin. lib. III. c. v. — Strabo, speaking of Falerii or Falisci (which is the same, the former meaning the city, the latter the people), says; “Quidam vero negant Falerios esse Etruscos; sed Faliscos peculiarem esse gentem, peculiari utentem linguâ; urbemque eorum Falerios. Quam nonnulli Aequum Faliscum vocant, in Viâ Flaminîâ sitam, inter Oriculos et Romanam:” Lib. V. It is true this passage is corrupted; but I have set it down as corrected and translated by Cluverius, lib. II. c. iii. p. 538.

Dionysius is still fuller to our purpose: “Falerium vero et Fescenium meo etiam tempore à Romanis habitata parvas quasdam scintillas servant Pelasgici generis; quum olim Siculorum fuerint. In his multa antiqui moris Graecanici longissimo tempore perdurarunt. Ut armorum ornatus; Argolici clypei et hastae, etc. Sed omnium clarissimum monumentum, hos qui Siculos ejecerunt, apud Argos olim habitasse, templum est Falerii Junonis, Argivo illi simile. Ubi et Sacrorum ritus erant iidem; Et curatrices templi Sacrificulae; Et puella innupta, quam vocant Canophoron, sacrificium auspicari solita: Ad haec chori virginum, patrios hymnos in laudem Deae canentium.” See Cluverius, lib. II. c. iii. p. 543.

Turnus likewise seems to look upon them as of Greek extraction, and therefore when news was brought him that Diomedes, from whom as a Greek he had reason to expect succours, had excused himself from sending any against Aeneas; he immediately cries out with an emphasis on Messapus the leader of the Fescennians, etc. that he would stand by him; and names him particularly above all the generals who came to his assistance.

“Non erit auxilio nobis Aetolus et Arpi?”

“At Messapus erit,” etc. — Lib. XI. 428.

As if he had said; “If one Greek will not assist me, another will.” — We must farther observe the odd character given by Virgil of these people:

“Jampridem resides populos, desuetaque bello.

“Agmina,” etc. —

And,

“Ibant aequati numero, Regemque canebant.

“Ceu quondam nivei,” etc. —

And,

And,

“Nec quisquam acratas acies,” etc.——

All this proceeds from and agrees with the opinion the Romans had that these people first introduced on the Roman stage the low taste of farce and buffoonry, from them called “Fescennini ludi.”

“Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem

“Versibus alternis,” etc.—— Hor. lib. II. Ep. i. 145.

See Dacier’s and Sanadon’s notes on the place.

Therefore Virgil speaks of them very properly, that when their commander Messapus had roused them up to war, which they had been long refused to, they danced and sung as they marched.

“Ibant aequati numero, Regemque canebant.”

And he describes them as going rather to a comedy or opera than to a field of battle.

*² Perhaps, Fiano.

*³ This may be the country about Caprarola, or rather Canapina near Soriano.

VER. 706—717.

“Ecce, Sabinorum prisco de sanguine, magnum

“Agmen agens Clausus, magnique ipse agminis instar:

“Claudia nunc à quo diffunditur et tribus et gens

“Per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.

“Una ingens *¹ Amiterna cohors, prisque Quirites:

“*² Ereti manus omnis, oliviferaeque Mutuscae:

“Qui Nomentum urbem, qui * Rosea rura Velini;

“Qui Tetricae horrentes rupes, montemque Severum,

“Casperiamque colunt, Forulosque, et flumen Himellae:

“Qui Tyberim Fabarimque bibunt: quos *³ frigida misit

“Nursia, et *⁴ Hortinae classes, *⁵ populique Latini:

“Quosque secans *⁶ infaustum interluit *⁷ Allia nomen.”

*¹ Strabo, enumerating the towns of the Sabines, reckons Amiternum as a city, and mentions it first.

*² “Trebula, Eretum, et alia id genus domicilia pagis potius quam urbibus annumeranda. Strab. lib. V.

* Where

* Where Mr. Addison (Travels, p. 99.) quotes Virgil's "*rosea rura Velini*," he has made another mistake; beside that larger one, of making the water-fall of Velini to be the place whence Alecto descended into hell. He supposes Rosea to be derived from Ros, and to signify Dewy. There is no such derivative in the Latin tongue; the adjective from Ros is Roscidus. Rosea is a proper name of part of the country thereabouts: Varro had a Villa there; and, in speaking of it, says, "in meâ Roseâ." — "Caesar Vopiscus, cum causam apud Censores ageret, campos Roseae dixit, *Italiae sumen esse*; in quibus perticas pridie relictas gramen operiret." Plin. lib. XVII. c. iv.

*³ Nursia stands upon a river called Freddara, which agrees very well with its epithet here.

*⁴ The watermen of Hortinum. — Virgil often makes use of this word *Classis*, and in all other places in the usual sense, i. e. naval: but as it is evident that no naval force came to the assistance of Turnus, therefore it must here be understood to mean land forces, but such whose usual employment was upon the water. Hortinum standing on the banks of the Tyber near the conflux of the Nar, it is probable that many of the inhabitants were watermen, whom the Poet here arms in the service of Turnus. Orta is still the chief town on the river that sends barges to Rome. It may reasonably be imagined that, on such an occasion as a foreign invasion, boatmen might be as forward as others to take arms in aid of Turnus, and in defence of their country. But then the question will be, whether boatmen on a river can properly be called *Classis*? Livy, relating a victory of the Romans against the united forces of the Veientes and Fidenates, has the following passage: "*Classibus quoque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Veientibus, quidam Annales retulere: Rem aequè difficilem atque incredibilem; nec nuñc lato satis ad hoc amne, et tum aliquanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, arctiore. Nisi in trajectu forte fluminis prohibendo aliquarum navium concursum in majus (ut fit) celebrantes navalis victoriae vanum titulum appetivere.*" Lib. IV. c. 34.— If "*Classibus pugnatum*" might be used of land troops, as Ruæus and some others pretend, Livy might have spared his remark. But it is plain he thought it only applicable to watermen; which occasioned his following criticism, That the Tyber was not wide enough for a naval fight; and that if the Roman boats gained any advantage against the Veientes in opposing their passage of the river, that this could not without great exaggeration be called a naval victory. As to his criticism; it is true that in his time, that is, in the height of the Roman greatness, such language would have been

been ridiculous: But, with submission, I cannot think it improper in the infancy of their state: And if such a rencounter of boats on a river might, in the annals of antient times, be properly termed “*pugnare classibus*,” with equal reason might a Poet, speaking of the same river, and in earlier times, call the boatmen *Classes*.

*⁵ “*Populi Latini*” must here mean only some part of the Latins neighbouring upon the river Allia: probably the Fidenates. Pliny, enumerating the people of Latium, amongst the rest mentions the *Latinienfes*: and Cicero, In Oratione de Haruspicum responsis, has these words; “*In Latinienfi auditus est strepitus cum fremitu*,” which “*ager Latinienfis*” is afterwards called by him “*Propinquus et Suburbanus*.” Quaer. If this may not be meant by Virgil? See Cluver. de Lavinio.

*⁶ Quaer. If the battles of Cremera and Allia were not fought on the same day of the month? And therefore that day, xv kal. Sext. “*Fastis damnatus*.” See Livy and Tacitus.

*⁷ Servius upon this passage supposes Allia to be written sometimes with a single *l*; and to prove this quotes a passage out of Lucan:

“*Non istas habuit pugnae Pharsalia partes,
Quas aliae clades.*” ——— Lib. VII. 632.

A great blunder, for *aliae* in that place manifestly signifies *other*.

VER. 723—729.

“*¹ *Hinc Agamemnonius Trojani nominis hostis
Curru jungit* *² *Halesus equos, Turnoque feroces
Mille rapit populos: vertunt felicia Baccho
Massica qui rastris, et quos de collibus altis.
*³ Aurunci misere patres; *⁴ Sidicinaque juxta
Aequora, quique Cales linqunt; amnisque vadosi:
Accola *⁵ Vulturni.*” ———

*¹ This word *hinc* here shews that he is going to take in the other side of the country. ——— † The simile before it too is partly used, to mark out this distinction the more strongly.

*² Silius Italicus brings Alesus to Alsum; which was not above ten miles from Rome, on the road to Civita Vecchia:

——— “*Argolico dilectum litus Aleso
Alsum.*” ——— Lib. VIII.

*³ These

* These probably were the inhabitants of the hills about Sueffa or Scffa, as it is now called. Scoto says, upon the testimony of Livy, that it was sometimes called Sueffa de gli Aurunci. See Scoto's Itiner. Sueffa. This is certain, that these people must be distinguished from the "Auruncæ manus," mentioned afterwards, ver. 795. by whom perhaps are meant those who inhabited Sueffa Pometia or near it. The Author of Voyage Historique d'Italie says, there is a village called Aurunca near Mola, or between Mola and the Garigliano: See Let. LXIV. Strabo names Sueffula among the inland towns of Campania. That the Aurunci were neighbours to the Sidicini appears from Livy, lib. VIII. who tells us on what occasion they quitted their town and retired to Sueffa, which from them was called Aurunca. "Inter Sidicinos Auruncosque bellum ortum. Aurunci, à T. Manlio Cos. in deditionem accepti, nihil deinde moverant: eò petendi auxilii ab Romanis causa justior fuit; sed priusquam Coss. ab urbe (jussisset enim senatus defendi Auruncos) exercitum educerent, fama assertur Auruncos metu oppidum deseruisse, profugosque cum conjugibus ac liberis Sueffam communisse, quæ nunc Aurunca appellata. Moenia antiqua eorum urbemque à Sidicinis deletam."

* This certainly means the plains of Teanum, now Tiano, near the hills of the Aurunci; for Pliny says, "Teanum Sidicinum cognomine;" and reckons it expressly amongst the "Coloniae intus," lib. III. c. v. And Strabo, after having enumerated the towns on the Via Latina, which were in Latium, adds, "Teanum Sidicinum, quod proximè sequitur, ipso cognomento ostendit se ad Sidicinos pertinere; qui sunt Ofci, gens Campanorum superstes, ita ut possit Campaniæ dici, ipsa quoque urbium in via Latina sitarum maxima. Eam subsequitur Calenum; urbs ipsa quoque egregia; et Casilino contigua." Lib. V.

* At the mouth of the river Volturnus was a town of the same name, which probably Virgil means. "Volturnus ad urbem sui cognomen in mare exit." Strab.

VER. 730—732.

———— "Teretes sunt * acilides illis
 "Tela, sed hæc lento mos est aptare flagello:
 "Lævas * cetra tegit: falcati cominus enses."

* When the people of this country came into the field under the command of young Scipio against Hannibal, Silius Italicus represents them armed

armed in like manner, more like a rabble than disciplined foldiers ; and Scipio teaches them to use the Roman armour.

“ Ille viris pila et ferro circumdare pectus
 “ Addiderat ; leviora domo de more parentum
 “ Gestabant tela ; ambustas sine cuspide cornos ;
 “ Aclidis usus erat, factaeque ad rura bipennes.” Lib. VIII.

*² Silius Italicus, speaking of the Spanish forces in Hannibal’s army at the battle of Cannae, says ;

———— “ Effulget cetrata juvenus,
 “ Cantaber ante alios, nec tectus tempora Vasco.” Lib. IX.

Again, lib. X. Paulus the Consul stabs Viriatus the Iberian under the left pap, just at the time that he is beating his Cetra for joy that he had killed Servilius.

———— “ Ritu jam moris Iberi
 “ Carmina pulsatâ fundentem barbara cetrâ
 “ Invadit, laevaeque fodit vitalia mammae.”

VER. 733—740.

“ Nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis,
 “ Oebale : quem generasse Telon Sebethide Nympha
 “ Fertur, Teleboûm *¹ Capreas cum regna teneret
 “ Jam senior : patriis sed non et filius arvis
 “ Contentus, late jam tum ditione premebat
 “ *² Sarraftes populos, et quae rigat aequora Sarnus ;
 “ Quique *³ Rufas, Batulumque tenent, atque arva Celennae ;
 “ Et quos maliferae despectant moenia *⁴ Abellae.”

*¹ The particular mention here made of Caprea, to which Virgil subjects largê dominions, was probably designed in compliment to Augustus, who had a particular affection for that island ; as Suetonius testifies. “ Apud insulam Capreas veterrimae ilicis demissos jam languentesque ramus convaluisse adventu suo adeo laetatus est, ut eas cum republica Neapolitanorum permutaverit Aenariâ datâ.” In Aug. c. 92. The same is confirmed by Strabo ; “ Capreas Neapolitani tenuere ; quum vero per bellum amisissent Pitheculas, has iis Augustus Caesar reddidit, Capreas propriam sibi faciens possessionem, villisque instruens.” Lib. V. Like-

wife Dio; "Capream verò à Neapolitanis, quorum antiquitùs erat, per-
"mutatione agri redemit." Lib. LII.

*² As by, "quae rigat aequora Sarnus," Virgil means all the plain of the river Sarno; so by "Sarraftes populos," he certainly comprehends all that tract of mountains from the river Sarno to the point of Surrento, and round about to Salerno. The capital of which country was Nuceria. See Pellegrino, Discors. II. c. xxiv. As this country lies in full view of Naples, it is not probable that Virgil would omit mentioning it."

*³ Livy mentions Ruffium as taken by the Romans together with Callifae and Allifium; therefore it was probably near those places. "Eodem tempore (says he) etiam in Samnio res prosperè gesta: tria oppida in potestatem venerunt: Callifae, Ruffium, Allifiumque." Lib. VIII.

*⁴ Strabo names Abella amongst the inland towns of Campania.

VER. 744, 745:

"Et te montosae misere in praelia * Nursae;
"Ufens, insignem famâ et felicibus armis."

* Quaer. If no such town upon the mountains of the Aequicolae? Virgil has mentioned Nursia before, ver. 715; and it is not probable, that he should name the same again in the compass of so few lines.

Fabretti, in his description of the emissary of the Lacus Fucinus, has the following passage: "Sub oppidulo Cappadociâ tribus à Taleocotia et à viâ Valeriâ ad meridiem milliaribus distito, in valle di Nerfa suos fontes fortitus Liris." Col. Traj. p. 388. Quaer. If any ruins of an old town near this place formerly called Nerfae or Nursae? If so, this may be the place intended by Virgil, who is undoubtedly speaking of this part of the country. Pierius says; "Sunt et plerique codices in quibus Nerfae per è scriptum est."

VER. 750—758:

"Quin et Marrubia venit de gente sacerdos,
"Fronde super galeam et felici comptus oliva,
"Archippi regis missu, fortissimus Umbro:
"Vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydri
"Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,
"Mulcebatque iras, et morsus arte levabat.
"Sed non Dardaniae medicari cuspidis ictum

"Evaluit:

“ Evaluit : neque eum juvêre in vulnera cantus

“ Somniferi, et Marfis quæsitæ in montibus herbae.”

* The notion of witches prevails still very much in that country : in going from Sora to Capistrello, I saw about midway a high mountain on the left side of the road, called now L'orto di Centauro ; where the country people say there are abundance of medicinal herbs, but that no body ventures to gather them for fear of the devil.

VER. 761—764.

“ Ibat et Hippoliti proles pulcherrima bello,

“ Virbius : insignem quem mater *¹ Aricia misit,

“ Eductum Egeriae lucis humentia circum

“ Littora, pinguis ubi et *² placabilis ara Dianae.”

*¹ Pausanias, speaking of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, says ; “ Semota
“ ab his visitur columna antiqua. Hujus columnae inscriptioni Arici-
“ norum sermones conveniunt ; Hippolytum, Thesei imprecationibus dis-
“ cerptum, Aesculapii operâ revixisse. Vitae autem restitutum veniam
“ patri nullo modo dare voluisse ; sed contemptis deprecationibus in Ita-
“ liam ad Aricinos profectum, regnoque ibi suscepto nemus Dianae con-
“ fecravisse,” etc. Lib. II.

*² See in Pausanias the story of the Altar of Diana Lapathria near Patras on the banks of the Milichus ; which, it is pretended, changed its name from *Ἀμειλιχ* to *Μειλιχ*, on the abolition of the human sacrifices.

Ovid, speaking of the Altar of Diana in the Taurica Chersonesus, and relating at large the story of the priestess Iphigenia discovering Orestes just as he was going to be sacrificed, says ;

“ Laeta Deae signum crudelia sacra perosae

“ Transtulit ex illis in meliora locis.” De Trist. l. IV. El. iv.

By which it is manifest, that such cruel sacrifices were not used at the temple of Diana at Cynthianum, as some have asserted. — Ovid relates this story of the Taurica Diana, at large, from the mouth of an old man of that country. De Pont. lib. III. El. ii.

VER. 789—792.

—— “Levem clypeum sublati cornibus Iö
 “Auro insignibat, jam fetis obſita, jam bos,
 “(Argumentum ingens) et cuſtos virginis Argus,
 “* Caelatâque amnem fundens pater Inachus urnâ.”

* In imitation of this, Statius :

“In laevum pronâ nixus fedet Inachus urnâ.”

Theb. lib. II. ver. 218.

Probably both had ſome famous ſtatue of this river-god in view.

VER. 793—802.

“Inſequitur nimbus peditum, clypeataque totis
 “Agmina denſantur campis, Argivæque pubes,
 “*¹ Auruncaequæ manus, Rutuli, veteresque Sacani,
 “Et Sacranæ acies, et piſti ſcuta Labici :
 “Qui ſaltus, Tiberine, tuos, ſacrumque Numici
 “Littus arant ; Rutulosque exercent vomere colles,
 “Circaeumque jugum ; queis Jupiter Anxurus arvis
 “Præſidet, et viridi gaudens *² Feronia luco :
 “Qua Saturæ jacet atra palus, gelidusque per imas
 “Quærit iter valles atque in mare conditur Uſens.”

*¹ Pliny obſerves of Latium, “Colonis ſæpe mutatis tenuere alii
 “aliis temporibus ; Aborigines, Pelafgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Ru-
 “tuli.” Lib. XXXV.

*² This was an antient Deity of Italy. Silius Italicus mentions her ſhrine, which was very rich, having been heaping up treaſure from the time of Faunus ; and which continued untouched from that time till it was plundered by Hannibal. See the beginning of the thirteenth Book. She was worſhipped in many places ; and always in groves, and near rivers. Horace mentions her in the ſame country with Virgil :

“Ora manusque tuâ lavimus, Feronia, lymphâ.”

But this place muſt not be confounded with her ſhrine plundered by Hannibal ; which, according to Silius and the hiſtorians, was certainly in the country of the Sabines, near the Tyber, and was much richer than any of the reſt :

Dives

“Dives ubi ante omnes colitur Feronia luco,” etc.

Daufqueius, in his notes on Silius, mentions an old inscription, FERONIAE ARAE QVINQVE. Q. If this may not signify her having shrines in five different places? —

*³ Silius Italicus, as well as Virgil, mentions the Satura and Ufens as stagnating in the Palus Pomptina:

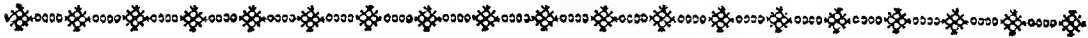
“Quà Saturae nebulosa palus restagnat; et atro
“Liventes coeno per squallida turbidus arva
“Cogit aquas Ufens, atque inficit aequora limo.”

Lib. VIII. ver. 381.

VER. 808, 809.

“Illa vel intactae segetis per † summa volaret
“Gramina: nec teneras cursu laessisset aristas.”

† Philostratus mentions an ancient painting, of three nymphs dancing; and treading on flowers, and ears of corn so lightly, that they remained entirely unhurt. Icones, II. 35.



AENEID THE EIGHTH.

VER. 40—41.

“**N**EU belli terrere minis, tumor omnis et * irae
“Concessere Deûm.” —

* “Jamque Deos omnes ipsamque Aeneia virtus

“Junonem veteres finire coëgerat iras.”

Ovid, Met. lib. XIV.

VER. 62—64.

— “Ego sum, pleno quem flumine cernis
“Stringentem ripas, et pingua culta fecantem,

“Caeruleus

“Caeruleus * Tybris, caelo gratissimus amnis :

“Hic mihi magna * domus, celsis caput urbibus † exit.”

* It has been remarked, particularly by Miffon in his voyages, that Virgil gives the Tyber the title of *Caeruleus* ; whereas, in truth, it is a muddy stream, and the epithet commonly given to him by the poets is *flavus* ; and Virgil himself in the former book, ver. 31. calls him “*multâ flavus arenâ*.” But it must be considered, that there the Poet himself speaks and describes the river as it really is ; but here he introduces the God of the river speaking in person ; and therefore thought fit to cloath him in the same garment as is usually given by the poets and painters to the Gods of such rivers as run into the sea : and Virgil says expressly above, ver. 33, that he appeared to Aeneas, in his dream, with such a garment ;

—— “Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu

“Carbasus.” ——

* There was a part of the Tyber, not near its source, which was anciently called the palace of that river-god. It is said to have been not far from Ostia ; where the Tyber falls into the sea.

† Some read *escit*, the old word for *erit*.

VER. 71—77.

“Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est ;

“Tuque, ô Tybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,

“Accipite Aenean, et tandem arcete periclis.

“Quo te cunque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra

“Fonte tenet, quocunque solo pulcherrimus exis ;

“Semper honore meo, semper † celebrabere donis,

“Corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.”

† Tacitus gives us a little piece of history, which shews the respect the old Romans paid to this river-god, very remarkably. On some frequent inundations of the Tyber, it was proposed in the Roman senate, whether they might not divert the course of some of the lesser rivers, that fall into it. The deputies of the Florentines, Interamnates, Reatini, and others, were heard against the question : who brought their devotions, and the majesty of the Tyber in particular, as an argument on their side.

“Spectandas religiones sociorum, qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis am-
“nibus

“nibus dicaverint; quin ipsum Tyberim nolle prorsus accolis fluviis orbaturum minore gloriâ fluere. Seu preces coloniarum, seu difficultas operum, seu superstitio valuit, ut in sententiam Pisonis concederetur, qui “nil mutandum censuerat.” *Annal. lib. I. sub finem.*

VER. 86—90.

“Tybris eâ fluvium, quàm longa est, nocte tumentem
“Leniit; et tacitâ refluens ita substitit undâ,
“Mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
“Sterneret aequor aquis; remo ut luctamen abesset.
“Ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo.”

† Aeneas is not absent so long as he generally seems to be, when he goes from this place to get some allies to assist him against Turnus. That expedition is as quick as it was necessary. He goes from his camp near Ostia, about fifteen miles up the Tyber, to Rome; thence twenty, by land, to Cervetere: and thence to his camp again, about thirty-five, by sea.

He sets out, by night, ver. 86; gets as far as Rome, about noon, ver. 97; and rests at Evander's, the next night, ver. 369. The second day, he sets out for Cervetere; comes in sight of Tarchon and the malecontents of Tuscany; and stops in the wood of Sylvanus for that night, ver. 456, 551, 608. The third day, he is with Tarchon; is joined immediately by his troops, X. 154. sets sail that afternoon; and continues sailing all the night, X. 214. The fourth day, in the morning, he comes in sight of his camp, X. 257; lands, X. 301; and gets a victory over the enemy, that evening; X. ult. et XI. 1.

VER. 202—204.

“† Tergemini nece Geryonis spoliisque superbus,
“Alcides aderat; * taurosque hac victor agebat
“Ingentes.” ———

† Geryon is generally represented with three bodies, as well as three heads; agreeably to the expressions used of him by the poets:

“Quidve tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai?”

Lucret. V. ver. 28.

——— “Forma tricorporis umbrae.”

Virg. Aen. VI. ver. 289.

“Ter-

“ Ter amplum Geryonen.” — Hor. lib. II. Od. xiv. ver. 8.

—— “ Nec me pastoris Iberi

“ Forma triplex ; nec forma triplex tua, Cerbere, movit.”

Ovid. Met. IX. ver. 185.

* Livy relates this story much in the same manner as Virgil. “ Pa-
“ latinum primum Romulus, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit, sacra Diis
“ aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, fa-
“ cit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mirâ specie abe-
“ gisse memorant,” etc. Lib. I.

VER. 205—208.

—— “ Furiis * Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum

“ Aut intentatum scelerisve dolive fuisset ;

“ Quatuor à stabulis praestanti corpore tauros

“ Avertit, totidem formâ superante juvenas.”

* This name seems to have been given by the poets from *κακῶς*,
Malus ; and Columella hints that this verse was a proverb.

Οὐδ' ἂν βες ἀπολοιτ', εἰ μὴ γειτῶν κακῶς εἴη. Lib. I. c. iii.

which seems to be a pun, or to have a double meaning.

VER. 268—282.

“ Ex illo celebratus honos, laetique minores

“ Servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor,

“ Et domus Herculei custos * Pinaria sacri,

“ Hanc *² aram luco statuit : quae maxime semper

“ Dicetur nobis, et *³ erit quae maxima semper.

“ Quare agite, O juvenes, tantarum in munera laudum,

“ Cingite fronde comas, et pocula porcite dextris :

“ *⁴ Communemque vocate Deum, et date vina volentes.

“ Dixerat, Herculeâ bicolor cum populus umbrâ

“ Velavitque comas, foliisque innexa pependit :

“ Et facer implevit dextram scyphus. Ocyûs omnes

“ In mensam laeti libant, Divosque precantur.

“ Devexo interea propior fit vesp̄r Olympo :

“ Jamque sacerdotes, *⁵ primusque Potitius, ibant

“ Pellibus in morem cincti ; flammasque ferebant.”

* Pinarius

*¹ Pinarius, a descendant of this family, was one of Julius Cæsar's heirs. Appian, lib. III. 877.

*² That this altar continued till Nero's time, is manifest from Tacitus; who, enumerating the buildings which were destroyed when Nero set the city on fire, says thus; "*Vetustissima religione exusta, magna ara fanumque quae Praesenti Herculi Arcas Evander sacraverat.*" Annal. lib. XV.

*³ Mr. Markland, in a note on Statius, lib. III. Sylv. i. 9. declares this hemistich, by his own authority, to be spurious: and says of it; "Hemistichion,

" ——— *Et erit quae maxima semper,*

" qui non odit, necesse est is amet Ovidianum istud;

"*Omnia pontus erat: decerant quoque littora ponto.*"

Without making comparisons, or saying any thing to justify Ovid, I think I may venture to say that Virgil's hemistich is fairly to be justified, and truly emphatical. Evander not only says, that this altar shall be called Maxima by himself and his people; but prophesies that in future ages, whatever temples shall be raised to Hercules, yet this should still be *The Great Altar*: and so it was even in Virgil's time; so far, that notwithstanding many great temples were built to him at Rome, Tivoli, and other places, yet this Altar, though very small, still preserved the title of Magna, or Maxima.

*⁴ It is manifest Virgil is speaking of Hercules only, whom he very properly calls Communem, because the same rites were observed both by Greeks and Romans in his worship; whereas they differed from one another, with respect to the other Gods. This is expressly affirmed by Livy: "Romulus (post conditam urbem) sacra Diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit." Liv. lib. I. And Strabo says; "Evandrum, qui è matre suâ Nicostratâ (erat enim haec vaticinandi perita) cognovisset, Herculem confectis certaminibus fato in Deorum numerum relatum iri, id Herculi indicâsse; lucoque dicato sacrificium ei Graecanicum fecisse, quod eodem ritu hodieque servatur," etc. Lib. V.

*⁵ The word Primus is repeated here again in so short a compass (see 269), as being so very significant. It contains, as it were, the whole history of the Potitii.

VER. 298—300.

“ † Nec te ulla facies, non terruit ipse Typhoëus
 “ Arduus, arma tenens: non te rationis egentem
 “ Lernaëus turba capitum circumstetit anguis.”

† This perhaps is one of the most mysterious points in all the mythology of the antients. Though Hercules was born not long before the Trojan war, they make him assist the Gods in conquering the rebel giants; and I think some of them talk of an oracle, or tradition in heaven, that the Gods could never conquer them, without the assistance of a man.

VER. 333—344.

“ Me pulsum patriâ, pelagique extrema sequentem,
 “ Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
 “ His posuere locis: matrisque egere tremenda
 “ *¹ Carmentis Nymphæ monita, et Deus auctor Apollo.
 “ Vix ea dicta: dehinc progressus, monstrat et aram,
 “ Et Carmentalem Romano nomine portam:
 “ Quam memorant Nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
 “ Vatis fatidicae: cecinit quae prima futuros
 “ Aeneadas magnos, et nobile Pallanteum.
 “ Hinc * lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
 “ Rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe *² Lupercal,
 “ Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.

*¹ It appears from the note above, ver. 275, that her proper name was Nicostrata. She was called by the Latins Carmenta, à Carmine, from her prophecies; for which reason Virgil adds “ Romano nomine.”
 “ Matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani, unam de Nymphis centes, Carmentem denominatam:” Strabo, lib. V. — “ Evander venerabilior divinitate creditâ Carmentae matris; quam fatiloquam, ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum, miratae hae gentes fuerant.” Liv. lib. I.

* The course of this fixes the place, where the Asylum was, to the bottom, between the Palatine and Capitoline hills.

The old writers say, it was “ inter Arcem et Capitolium” (Strabo, et Dion. Hal. See Nardini, lib. V. c. xiii.). There are two risings on the
 Capi-

Capitoline hill : on the lower (where the Tarpeian rock) was the Arx ; and on the higher (where the Ara Celi now) was the Capitolium. The modern antiquaries therefore place the Asylum on the Capitoline hill, between these two risings ; i. e. “ inter Arcem et Capitolium.”

Virgil here shews it as at the foot of the Capitoline hill : but how then was it “ inter Arcem et Capitolium ?”

In Evander’s time the Arx was on the Palatine hill : for he had fortified nothing but that hill ; and is called “ Romanae conditor Arcis” (ver. 313. anteh.). The Capitoline hill is often called Capitolium, in the best Roman historians.

“ Intermontium duorum quercetorum densis septus arboribus, quibus
“ jungebantur colles.” Nard. from Dion. Hal.

* “ Locum, qui nunc septus densis sentibus inter duos lucos est, Asy-
“ lum aperit.” Liv. lib. I.

*² “ Jam tum (in the youth of Romulus) in Palatino monte Lupercal
“ hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt ; et à Palanteo urbe Arcadicâ Palantium,
“ deinde Palatinum inontem, appellatum. Ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo ge-
“ nere Arcadum multis ante temporibus ea tenuerat loca, Solenne allatum
“ ex Arcadiâ instituisse ; ut nudi juvenes Lycæum Pana venerantes per
“ luxum atque lasciviam currerent ; quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum.”
Liv. lib. I. init.

VER. 347—354.

“ Hinc ad * Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit ;
“ Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.
“ Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestes
“ Dira loci ; jam tum sylvam saxumque tremebant.
“ Hoc nemus, hunc (inquit) frondoso vertice collem,
“ (Quis Deus, incertum est) habitat Deus. Arcades ipsum
“ Credunt se vidisse Jovem † ; cum sæpe nigrantem
“ Aegida concuteret dextrâ, nimbosque cieret.”

* This takes in the whole Capitoline hill, which has two summits.

† I do not know whether Virgil here endeavours to confirm an old opi-
nion, or to insinuate a new one : “ That Jupiter was the guardian Deity
“ of that place, even before Rome was built.” They afterwards indeed
supposed him to be present there as fully, and in as much glory, as in the
highest heavens ; but I do not remember any passage but this in Virgil

which supposes him to have chosen that hill for his peculiar residence, before his temple was built on it.

“ Si adhuc dubium fuisset, forte casuque rectores terris an aliquo numine darentur, principem tamen nostrum liqueret divinitus constitutum. Non enim occultâ potestate fatorum, sed ab Jove ipso coram ac palam repertus, electus est: quippe inter aras et altaria; eodemque loci, quem Deus ille tam manifestus ac praesens, quàm caelum ac sidera, infedit.” Pliny’s Paneg. on Trajan, sub init.

VER. 355—367.

“ Haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris
 “ Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
 “ Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit urbem:
 “ Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.
 “ Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
 “ Pauperis Evandri; * passimque armenta videbant
 “ Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
 “ Ut ventum ad sedes; haec, inquit, limina victor
 “ Alcides subiit; haec illum regia cepit.
 “ Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
 “ Finge Deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.
 “ Dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
 “ Ingentem Aeneam duxit.”——

* This is a pretty contrast to the Palatine hill in Augustus’s time. Besides this view, it is not unlikely that Virgil likewise insinuates a compliment to Augustus, who was as remarkably modest in his own habitation on the Palatine hill, as he was magnificent in his public buildings there. “ Habitavit primò juxta Romanum forum supra Scalas Anularias, in domo quae Calvi oratoris fuerat; postea, in Palatio: sed nihilominus in aedibus modicis Hortensianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conspicuis; ut in quibus porticus breves essent Albanarum columnarum, et sine maiore ullo, aut insigni pavimento conclavia.” Sueton. Vit. Aug. — Again; “ Ampla et operosa Praetoria gravabatur.”

VER.

VER. 400—403.

“ Et nunc, si bellare paras, atque haec tibi mens est :
 “ Quicquid in arte meâ possum promittere curae,
 “ Quod fieri ferro, liquidove potest * electro,
 “ Quantum ignes animaeque valent.”——

* “ Electri gemino pallent de semine venae.” Silius, lib. I.

VER. 426—432.

“ His informatum manibus jam parte polita
 “ † Fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
 “ Dejecit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.
 “ Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosae
 “ Addiderant, rutili tres ignis et alitis Austri.
 “ Fulgores nunc terrificos, sonitumque, metumque
 “ Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.”

† The Fulmen of Jupiter was represented by the artists in different shapes ; but of whatever shape it was, it was always supposed to consist chiefly of fire.

“ Ipse pater rectorque Deum, cui dextra trifidus
 “ Ignibus armata est.”—— Ovid, Met. II. ver. 849.
 —— “ Trifida flamma.” Ib. ver. 325.

—— “ Jove tortus ab alto
 “ Ignis.”—— Statius, Theb. V. ver. 395..

Thus Virgil, in his composition of the Fulmen, speaks of fire oftener than any thing else in it, which composition is partly natural, and partly poetical. The natural ingredients of it are clouds, wind, fire, rain, and hail ; for his “ imber tortus” seems to signify the same as “ durus imber” does in Columella, De Cultu Hort. ver. 329 et 330. The word Tres, so often repeated in it, may have some relation to the epithets of Trifidum and Trifulcum, so often given to Fulmen by the poets ; and so very well agreeing with the figures of it in most antiques ; as the epithet of Alitis may have some reference to the wings given to it, in some of them.

VER.

VER. 433—438.

“ Parte aliâ Marti currumque rotasque volucres
 “ Instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes :
 “ * Aegidaque horrificam, turbatae Palladis arma,
 “ Certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant :
 “ Connexosque † angues, ipsamque in pectore Divae
 “ Gorgona, defecto vertentem ‡ lumina collo.”

* Servius on the place declares that, when on the breast of men, it was called Lorica. See Buonarroti's Medagl. p. 353.

† The poets speak frequently of the serpents about Medusa's head ; and particularly of two, that are very much distinguished from the rest, in several of her figures ; as having their tails twined together under her chin, and their heads reared over her forehead. So Ovid :

“ Nexaque nodosâs angue Medusa comas.”

Ex Ponto, lib. III. Ep. i. 124.

See Polymetis, Pl. IV. fig. 2.

‡ “ Quos habuit vultus hamati vulnere ferri
 “ Caesa caput Gorgon ? Quanto spirasse veneno
 “ Ora rear, quantumque oculos effundere mortis.”

Lucan, lib. IX. ver. 680.

For this head on the Aegis of Pallas, see Pol. Pl. IV. fig. 4.

VER. 478—480.

“ Haud procul hinc faxo colitur fundata vetusto
 “ Urbis * Agyllinae sedes : ubi Lydia quondam
 “ Gens, bello praeclara, jugis infedit † Etruscis.”

* Pliny, reckoning up the towns and rivers in Tuscany, mentions
 “ Caeretanus amnis et ipsum Caere intus M. pass. quatuor, Agylla à Pe-
 “ lasgis conditoribus dictum.” — See likewise Strabo, lib. V. cap. De
 Tyrrenis, etc.

+ “ Etruria antiently had two kings : the seat of one of them was at
 “ Caeris or Cervetere ; and of the other at Coritum or Cortona.—There
 “ were twelve chief cities in Etruria ; the deputies from each of which met,
 “ to

“to elect these kings. Their establishment had an air of freedom.” From the Cavalier Venuti, a nobleman of Cortona. —† In Aeneas’s time, Mezentius was king at Caeris; and Tarchon at Cortona. Hence Silius Italicus seems to comprehend all Etruria under the names of these two cities:

“*Leſtos Caere viros; leſtos Cortona, ſuperbi*
Tarchontis domus.” ————— Lib. VIII. ver. 474.

Where, by the way, *Superbus* ſeems to be uſed in a good ſenſe (as it often is in the Latin, and ſeveral of the languages derived from it), becauſe Tarchon aſſiſted in helping Aeneas to the throne; and conſequently toward the eſtabliſhment of the Caefars. This alliance of Aeneas and Tarchon is pointed out by Virgil, ſo early as in the third book of the Aeneid: where his Great Gods tell him, “That Crete is not the place he is to fix at: No; he is to go on for Italy and Cortona.”

————— “*Coritum, terrasque require*
Aufonias.” ————— Ver. 171.

VER. 523—529.

“*Ni ſignum caelo Cytherea dediffet aperto.*
Namque improviſo vibratus ab aethere †¹ fulgor
Cum ſonitu venit: et ruere omnia viſa repente;
Tyrrhenusque †² tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
Suſpiciunt: iterum atque iterum fragor intonat ingens:
Arma inter nubem, caeli in regione ſerena,
Per ſudum rutilare vident: et pulſa tonare.”

†¹ Mr. Dryden, in his tranſlation of this paſſage, makes Venus thunder; I ſhould think, improperly: for though it be true that the augurs of old did ſometimes attribute the power of caſting forth lightnings to all the twelve Great Gods (in an inferior ſenſe to what was attributed by them to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva), yet I do not imagine that Virgil here ſpeaks of Venus’s caſting forth the lightning; and, much leſs, of her thundering. The paſſage indeed is difficult enough; ſo difficult, that moſt of the commentators quite paſs it by. But if they had of old in Italy that phaenomenon, which we call the Aurora Borealis; and we were to view this paſſage in that light; it might perhaps be eaſy enough. That darting brightneſs, that ruſhing of the heavens, even the hearing of ſtrange noiſes and the fancied appearance of arms, I remember, were all things talked of,

of, in the extraordinary phaenomenon of this kind which appeared in all our northern parts of Europe in the year 1716. They used formerly to mistake the Aurora Borealis for battles represented in the heavens. "Armorū crepitus, et tubae fonitus auditos è caelo Cimbricis bellis accēpimus; crebrosque et prius, et postea: tertio vero consulatu Marii ab Amerinis et Tudertibus spectata arma caelestia, ab Ortu Occasuque inter se concurrentia, pulsīs quae ab Occasu erant. Ipsum ardere caelum minimè mirum est, et saepius visum, majore vi ignis nubibus correptis." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. II. c. lvii.

† "Lydius huic genitor, Tmoli decus, aequore longè
 "Maeoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras
 "Tyrrenus pubem; dederatque vocabula terris:
 "Isque insueta tubae monstravit murmura primus
 "Gentibus; et bellis ignava silentia rupit." Sil. Ital. lib. V.

VER. 554—557.

"Fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem,
 "Ocyus ire equites Tyrreni ad limina regis.
 "Vota metu * duplicant matres, propiusque periclo
 "It timor, et major * Martis jam apparet imago."

*¹ Ruæus interprets this by "renovant preces;" but he loses the force and beauty of Virgil's thought, who means that fear makes the good women doubly earnest at their devotions. This is true nature.

*² Mars is here represented as a real figure, which must appear bigger the nearer it approaches; and is still more enlarged by fear.

VER. 596.

"* Quadrupedante putrem fonitu quatit ungula campum."

* This galloping verse, as Dr. Trapp observes, is known even to a proverb. — "Quadrupedum putrem," etc. would have made a true verse, but not so galloping.

VER. 603.

"Haud procul hinc * Tarcho et Tyrreni tuta tenebant
 "Castra locis."————

* That

* That this name was Etrurian, and famous among them, appears from Strabo: "Tyrrhenus, cum in Italiam venisset, regionem à suo nomine
"Tyrrheniam nuncupavit: et duodecim urbes condidit, praefecto rei
"Tarchonte; à quo Tarquiniis urbi nomen est." Lib. V.

VER. 608.

"At Venus aethereos inter Dea candida nimbos
"Dona † ferens adcrat."————

† Aeneas (as well as Achilles) has arms of a celestial make, and temperament. One of the great tenets of the old poets is; "That man can do nothing, without the Gods assisting, or impelling him:" and they carry this so far, as to attribute such an action of a man to such a deity (as in the case of Palinurus; see note on Aen. V. 860.); but this was not imagined by them to lessen the guilt of the man, in bad actions; or to take any thing from his glory, in good ones. All power of action was supplied from the Gods; but the manner of acting, and the choice of it, was in the man's own determination. In judging of the antients, we should go by the ideas which prevailed among them; and not by those which prevail now. One of the Roman Emperors [Aurelian], in his letter to the Senate, giving an account of a victory obtained by him over his enemies, mentions the assistance of his Gods toward it, as a credit to him, rather than a discredit: "Neque enim indecorum est, Diis juvantibus, vincere: sic apud majores nostros multa finita sunt bella, multa sunt coepta." Vopiscus, cap. xxiii. And on both the honorary columns erected at Rome, in memory of the victories of Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, the Gods are represented as assisting them to gain these victories.

The Augustan poets, the great flatterers of that Prince, attribute his victory at Actium to Apollo Actius; and make that God shoot off the first arrow, with a great effect (Ver. 704. posth.—Ovid. Art. Am. III. 390.—Propertius, lib. IV. El. vi.). And so also Homer and the Greek poets: "Multos et nostra civitas et Graecia tulit singulares viros: quorum neminem nisi juvante Deo talem fuisse credendum est. Quae ratio poetas, maximèque Homerum impulit, ut principibus heroùm certos Deos dis criminum et periculorum comites adjungeret." Balbus the Stoic, in Cic. De Nat. Deor. lib. II. sub finem.

VER. 630—634.

“ Fecerat et viridi foetam Mavortis in antro
 “ Procubuisse lupam: † geminos huic ubera circum
 “ Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
 “ Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
 “ Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ.”

† Most of the strongest expressions in this fine picture are adapted to it from the elder poets, by Virgil:

———— “ Gemineique huic ubera circum
 “ Ludunt pendentes pueri.”———— Ennius, An. lib. I.
 “ Obstipum caput, et tereti cervice reflexum.”
 Cicero, De Nat. Deor. lib. II. § 42.

And Ovid seems to have copied him, in his account of this story:

“ Venit ad expositos (mirum) lupa foeta gemellos:
 “ Quis credat pueris non nocuisse feram?
 “ Constitit; et caudâ teneris blanditur alumnis:
 “ Et fingit linguâ corpora bina suâ.
 “ Marte fatos scires; timor abfuit: ubera ducunt.”

Fast. II. ver. 419.

“ Tenet fama—eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem praeuisse mam-
 “ mas, ut linguâ lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit.”
 Livy, lib. I. § 4.

The figure of the wolf suckling them, in the manner here described, is in Pol. pl. XX. fig. 5.

* Buonarroti observes that this was a very common ensign on the Roman shields. See Medagl. p. 378.

VER. 652—654.

“ In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
 “ Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat:
 “ Romuleoque recens † horrebat regia culmo.”

† One may guess a little at their other buildings, from the palace of their kings. It was a little thatched house, and very ill furnished.

“ Parva

- “ Parva fuit, si prima velis elementa referre,
 “ Roma: sed in parvâ spes tamen hujus erat.
 “ Moenia jam stabant populis angusta futuris;
 “ Credita sed turbae tunc nimis ampla suae.
 “ Quae fuerit nostri si quaeris regia nati,
 “ Aspice de cannâ straminibusque domum:
 “ In stipulâ placidi carpebat munera somni.”

Ovid. Fast. lib. III. ver. 185.

- “ Dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum;
 “ Et dabat exiguum fluminis alva torum.”

Ibid. lib. I. ver. 200.

Ovid is not the only one that calls it a cottage. “ Si totâ urbe nullum
 “ melius ampliusve tectum fieri possit, quàm casa illa conditoris est nostri;”
 says Camillus, Livy, lib. V. § liii. — “ Ortum è parvulâ Romuli casâ,
 “ totius terrarum orbis fecit columen.” Val. Max. lib. II. c. viii.

In these days of luxury we can scarce conceive any such thing as a
 thatched house to have been a palace; or of great men and princes
 having no other beds than a heap of straw: and yet the latter was not
 so far from our times, as we may be apt to imagine. Thus Camden,
 in speaking of Edburton (a little village near Ailbury in Buckingham-
 shire), says “ that it was a manor-royal; and that several yard-lands
 “ were given to it by the king, on condition that the holders thereof
 “ should find litter, that is, straw, for the king’s bed, whenever he should
 “ come thither” (Britan. p. 280. ed. 1695.). Ramus, in speaking of
 the reformation of the university of Paris, mentions the following al-
 lowance there: “ Pro tapetis et stramine Quodlibetariae, triginta solidi.
 “ In Cardinali, pro tapetis et stramine, triginta solidi.” There is a street
 in part of the university of Paris, now called, La Ruë du Fouarre; and
 formerly called, La Ruë de Fourrage: where the straw-market was kept
 formerly, to supply the students with fresh litter. Menage’s Dict. vid.
Fourrage. Their schools were littered with straw too, when they held
 their Quodlibets, or any other great disputations. It was so in Dante’s
 time, according to Naudé. (Add. à l’Hist. de Louis XI. p. 175.) Hence
 when Rabelais makes his Pantagruel dispute against all comers, he makes
 him hold his disputations in the Ruë du Fouarre. “ De faict, par tous
 “ les carrefours de la ville mist conclusions, en nombre de neuf mille,
 “ sept cens, soixante, et quatre, en tous sçavoir; touchant en icelles les

“ plus forts doubtés, qui fussent en toutes sciences : et premierement en la
 “ Rue de feurre tint contre tous les Regents, Artiens, et Orateurs ; et
 “ les mist tous de cul” (Liv. II. ch. x.) : Where his commentator says ;
 “ Les accula tous, et les obligea à se rasseoir sur leur paille.” (Note 3.)
 — The word Litter probably comes from the French word for a bed ;
Lit. The French still use a Paillasse (or straw-bed) under their feather-beds.

VER. 662.

—— “ Scutis protecti corpora * longis.”

* “ Cantaber exiguis, aut longis Teutonus armis.”

Lucan, lib. VI. 259.

VER. 663—664.

“ Hic exultantes Salios ; nudosque Lupercos,

“ Lanigerosque * apices, et lapsa ancilia caelo.

“ Extuderat.” —

* By this expression is particularly distinguished the Flamen Dialis, who alone of all the priests was permitted to wear always the cap with the apex, as appears from Appian, who, speaking of the Flamen Dialis, says ; “ Huic sacerdoti uni omnium jus est perpetuo gestandi apicis, quo
 “ tantum inter sacra insigniuntur caeteri.” Lib. I. De Bell. Civ. In the same book, speaking of the death of Merula, he makes him lay aside his Apex before he cut his veins.

VER. 666—670.

—— “ Hinc procul addit

“ Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis ;

“ Et scelerum poenas : et te, Catilina, minaci

“ Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem :

“ † Secretosque pios ; * his dantem jura Catonem.”

† Virgil represents the blessed in Elysium ; and Cato giving laws to them. This agrees best with the character of Cato the Cenfor. — See Plutarch's account of the Elder Cato ; of his strict judgments and laws ; of the statue set up to his honour, in the temple of Salus ; and

and of the inscription under it: in his life of that great lawgiver. Seneca speaks as highly of him in that capacity, as of Scipio in the military way. "M. Cato Censorius, quem tam reipublicae profuit nasci quàm Scipionem; alter enim cum hostibus nostris bellum, alter cum moribus gessit." Epist. LXXVII. ——— If Cato Uticensis could have been placed at all in Elysium, by Virgil (who says, that such as kill themselves are in another part of Hades); he would, at least, be a very improper person to be set by him, in so eminent a situation there. Crevier understands this passage of Cato Uticensis; and it is true that Augustus himself was not disinclined to commend Cato. 'Non est intermitendus fermo ejus (Augusti) quem Catonis honorì dedit. Venit fortè in domum, in quâ Cato habitaverat: dein Strabone in adulationem Caesaris malè existimante de Catonis pervicaciâ, ait; "Quisquis praesentem statum civitatis commutari non volet, et civis et vir bonus est." Macrobius, Saturn. lib. II. c. iv. And Horace speaks of, "Catonis nobile lectum," lib. I. Od. xii. 36.

* See Dr. Trapp's note on this line. It may moreover be added to what is there said, that Virgil does not here touch, in the least, upon Cato's political character; but places him in Elysium, and makes him preside there over good spirits, as having been a most pious, religious man, of the strictest justice: which character was universally allowed him, even by those, who most differed from him.

VER. 678—684.

"Hinc Augustus agens Italos in praelia Caesar,
 "Cum patribus populoque, Penatibus et magnis Diis,
 "Stans celsâ in puppi: geminas cui tempora † flammas
 "Lacta † vomunt, patriumque aperitur vertice fidus.
 "Parte aliâ, ventis et Diis Agrippa secundis,
 "Arduus, agmen agens: cui, belli insigne superbum,
 "Tempora † navali fulgent rostrata coronâ."

† "Oculos habuit puros ac nitidos: quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris; gaudebatque si quis sibi acrius contuenti, quasi ad fulgorem solis, vultum submitteret." Suetonius, in Aug. § lxxix.

† The representation of Augustus, on Aeneas's shield, seems evidently to have been copied from some picture of the battle of Actium; and

and the shield is composed of metals of different shades and colours, so as to express things in as natural and lively a manner as in a picture.

†³ Agrippa is described by Virgil, in that battle, with a naval crown on his head; and so does he appear in that common medal of him, struck in his third Consulship. It was given him for a victory obtained, under his command at sea, six years before the battle of Actium. “In-
“*signe Coronae Clasticae, quo nemo unquam Romanus donatus erat, hoc*
“*bello Agrippa singulari virtute meruit*” (Vell. Paterc. lib. II. c. lxxxii. and the battle of Actium is afterwards, c. lxxxv.). The battle of Actium was thirty years before our Aera; and Agrippa had the Naval Crown thirty-seven years before it. See the Epitome Livii, lib. CXXIX; “*Navali coronâ à Caesare donatus est,*” etc.

“*Navalique gener cinctus honore caput.*”

Ovid. Art. Am. III. 392.

VER. 685—687.

“*Hinc ope barbaricâ variisque Antonius armis*
“** Victor, ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro*
“*Aegyptum, viresque Orientis, et ultima secum*
“*Bactra vehit.*” ———

* Markland reads this, “*Ductor ab Aurorae populis.*” See his Notes on Statius, lib. II. Ecl. vi. ver. 3.

VER. 704—706.

“*Actius haec cernens† arcum intendebat Apollo*
“*Desuper : omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,*
“*Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.*”
† “*Jam fragor armorum trepidantes personat aures,*
“*Actiacosque sinus et Apollinis arma timentes.*”

Petronius Arb. ver. 310.

“*Visite laurigero sacrata palatia Phoebō;*
“*Ille Paraetonias merfit in alta rates.*”

Ovid. Art. Am. III. 390.

“*Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta, quod ejus*
“*Una decem vicit missa sagitta rates.*”

Propertius, lib. IV. El. vi. ver. 68.

Dixerat ;

- “Dixerat ; et pharetræ pondus confumit in arcus :
 “ Proxima post arcus Caesaris hasta fuit.
 “ Vincit Roma fide Phoebi.” ——— Id. ibid. ver. 37.

VER. 709—713.

- “ Illam inter caedes, pallentem morte futurâ,
 “ Fecerat ignipotens undis et læpyge ferri :
 “ Contra autem magno moerentem corpore Nilum,
 “ Pandentemque sinus, et tota veste vocantem
 “ Caeruleum in gremium latebrofaque flumina victos.”

† He invites the vanquished fugitives, “ To his dark bosom, and most
 “ hidden streams :” the former of which expressions alludes to his own
 colour, as the latter does to the source of his river being hid and un-
 known.

VER. 725, 726.

- “ Hic Lelegas, Carasque, sagittiferosque Gelonos
 “ Pinxerat. Euphrates ibat jam * mollior undis.”

* Horace has the like thought in his compliment to Augustus.

- “ Medumque flumen gentibus additum
 “ Victis minores volvere vortices.” Lib. II. Od. ix.



AENEID THE NINTH.

VER. 6—10.

- “ **T**URNE, * quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo
 “ Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.
 “ Aeneas, urbe et fociis et classe relictâ,
 “ Sceptra Palatini sedemque petit Evandri.
 “ Nec satis ; extremas Coriti penetravit ad urbes.”

* Several

* Several critics have severely censured Virgil for breach of the unity of action. His hero, they say, has no share throughout this whole book. Turnus is the hero here. Virgil himself was aware of this objection; which occasions his introducing Juno as triumphing on Aeneas's absence,

—— “ Quod optanti Divum promittere nemo
“ Auderet,” etc.

And, again, lib. X. ver. 68, etc. he makes Juno insult very greatly on the same account :

—— “ Num linquere castra
“ Hortati sumus? ——
“ Num puero summam belli, num credere muros?”

None of the critics could have put this objection in a stronger light, than he does himself. —— See Father Catrou's answer to this criticism in his Dissertation on this place. —— Many more reasons may be added.

VER. 25, 26.

“ Jamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis ;
“ Dives equum, dives pictæ vestis, et auri.”

† “ Pictæ vestis et aquæ Virgilius, amantissimus vetustatis, carminibus inferuit :” Quintilian. Institut. Or. lib. I. c. vii. p. 70. ed. Hack. 1665. A great many of these old words in Virgil have probably been altered by the transcribers. “ Quid, quod Ciceronis temporibus, paulumque infra, fere quoties / litera media vocalium longarum, vel subjecta longis esset, geminabatur? Ut Causa, Cassus, Divisiones. Quo modo et ipsum, et Virgilium scripsisse, manus eorum docent.” Ib. p. 71. And others have been mistaken by the critics. Thus, for instance, they say Virgil uses Fervere short, Aen. VIII. ver. 677. that the sound may agree more with the sense of the word; whereas the true reason was imitating the practice of the ancients; who, as we learn from the same author, used Fervo and Ferveo indifferently: Ib. lib. I. c. vi. p. 57.

VER.

VER. 104—106.

“Dixerat: idque ratum, Stygii per flumina fratris,
 “Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas,
 “† Annuit; et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.”

† “Phidias, cum Jovem Olympium fingeret, interrogatus de quo exemplo divinam imitaretur effigiem: respondit, archetypum Jovis in his se tribus Homeri versibus invenisse:

“Η, και κυανησιν επ’ οφρυσι νευσι Κρονιων·
 “Αμβροσιαι δ’ αρχη χαλκαι επερρωσαυλο ανακλι·
 “Κραλι· απ’ αθανασιοιο· μεσαν δ’ ελελιξεν Ολυμπον.

“Nam de superciliis et crinibus totum se Jovis vultum collegisse.” Macrobius, Saturn. lib. V. c. xiv. We have the same anecdote, in Valerius Maximus, more at large: Memorab. lib. cap. vii.

Virgil, in copying this noble description from Homer, omits all the picturesque strokes on the beard, hair, and eye-brows; and supplies them from other circumstances: which are very great and striking indeed; but borrowed from things abroad, and not at all descriptive of the person of Jupiter: so that an artist could not have conceived such noble ideas from his description, as Phidias did from Homer’s. It is for this very omission that Macrobius has placed this passage of Virgil, in his chapter of instances of that Poet’s falling short of his master. Scalliger, on the contrary, like a true modern critic, cries up Virgil for his judgment in this omission; and flings away some mirth upon Homer, as being too frivolous and particular. One might, I think, easily enough compound the matter between them; by allowing (which is the very truth), that Virgil, on this occasion, has described Jupiter in the properest manner that could be, among the Romans; and that Homer has described him in the noblest manner that could be; among the Greeks.

VER. 168—170.

“Haec super è vallo prospectant Troës, et armis
 “Alta tenent: nec non trepidi formidine portas
 “Explorant, * pontesque et propugnacula jungunt.”

* See Pontibus, ver. 530, of this Book: and Pontes, Book XII. 675.

VER. 292—294.

——— “ Percussâ mente † dederunt
 “ Dardanidae lacrymas ; ante omnes pulcher Iûlus,
 “ Atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago.”

† And so a little before :

“ Dii patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est,
 “ Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis ;
 “ Cum tales animos juvenum, et tam certa tulistis
 “ Pectora. Sic memorans, humeros dextrasque tenebat
 “ Amborum, et vultum lacrymis atque ora rigabat.” Ver. 250.

Virgil (beside the other proofs of his humanity and good nature) appears to have had a strong idea of that swell in a good man's breast, which fills the eye with tears, on his hearing any great and good moral action or resolution : and this is the more remarkable, because it is never mentioned or described by any other of the antient writers, that I know of.

VER. 386—388.

“ Nifus abit ; jamque imprudens evaserat hostes,
 “ Aque * locos, qui post, Albae de nomine, dicti
 “ Albani : tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat.”

* It should be, perhaps, Lacus ; and if so, may it not signify the river which comes from the Alban hills, and falls into the Tyber near the Laurentin wood ? For after Nifus had escaped through the wood, he must of course pass that little river in his way to Pallanteum, now Rome.

VER. 448—449.

“ Dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
 “ Accolet, imperiumque † pater Romanus habebit.”

† Pater, Parens, and Genitor, are often used by the Roman writers for Ruler, or Governor :

——— “ Jupiter arces
 “ Temperat aethereas, et mundi regna triformis ;
 “ Terra sub Augusto : Pater est et Rector uterque.”

Ovid. Met. XV. 860.

Statius

Statius calls Domitian " Parens Latius," Sylv. I. ii. 178.

— " Cum jam Genitor lucebis ab omni
" Parte poli."—— Flaccus, Arg. I. 17. (of the fame)

He had called him " Sancte Pater" too before, ver. 11. So Ovid to Augustus :

" Sancte Pater Patriae! tibi Plebs, tibi Curia nomen

" Hoc dedit; hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen Eques."

Fast. II. 126.

How literally true, see Suetonius in Aug. c. 58.

The name of Reges was generally used with some sort of contempt by the Roman writers. Imperator signified the same as a General with us. Pater signified a Ruler, a Preserver, and Father of the people.

Augustus was cautious of taking too high a title: " Non aliud discor-
" dantis patriae remedium fuisse, quin ut ab uno regeretur: non Regno
" tamen, neque Dictaturâ, sed Principis nomine constitutam Rempublicam." Tacitus (where he is speaking for and against Augustus) An. lib. I.

Virgil in other places uses Genitor and Pater for Governor: Aen. I. 154. Georg. IV. 382.

These words had long been used in that sense; perhaps, ever since the first governments, which were by Fathers. It was a mild humane name for a governor: and perhaps has a particular propriety for a Roman governor; for Pater used by way of eminence, the Senator or chief Senator, and Princeps Senatus, are almost univocal.

One of the most common inscriptions on Augustus's medals, is that of AVGVSTVS PATER..

" Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps." Hor. lib. I. Od. ii. 50.

It was a title of Jupiter too; and Horace uses it, in speaking of him, to compliment Augustus:.

" Gentis humanae pater atque custos,

" Orte Saturno! Tibi cura magni

" Caesaris fatis data: tu, secundo

" Caesare, regnes." Ib. Od. xii.

VER. 485—489.

" Heu! terra ignota, canibus data praeda Latinis

" Alitibusque, jaces! nec te tua funera mater

U u 2

" Produxi,

- “ *Produxi, pressique oculos, aut vulnera lavi,*
 “ *Veite * tegens; tibi quam noctes festina diesque*
 “ *Urgebam, et telâ curas solabar aniles.*”

* It was an ancient custom (as Mr. Pope observes, *Odyssey*, Book II. ver. 109.) to dedicate the finest pieces of weaving and embroidery, to honour the funerals of the dead: and these were usually wrought by the nearest relations. Thus in the XXIII^d *Iliad*, *Andromache* laments, that the body of *Hector* must be exposed to the air, without those ornaments. And in the *IId Odyssey*, when *Penelope* is pressed by her suitors to wed, upon the supposed death of *Ulysses*, she intreats them not to urge marriage till she should finish the funeral robes she was making for her father *Laërtes*; which *Homer* thinks a matter of so great consequence, that he makes *Penelope* use no other argument to defer their solicitations, esteeming this a sufficient plea:

- “ Though cold in death *Ulysses* breathes no more,
 “ Cease yet a while to urge the bridal hour;
 “ Cease, till to great *Laërtes* I bequeath
 “ A task of grief, his ornaments of death.
 “ Left when the Fates,” etc. *Odyss. II. ver. 107.*

VER. 638—658.

- “ *Aethereâ tum forte plagâ crinitus * Apollo*
 “ *Desuper Ausonias acies urbemque videbat,*
 “ *Nube sedens; atque his victorem affatur Iûlum:*
 “ *Maeste novâ virtute, puer: sic itur ad astra;*
 “ *Diis genite, et geniture Deos: jure omnia bella*
 “ *Gente sub Affaraci fato ventura resident:*
 “ *Nec te Troja capit. Simul haec effatus, ab alto*
 “ *Aethere se mittit, spirantes dimovet auras,*
 “ *Ascaniumque petit; forma tum vertitur oris*
 “ *Antiquum in Buten. Hic Dardanio Anchisæ*
 “ *Armiger ante fuit, fidusque ad limina custos:*
 “ *Tum comitem Ascanio pater addidit. Ibat Apollo*
 “ *Omnia longaevo similis, vocemque, coloremque,*
 “ *Et crines albos, et faeva sonoribus arma:*
 “ *Atque his ardentem dictis affatur Iûlum:*

- “ Sit fatis, Aceneide, telis impune Numanum
 “ Oppetiisse tuis: primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
 “ Concedit laudem, et [¶] paribus non invidet armis.
 “ Caetera parce, puer, bello. Sic orsus Apollo,
 “ Mortales medio aspectus fermone reliquit;
 “ Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.”

† The Romans had a custom of cutting their hair short, at a certain age; and of keeping it so ever after. This ceremony (for they made a great ceremony of it) was performed in their youth, when they were about seventeen, or eighteen: and this is one reason of their poets taking so much notice of the long hair of Apollo; and of their giving him so frequently the titles of Crinitus and Intonsus.

- “ Utque meum intonsis caput est juvenile capillis.”
 Ov. Met. I. ver. 564. (spoken by Apollo.)
 “ Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines.”
 Horat. lib. IV. Od. vi. ver. 26.
 “ Qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
 “ Crines solutos.”—— Id. lib. III. Od. iv. ver. 62.
 —— “ Longoque decentia crine
 “ Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.
 Ov. Met. I. ver. 451.

This was so known a point among the Romans, that it was even grown into a sort of proverbial way of speaking with them.

- “ Dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
 “ Turbaret hibernum mare;
 “ Intonsosque agitare Apollinis aura capillos:
 “ Fore hunc amorem mutuum.” Horat. Epod. xv. ver. 10.

* The Poet here makes choice of Apollo rather than any other Deity, in compliment to Augustus, who was under the protection of that God, when he made his first appearance in the world; and when he became master of a great part of it, always continued much devoted to him. It was at Apollonia the city of Apollo in Greece that he received the news of the death of Julius Caesar; and set out from thence, when he was but nineteen years of age, to revenge his murder. Afterwards, at the battle of Philippi, Apollo was his protector: and all historians agree in relating
 a pro-

a prophetic verse spoken by Brutus against himself, signifying that Apollo would destroy him:

Ἀλλὰ με μίση' ὀλοή, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐξέσται ἦμος.

Or in Latin;

“ Sed me fors misera et Latonae perdidit infans.”

Appian. p. 1067. edit. Toll.

*² Ruæus has certainly given us the true force and meaning of this passage. Virgil's allusions are frequently couched under one word.

VER. 669—671.

——— “ Quam multâ grandine nimbi

“ In vada præcipitant; cum Jupiter † horridus Austris

“ Torquet aquosam hiemem, et caelo cava nubila rumpit.”

† There was, I think, scarce any character of Jupiter among the Romans, that was more capable of giving sublime ideas to their artists, than this of their Jupiter Pluvius. In a medal indeed (inserted in Pol. pl. XXIX. fig. 2.), as well as on the Antonine pillar, he is all calm and still; but on the Trajan pillar, he appears a good deal more agitated: and had we a greater variety of his figures remaining to us, I doubt not but that in some of them we should see his face, and his whole form, under yet much stronger emotions, than we do there. For the Roman poets (whose works the more one considers, the more one finds them to be counterparts to those of their painters and statuaries) do not only speak of Jupiter as descending in violent showers, but as all ruffled too with those winds, which most usually attend them. Thus, perhaps, Virgil's “ Jupiter “ uvidus Austris,” Georg. I. ver. 418: And Horace's

“ Nec faevus ignis, nec tremendo

“ Jupiter ipse ruens tumultu.” Lib. I. Od. xvi. ver. 12.

VER. 677—681.

“ Ipsi intus, dextrâ ac laevâ, pro turribus astant;

“ Armati ferro, et cristis capita alta corusci.

“ Quales æriæ * liquentia flumina circum

“ Sive Padi ripis, Athefin seu propter amœnum,

“ Confurgunt geminae quercus.”———

* Qu. If meant of the Livenza? See Cluver. Italia Antiqua, lib. I. cap. xviii.

VER. 708—716.

—— “ Collapsa ruunt immania membra :
 “ Dat tellus gemitum, et clypeum super intonat ingens.
 “ * Qualis in Euboïco Baiarum litore quondam
 “ Saxea *² pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante
 “ Constructam jaciunt ponto : sic illa ruinam
 “ Prona trahit, penitusque vadis illisa recumbit :
 “ Miscent se maria, et nigrae attolluntur arenae.
 “ Tum sonitu Prochyta * alta tremit, durumque cubile
 “ Inarime Jovis imperiis imposta Typhoeo.”

* Silius Italicus has imitated this similitude thus :

“ Haud aliter structo Tyrrhena ad litora faxo,
 “ Pugnatura fretis subter caecisque procellis,
 “ Pila immane sonans impingitur ardua ponto.
 “ Immugit Nereus, divisaque caerula pulsu
 “ Illisum accipiunt irata sub aequora montem.” Lib. IV.

*² There is a passage in Vitruvius describing the ancient manner of building piles in a frame, and then letting it fall all at once into the water ; to which Virgil’s “ ante constructam ” seems to relate.

* The epithet Alta here is difficult enough to be understood. Alta could not now be used as an epithet for that island, because it is all one flat ; and to understand it of its trembling deeply, or to its foundation, is scarce a true Virgilian way of speaking. — † Perhaps there was a Pharos, or high light-house, on that island formerly ; and the island itself might be called High, from its Pharos appearing at such a height, and shewing it at a great distance. The same epithet is used by Aufonius, in speaking of a vale, near the Moselle ; who adds five or six lines, to tell his reader that he calls that vale high, on account of the Pharos standing on it. From Mr. Bowman. — † Though I do not know any writer that mentions the little island of Prochyta’s having ever had a Pharos on it ; it is certain, at least, that Pharos’s were very common in that part of the Tyrrhene sea. Pliny speaks of a very considerable one, at Puzzuoli, (Nat. Hist. lib. XXXVI. c. xii.) — Statius of another, in the island
 of

of Capreae (Sylv. lib. III. v. 100), which fell down a few days before the death of Tiberius: (Sueton. in Tib. c. lxxiv.) and Seneca says there were several destroyed thereabouts, a few years after: "Vastavit ignis
 " colles per quos elucebat: erosit, quondam altissimos vertices, solatia
 " navigantium; ac speculas ad humilem arenam deduxit." Lib. XIV.
 Ep. xcii.

VER. 806—818.

" Ergo nec clypeo juvenis subsistere tantum,
 " Nec dextra valet: injectis sic undique telis
 " Obruitur. Strepit assiduo cava tempora circum
 " Tinnitu galea, et faxis solida aera fatiscunt:
 " Discussaeque jubae capiti, nec sufficit umbo
 " Ictibus; ingeminant hastis et Troës, et ipse
 " Fulmineus Mnestheus: tum toto corpore sudor
 " Liquitur; et piceum, nec respirare potestas,
 " Flumen agit: fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
 " Tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis
 " † In fluvium dedit: ille suo cum gurgite flavo
 " Accepit venientem, ac mollibus extulit undis:
 " Et laetum fociis ablutâ caede remisit."

† May not the resistance, danger, and especially the escape here, allude to Julius Caesar's behaviour in Alexandria?

Compare it with Lucan's Pharsalia, sub finem; with the verses added by Sulpitius, to keep the reader from being in suspense. Ed. Col.

AENEID THE TENTH.

VER. 33—35.

——— “**T**O T responsa secuti †,
 “ Quae Superi Manesque dabant, ———
 “ Italiam petiere.” ———

† This is marked very strongly throughout all the first part of the Aeneid. The very night Troy is burnt, Aeneas is ordered to go and build a city in Italy, and to carry his Gods to it, by the spirits of Hector and Creüsa. Cassandra had foretold the same frequently to his father before.

“ Nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro ;
 “ Et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Italia regna vocare.”

Aen. III. ver. 185.

Apollo orders the same ;

“ Antiquam exquirite matrem.
 “ Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris :
 “ Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.”

Aen. III. ver. 98.

And his domestic Gods, more expressly ;

——— “ Venturos tollemus in astra nepotes,
 “ Imperiumque urbi dabimus. Tu moenia magnis
 “ Magna para. ———
 “ Mutandae fedes. Non haec tibi litora suavit
 “ Delius, aut Cretae iussit confidere Apollo.
 “ Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt, —
 “ Hae nobis propriae fedes ; hinc Dardanus autor,” etc.

Aen. III. ver. 167.

The same orders are given to Aeneas whilst at Carthage, by the spirit of his departed father ; Aen. IV. ver. 351. And, lastly, by the great messenger of the chief of all their Gods :

X x

“ Ipse

“ Ipse Deûm tibi me claro demittit Olympo
 “ Regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet :
 “ Ipse haec ferre jubet celeres mandata per auras.
 “ Quid struis ? aut quâ spe Libycis teris otia terris ?
 “ Afcanium furgentem et spes heredis Iûli
 “ Respice : cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
 “ Debentur.” ——— Aen. IV. ver. 275.

VER. 132—136.

“ Ipse inter medios, Veneris iustissima cura,
 “ Dardanius caput ecce puer detectus honestum :
 “ Qualis gemma micat, fulvum quae dividit aurum,
 “ Aut collo decus, aut capiti ; vel quale per artem
 “ Inclusum buxo, aut Oriciâ terebintho,
 “ Lucet * ebur.” ———

* Of the ancient custom of setting ivory in wood ; see Buonarroti : Proem to his Medaglioni, p. xxiii.

VER. 148—158.

——— “ Ab Evandro castris ingressus Etruscis
 “ Regem adit, et regi memorat nomenque genusque,
 “ Quidve petat, quidve ipse ferat, Mezentius arma
 “ Quae sibi conciliet, violentaque pectora Turni
 “ Edocet : humanis quae sit fiducia rebus,
 “ Admonet, immiscetque preces : haud fit mora, *¹ Tarchon.
 “ Jungit opes, foedusque ferit. Tum libera fatis
 “ Classẽm conscendit jussis gens Lydia Divûm
 “ Externo commissa duci. *² Aeneïa puppis
 “ Prima tenet, rostro *³ Phrygios subjuncta leones :
 “ Imminet † Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris.”

*¹ See note on VIII. 606.

Tarchon resigns the supreme power to Aeneas ; but we must suppose that he has the chief command under him : not only over the forces of this his own country, from whence Mezentius was expelled, but likewise over the army of the allies, the whole Tuscan army. And though he is not named in the following list to command a squadron, having resigned his flag to Aeneas ; yet we find him mentioned afterwards as a chief commander, ver. 290 ; and Book II. ver. 727.

*² Tarchon,

*² Tarchon, who was to have commanded the Tuscan forces, having resigned the government to Aeneas, he goes on board Tarchon's ship, and there was nothing to be done, but to place the Trojan insignia, instead of Tarchon's; or, to add his own, which seems to be intimated by Subjuncta.

*³ Of the figures of their tutelary Deities annexed to ships, see Montfaucon, tom. IV. part II. lib. III. c. iv.

† Ida is mentioned before as a person, IX. 177.

VER. 172—174.

“ Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
 “ Expertos belli juvenes: ast Ilva trecentos,
 “ Infula * inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.”

* It is still affirmed that the mines in Elva grow so fast as to recover themselves in a few years.

Pliny asserts, or rather hints the same. “ Ferri metalla ubique prope-
 “ modum reperiuntur; quippe insulâ etiam Italiae Ilvâ gignente.” Lib.
 XXXIV. c. xiv. — And Aldrovandus, speaking of the mines of Ilva,
 says; “ Ferrum semel erutum post annos viginti quinque renascitur, ut
 “ Agricola et Manginus testificantur.” De Met. lib. I. p. 140.

VER. 175—184.

“ Tertius, ille hominum Divûmque interpres Asylas,
 “ Cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent,
 “ Et lingue volucrum, et praefagi fulminis ignes;
 “ Mille rapit densos acie, atque horrentibus hastis.
 “ Hos parere jubent Alpheae ab origine Pisae,
 “ Urbs Etrusca solo. Sequitur pulcherrimus * Astur,
 “ Astur equo fidens et versicoloribus armis.
 “ Ter centum adjiciunt (mens omnibus una sequendi)
 “ Qui Caere domo, qui sunt Minionis in arvis;
 “ Et Pyrgi veteres, intempestaeque Graviscae.”

* A people in the neighbourhood of Pisae, and under the same commander; perhaps of the same origin with the Asturians of Spain, who were celebrated for swift horses. This seems more probable than to make Astur the name of a person, and give him the command of the forces of Caere, Minio, Pyrgi, and Graviscae which follow. Would it not be very odd that one who deserved no better character than, “ Pul-
 “ cherrimus, equo fidens, et versicoloribus armis;” and who is not once
 X x 2 mentioned

mentioned afterwards through the whole poem, should be chosen to command the forces of Mezentius's country, who were principals in the war? I rather suppose (though we are not expressly told so), that all the forces of this part of the country were commanded by Tarchon under Aeneas, as I have observed above. Nor can it be imagined that the towns here mentioned (Caere, Minio, etc.), which were part of Mezentius's country, and principally concerned in the war, should raise no more than 300 men, especially when Virgil adds, "*Mens omnibus una sequendi.*" The meaning of, "*Ter centum adjiciunt,*" I take to be this; all being now ready for embarkation, these neighbouring towns, to shew their zeal for the service, furnish an additional supply of 300 men over and above their former quota; which I take to be intimated by *Adjiciunt*, and by "*Mens omnibus una,*" their zeal. Or otherwise Virgil may intend, by this small number, to set a mark on this unhealthy maritime country, which could furnish no more than three hundred men, notwithstanding they were all willing to go.

VER. 198—203.

" Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet *¹ Ocnus ab oris,
 " Fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius annis,
 " Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, *² Mantua, nomen;
 " Mantua dives avis; sed non genus omnibus unum:
 " Gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni,
 " Ipsa caput populis; *³ Tusco de sanguine vires."

*¹ N. B. Silius Italicus makes the habitation of Ocnus a distinct place from Mantua, though in the same country. See his eighth Book, where reckoning up the forces of Italy at Cannae, he says:

" Mantua mittenda certavit pube Cremonae.
 " Mantua Musarum domus," etc. ———

Then mentioning some other places in that country, as Verona, Faventia, and Pollentia, he adds;

" Et quondam Teucris comes in Laurentia bella
 " Oeni prisca domus; parvique Bononia Rheni."

Quaer. If this "*Oeni prisca domus,*" does not mean Felsina, an ancient city near Bologna; where the antiquaries pretend that the Tuscans, having past the mountains, planted their first colony.

*² In enumerating the forces, which came on one side to the assistance of Turnus, on the other to the assistance of Aeneas, Virgil has taken occasion to celebrate the greatest part of Italy: at such a time it would have been unnatural and unpardonable to have omitted his own country. And yet as it lay at a great distance from the scene of action, and was separated by the Apennines from both the parties concerned; he laboured under some difficulty how to introduce it; especially considering that he brings in no other people at that distance. This he does very artfully, by supposing the Mantuans to be descended from the Tuscans, and by that nearness of blood engaged to assist them in their just quarrel. The name of this city, Mantua, favours this fiction, bearing some resemblance in sound to *Μαντεια*, as the Tuscans to *θυσεν*; whence the Poet supposes Ocnus, the founder of Mantua, to be the son "Fatidicae Mantûs, et Tusci amnis."

*³ Livy, speaking of the Tuscan colonies on the Po, etc. says; "Thuscorum ante Romanorum imperium latè terrâ marique opes patuere: mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia, insulae modo, cingitur, quantum potuerint, nomina sunt argumento, quod alterum Thuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Adriaticum mare, ab Adriâ Thuscorum coloniâ, vocavere Italicae gentes. Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adriaticum vocant. Ii in utrumque mare vergentes incolere urbibus duobus denis terras: prius cis Apenninum, ad inferum mare; postea trans Apenninum, totidem, quod capita originis erant, coloniis missis," etc. Liv. lib. V.

VER. 287—307.

"Interea Aeneas focios de puppibus altis
 "Pontibus exponit. Multi *¹ fervare recursus
 "Languentis pelagi, et brevibus se credere saltu:
 "Per remos alii. *² Speculatus littora Tarchon,
 "Qua vada non sperat, nec fracta remurmurat unda,
 "Sed mare inoffensum crescenti allabitur *³ aestu,
 "Advertit subito proras; sociosque precatur:
 "Nunc, O lecta manus, validis incumbite remis:
 "Tollite, ferte rates: inimicam findite rostris
 "Hanc terram, *⁴ fulcumque sibi premat ipse carina.
 "Frangere nec tali puppim statione recuso,
 "Arreptâ tellure semel. Quae talia postquam

"Effatus

" Effatus Tarchon : focii confurgere tonfis,
 " Spumantesque rates arvis inferre Latinis ;
 " Donec roftra tenent ficcum ; et federe carinae
 " Omnes innocuae : fed non puppis tua, Tarchon.
 " Namque inflicta vadis dorfo dum pendet iniquo,
 " Anceps fufcentata diu, fluctusque fatigat,
 " Solvitur, atque viros mediis exponit in undis :
 " Fragmina remorum quos et fluitantia tranftra
 " Impediunt, retrahitque pedes fimul unda relabens."

*¹ I cannot conceive how the commentators can find out any difficulty in this place. Whoever has feen any crew land muft allow the whole paffage to be very eafy, and the defcription juft. Some of the crew land by bridges put out from the fide of each veffel, others, to fhew their cagernes, leap out into the fhallow water, watching their opportunity when the water is fhalloweft between the fwells of the fea ; which is delicately expreffed by, " Servare recurfus languentis pelagi." Others make ufe of their oars, inftead of poles, to affift them in their leap.

*² Tarchon, having efpied a ftill quiet fhore, where there was no fwell of the fea, and fuppoſing that it being deep water there, he might run in cloſe up to land, orders his men to row their veffels in there with all their force ; but, to his misfortune, he finds that a bar or bank of fand, lying off fhore, made (as of courſe it muſt) ftill water within : upon this bar Tarchon ſtrikes, with his great ſhip, though his ſmaller veffels eſcape over it. All this ſtory is very pictureſque. In after ages the banks of fand at the mouth of the Tyber choaked up the river ſo much that no veffels of burden could enter the channel of Oſtia, and the Romans were obliged to open a new paſſage.

*³ Thoſe who raiſe difficulties in explaining this place by the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, do not conſider that there is no tide in the Mediterranean, except in creeks and bays, and that at this place where Aeneas landed, there is none at all perceivable, it being an open ſhore near the mouth of the Tyber. Nor indeed is there the leaſt occaſion for a tide to explain any part of this paſſage. Aefus in this place, as well as in many others of Virgil and other authors, ſignifying no more than the common fwell of the ſea, when it is not a dead calm.

*⁴ Alluding to the cuſtom of ploughing up the ground on taking poſſeſſion to build a city.

VER. 332—341.

——— “Fidum Aeneas affatur Achaten :
 “Suggere tela mihi (non ullum dextera frustra
 “Torferit in Rutulos) steterunt quae corpore Grajûm
 “Iliacis campis. Tum magnam corripit hastam,
 “Et jacit : illa volans clypei transverberat aera
 “Maeonis, et thoraca simul cum pectore rumpit.
 “Huic frater subit Alcanor, fratremque ruentem
 “Sustentat dextrâ : trajecto missa lacerto
 “Protinus hasta fugit, servatque cruenta tenorem :
 “Dexteraque ex humero nervis moribunda pependit.”

* I agree with Ruæus, that all this is meant of one spear, as, I think, is plainly shewn by, “Servatque cruenta tenorem :” and yet, as Dr. Trapp observes, the thing itself is really impossible. But many expressions and thoughts must be allowed in Poetry, which cannot be true in fact. The Poet would here represent to us the quickness of Alcanor in offering his hand to support his brother, and our idea of his affection is thereby heightened, though he cannot, in fact, be supposed to fly as quick as a spear. We often find the words Tandem and Mora, and such like expressions of leisure and delay, used in the passing of a spear or arrow through a bulky body ; and yet even these must be disallowed, if we confine poetry to matter of fact.

VER. 390—393.

“Vos etiam gemini Rutulis cecidistis in arvis,
 “Daucia Laride, Tymberque, simillima proles,
 “Indiscreta suis, gratusque parentibus error :
 “At nunc dura dedit vobis discrimina Pallas.”

* This passage is copied by Lucan, lib. III. 603. See, likewise, Statius, Theb. IX. 290.

VER. 439—444.

“Interea foror alma monet succurrere Lauso
 “Turnum, qui volucris curru medium fecat agmen.
 “Ut vidit socios ; “tempus desistere pugnâ,

“Solus

“ Solus ego in Pallanta feror, foli mihi Pallas
 “ Debetur: cuperem, ipse parens fpectator adeflet.”
 “ Haec ait; et focii * cefferunt aequore juffo.”

* This paffage fhews, that amongft the antients, when a general was going to engage in fingle combat with another general, it was ufual for the troops near them to open a field for them, and look on as fpectators without engaging themfelves; which gave time for the harangues ufually made on thofe occafions, and may be a juftification of the old poets and hiftorians.

VER. 469—473.

—— “ Trojae fub moenibus altis
 “ Tot nati cecidere Deum; quin occidit unà
 “ Sarpedon, mea progenies: etiam fua Turnum
 “ Fata vocant, metasque dati pervenit ad aevi.
 “ Sic ait, atque oculos Rutulorum * rejicit arvis.”

* See Book XII. 151. Jupiter likewise is reprefented by Homer, “ His eyes averting from the plain,” as Pope expreffes it, juft before the death of his fon Sarpedon. Il. XVI. 561.

VER. 490—496.

“ Quem Turnus fuper affiftens: ——
 “ Arcades, haec, inquit, memores mea dicta referte
 “ Evandro: qualem meruit, Pallante remitto.
 “ Quifquis honos tumuli, quicquid folamen humandi eft,
 “ Largior: haud illi ftabunt Aeneia parvo
 “ Hofpitia. Et laevo * preffit pede, talia fatus,
 “ Exanimum; rapiens immania pondera baltei.”

* On this place Buonarroti in his Medaglioni, p. 177. well obferves;
 “ Quefta non fu azione generofa, ma un effetto d'animo fiero e poco
 “ degno d'un principe, e non un accidente di battaglia; onde Virgilio
 “ ftimò di mettere un fatto fimile fra i caratteri di Turno piu tofto che
 “ d'alcun Trojano da lui defcritti per perfone perfette.

VER. 518—520.

“ Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,
 “ Viventes rapit: * inferias quos immolet umbris,
 “ Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammās.”

* A custom mentioned by Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*. See also Suetonius, *De Aug.* c. 15.

VER. 592—594.

“ * Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum
 “ Prædidit, aut vanæ vertere ex hostibus umbræ:
 “ Ipse rotis saliens juga deferis.” ———

* Dr. Trapp observes, that some expositors take a great deal of pains to shew how this answer is applied, and what passages in Homer it alludes to. But he is of opinion with De la Cerda, that here is really no such allusion, but that it is “*simpliciter dictum*.” I cannot agree with them that here is no allusion at all, nor yet do I think that there is any occasion of going so far from home for one. At ver. 570. Aeneas is going to attack Niphaeus in his chariot; but upon his appearing the horses are frightened at the sight of him, run away, overturn their master, and hurl the chariot to the shore. Upon Niphaeus's escape Aeneas meets next with Lucagus and his brother Liger, two bravos, who behave in a quite different manner, very insolently. Aeneas attacks them, kills Lucagus first, and then says, “*Nulla tuos currus fuga segnis*,” etc. manifestly alluding, as I think, to the story immediately preceding this. One may frequently observe in these wars such contrasts.

VER. 636—640; et 653—661.

“ Tum * Dea nube cavâ tenuem sine viribus umbram,
 “ In faciem Aeneæ (visu mirabile monstrum),
 “ Dardaniis ornat telis: clypeumque júbisque
 “ Divini assimulat capitis, dat inania verba,
 “ Dat sine mente sonum gressusque affingit euntis. ———
 “ Forte ratis celsi conjuncta crepidine faxi,
 “ Expositis stabat scalis et ponte parato,
 “ Quà rex Clusinis advectus Oïnius oris.

Y y

“ Huc

"Huc sese trepida Aeneae fugientis imago
 "Conjicit in latebras : nec Turnus segnior instat,
 "Exuperatque moras, et pontes tranfilit altos.
 "Vix proram attigerat : rumpit Saturnia funem,
 "Avulsamque rapit revoluta per aequora navem :
 "Illum autem Aeneas absentem in praelia poscit."

* See this imitated by Silius Italicus at the latter end of his *Punica*. Lib. XVII.

"Quas postquam audivit voces conterrita Juno," etc.

Quaer. Whether this fiction was purely owing to Virgil's affectation to imitate Homer, or whether, on account of some tradition that Aeneas was killed in this engagement, or rather a tradition that Turnus fled cowardly out of the field ; which Virgil gives this artful turn to, as knowing it would not be for his hero's honour to represent his adversary as a coward? Drances's speech, lib. XI. 351. where he reflects on Turnus as "fugae fidens," seems to favour this notion.

VER. 707—711.

"Ac velut ille canum morfu de montibus altis
 "Actus aper (multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
 "Defendit, multosque palus * Laurentia), sylvâ
 "Pastus arundineâ ; postquam inter retia ventum est,
 "Substitit, infremuitque ferox, et inhorruit armis."

* Horace mentions, "Laurens aper ulvis et arundine pinguis." Lib. II. Sat. iv.

VER. 773—777.

"† Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile libro,
 "Nunc adsint. Voveo praedonis corpore raptis
 "Indurum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum
 "Aeneae. Dixit ; stridentemque eminus hastam
 "Jecit." ———

† As a good man would say ; "God is my defence ;" the wicked Mezentius says ; "His defence is in his own hand ; and the javelin that I thus brandish in it." The vehemence of the action, as well as the arrogance of his speech, is very characteristic.

VER.

VER. 799—800.

——— “Socii magno clamoré sequuntur,
 “Dum * genitor nati parmâ protectus abiret.”

* This is supposed by some to allude to the story of the young Scipio protecting his father in the battle between Hannibal and the Romans near Tiamum. “Tunc Scipione duce fusus exercitus: faucius
 “etiam ipse venisset in manus hostium imperator, nisi protectum patrem
 “praetextatus admodum filius ab ipsâ morte rapuisset.” L. Florus, lib. II. c. vi.

VER. 825—828.

“Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
 “Quid pius Aeneas tantâ dabit indole dignum?
 “Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua: teque parentum
 “Manibus, et cineri, si * qua est ea cura, remitto.”

* Quaer. If this is not said on account of his being of a wicked atheistical family? —† This, I think, must have been the case: for considering the light, in which the Romans looked upon these ceremonies, it would otherwise sound very improperly from the mouth of the pious Aeneas.

VER. 878—881.

——— “Quid me erepto, faevissime, nato
 “Ferres? haec via sola fuit, quâ perdere posses.
 “Nec mortem horremus, nec Divûm * parcimus ulli:
 “Define, jam venio moriturus.”

* This expresses insult and contempt. Parcere is language from a superior to an inferior, one under one's power. And this mad tyrant is so far from reverencing the Gods, that he seems to trample on them as his slaves, and talks of treating them as he had done his subjects. And therefore, to shew the greater arrogance, speaks in the plural number.

VER. 885—887.

* Ter circum astantem laevos equitavit in orbes,
 “ Tela manu jaciens: ter secum Troïus heros
 “ Immanem aerato circumfert tegmine sylvam.”

* Dr. Trapp, in his note on this place, certainly mistakes the meaning of it. Mezentius rides in a circle, having Aeneas, who was in the center of the circle, always to his left (which, in the language of the manege, is, “ laevos equitare in orbes”). By this means Mezentius guards himself on the left by his shield, and throws his javelins with his right. — “ Il faut sçavoir qu'autrefois les ecuyers travailloient presque toujours leurs chevaux sur des cercles, et le centre autour duquel ils tournoient, déterminoit la main où ils alloient.” De la Gueriniere; Ecole de Cavalerie, part. II. c. iv.



AENEID THE ELEVENTH.

VER. 34—35:

“ CIRCUM omnes famulûmque manus, Trojanaque turba,
 “ Et moestae * Iliades crinem de more solutae.”

* Ovid makes the Nurus attending Livia to the offerings, and the Matres apart with the Vestal Virgins.

— “ Bonis nuribus pro fospite Livia nato
 “ Munera dat meritis faepe datura Deis:
 “ Et pariter matres; et quae sine crimine castos
 “ Perpetuâ servant virginitate focos.”

Trist. lib. IV. El. ii. ver. 11.

Catrou fancies Virgil may have forgot that he left all the women behind in Sicily, except the mother of Euryalus; or at least, in case he meant that matrons and widows only were left behind, that it was an omission, not to have distinguished them, and have expressly told us so.

With.

With the Father's leave, I think the Poet has sufficiently declared his meaning, when he tells us that Aeneas left in Sicily only the most useful people, and such as desired to be left. Sure the Father cannot reckon wives in this number. He must observe, moreover, that Virgil always calls the women which were left behind *Matres*. And when he mentions Euryalus's mother, he says;

“ Quae te sola, puer, multis è matribus ausa
“ Prosequitur.”——

VER. 49—52.

“ Et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani,
“ Fors et vota facit, cumulatque altaria donis :
“ Nos juvenem exanimum, et * nil jam caelestibus ullis
“ Debentem, vati moesti comitamur honore.”

* This is said with respect to the foregoing verse, “ Fors et vota,” etc. The sacrifices to the Gods above were at an end; what remained to be made were to the infernal.

VER. 83, 84.

“ † Indutosque jubet truncos hostilibus armis
“ Ipsos ferre duces, inimicaque nomina figi.”

† Virgil's description of the trophy of Aeneas over Mezentius is more particular; and just like the trophies we see on medals, and the triumphal columns and arches of the better ages of Rome.

“ Ingentem quercum, decisis undique ramis,
“ Constituit tumulo; fulgentiaque induit arma :
“ Mezentî ducis exuvias; tibi magne tropaeum
“ Bellipotens! Aptat rorantes sanguine cristas,
“ Telaque trunca viri; et bis sex thoraca petium
“ Perfossūque locis: clypeumque ex aere sinistrae
“ Subligat; atque ensē collo suspendit eburnum.”

Ver. 11. anteli.

VER.

VER. 139—141.

“ Et jam fama volans, tanti praeſentia luctûs,
 “ Evandrum Evandrique domos et moenia * complet;
 “ Quae modo victorem Latio Pallanta ferebat.”

* If all the manuſcripts, as Father Catrou informs us, read *Replet*, I ſee no reaſon for changing it: *Replet* is without doubt the better word in this place; for it intimates a ſecond report, and Virgil explains it in the next verſe, where he expreſsly ſays, that there was a rumour ſpread before, that Pallas was victorious. Conſidering the diſtance between Evander’s town and the field of battle, it is natural to ſuppoſe that there muſt be ſeveral reports ſpread about the town concerning their prince.

VER. 148—151.

“ At non Evandrum potis eſt vis ulla tenere;
 “ Sed venit in medios: feretro Pallanta * repoſto
 “ Procumbit ſuper, atque haeret lacrymansque gemensque:
 “ Et *² via vix tandem voci laxata dolore eſt.”

*¹ Dr. Trapp ſays, that this word *Repoſto* for *Depoſto*, ſet down, or laid down, is very untoward. But why ſo? Don’t we uſe the word *Repoſed* in the very ſame ſenſe, *Reſted*?

*² The mouth finds ſome difficulty, and labours in pronouncing this verſe; eſpecially the words *Vix*, *Tandem*, and *Laxata*.

VER. 176—181.

“ Vadite, et haec memores regi mandata referte:
 “ Quod * vitam moror inviſam, Pallante perempto,
 “ Dexterâ cauſa tua eſt, Turnum gnatoque patrique
 “ Quam debere vides meritis: vacat hic tibi ſolus
 “ Fortunaeque locus. Non vitae gaudia quaero,
 “ Nec fas; ſed gnato manes perferre ſub imos.”

* Life cannot but be odious to me after the loſs of Pallas; but the only cauſe why I would prolong it (*Dexterâ cauſa tua eſt*) is my dependence upon, or the hopes of ſeeing, the ſucceſs of your right hand; that I may ſee myſelf and ſon revenged of Turnus, and carry the news to the
 ſhades

shades below. Father Catrou raises great difficulties on the meaning of this place, and then gives a wrong interpretation.

VER. 200—202.

“ Ardentes spectant socios, femustaque fervant
 “ Busta: neque avelli possunt, nox humida donec
 “ Invertit caelum stellis fulgentibus † aptum.”

† “ Axem humero torquet stellis fulgentibus aptum.”
 Aen. IV. 482. and VI. 798. (both of Atlas).

“ O Fides alma, apta penneis.”—— Ennius.

Glorianti cuidam mercatori quod multas naves in omnem oram maritimam dimississet; “ Non fanè optabilis ista quidem est (inquit), rudentibus
 “ apta Fortuna.” Cic. Tusc. Quaest. lib. V. p. 501. ed. Amst.

VER. 266—268.

“ Ipse Mycenaëus magnorum ductor Achivum
 “ Conjugis infandae prima intra limina dextrâ
 “ Oppetiit: devictâ Asiâ * subsedit adulter.”

* The word *Sedeo* seems to have been a word particularly used in love-affairs: See Petronius, in the speech of the servant of Circe to Polyenos; much more, *Subsedit*: See the same author in another place. *Subsedit*, Got into possession of his bed and his throne, and that by treachery and lust; which is expressed by *Sub*.

Horace uses the word *Subsidere* in the same sense with *Adulterari*; for vile unnatural lust:

“ Novâque monstra junxerit libidine
 “ Mirus amor; juvat ut tigres subsidere cervis,
 “ Adulteretur et columba milvio.” Epod. xvi. 32.

“ Eo in loco subsedit, ubi ille noctu venturus esset.” Cic. Orat. pro Milone.

† Mr. Holdsworth has another note, in which he seems inclined to read this passage, “ *Devictam Asiam subsedit adulter*; He invaded Asia by “ treachery:” and quotes Lucan to confirm that reading; where he says of Appian, after he had consulted the Oracle of Delphi;

—— “ Nec te vicinia leti

“ Territat

- “ Territat ambiguis frustratum fortibus, Appi:
 “ Jure fed incerto mundi, subsidere regnum
 “ Chalcidos Euboicae, vanâ spe rapte, parabas.” Lib. V. ver. 227.

VER. 316—321.

- “ Est antiquus ager, Tusco mihi proximus amni,
 “ *¹ Longus in occasum, fines super usque Sicanos.
 “ Aurunci Rutulique *² ferunt, et vomere duos
 “ Exercent colles, atque horum asperrima pascunt.
 “ Haec omnis regio et celi plaga pinea montis
 “ Cedat amicitiae Teucrorum.”——

*¹ It must be considered that their territories being very small, a few miles distance would justify this expression. Latinus, in his speech to Turnus, speaks of Ardea as at a great distance from Laurentum, which it is certain was but few miles from it:

- “ Miserere parentis
 “ Longaevi, quem nunc moestum patria Ardea longè
 “ Dividit.”—— Aen. XII. ver. 44.

*² The country here proposed is even at this time cultivated by people from the hills, being poorly inhabited.

VER. 336—342.

- “ Tum Drances, idem infensus, quem gloria Turni
 “ Obliquâ inviduâ stimulisque agitabat amaris:
 “ Largus opum, et linguâ melior, sed *¹ frigida bello
 “ Dexterâ, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor,
 “ Seditione potens: genus huic materna superbum
 “ Nobilitas dabat, incertum de *² patre ferebat:
 “ Surgit.”——

† I should rather incline a little to their opinion, who think that Virgil had an eye to Cicero in his character of Drances; because he seems no friend of Cicero's before. He does not mention any thing of him in his view of the most considerable Romans in his VIth book; nor gives him any praise in the VIIIth, though he had so fair an opening for it there, where he speaks of Catiline.

*¹ The

*¹ The Epitome Liviana, lib. CXI, speaking of the battle of Pharsalia, says; “Cicero in castris remansit; vir nihil minus quàm ad bella natus:” And Plutarch, in several places of his life, represents him as a coward and poor spirited man.

*² This character is supposed to hint at Tully; and I think this particular fixes it to him. The rest of the character being more general, could only be conjectured to hint at Tully; but such a particular circumstance, entirely foreign from the character, seems designed on purpose to mark him out. For it must be observed, that this remark was made of him: “Ciceronis vero matrem quidem Helviam tradunt claro genere et honestâ vitâ fuisse; De patre autem nihil mediocre fertur: Alii enim fulloniâ officinâ natum et educatum dicunt; alii ad Ap. Tullium clarum Volschorum regem generis principium referunt.” Plutar. Vit. Cic.

VER. 399—409.

“Nulla salus bello? capiti cane talia demens
 “Dardanio, rebusque tuis: proinde omnia magno
 “Ne cessa turbare metu, atque extollere vires
 “Gentis bis victæ, contra premere arma Latini.
 “*¹ Nunc et Myrmidonum proceres Phrygia arma tremiscunt?
 “Nunc et Tydides, et Larissæus Achilles?
 “Amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas?
 “*³ Vel cum se pavidum contra mea jurgia fingit
 “Artificis scelus: et formidine crimen acerbatur.
 “Nunquam animam talem dextra hâc, absiste moveri,
 “Amittes: habitet tecum, et sit pectore in isto.”

*¹ This has no reference to any thing in Drances’s speech, but, I suppose, refers to what was before reported by Venulus, who was of Drances’s party: “Si duo præterea tales,” etc. ver. 285: and “Amnis et Hadriacas” relates particularly to the news brought from Diomedes’s country Apulia, of which Aufidus is the principal river.

*² I see no occasion of connecting this with the preceding words. Connection is not necessary in such passionate discourses. Turnus now again turns his discourse against Drances, and says; “Vel cum,” etc. “As great a coward as he is,” even when he pretends to be afraid of me or my reproaches, it is only with a wicked intent. “Artifex est sceleris;” or, without any hypallage, “Hoc scelus est artificis:” This is the villany of

the crafty knave: "Et formidine crimen acerbat." And then follows, "Nunquam animam talem," etc.

VER. 466, 467.

"Pars aditus urbis firment, turresque capeffant:
"Caetera, quæ * juffo, mecum manus inferat arma."

* Seneca takes notice of Virgil's making use of this word for Juffero. See Epist. lviii.

VER. 497.

—— "Luduntque * jubae per colla, per armos."

* This particular, in this very fine comparison, alludes to Turnus's having his hair loose, and flowing down his shoulders; as may be supposed from what is said before, "that he had not yet put on his helmet," ver. 489.

VER. 522, 523.

"* Est curvo anfractu vallis accommoda fraudi
"Armorumque dolis," etc.

* This place seems to be a description of the valley of Caudium.

VER. 552—555.

"Telum immane manu validâ quod forte gerebat
"Bellator, solidum nodis et robore cotto;
"Huic natam, libro et sylvestri † subere clausam,
"Implicat, atqueabilem mediae circumligat hastae."

† There is a large wood of cork-trees, just on the other side of Piperno (ver. 540 anteh.); and that tree is common all about those parts.

VER. 564—568.

"At Metabus, magnâ propius jam urgente catervâ,
"Dat sese fluvio, atque hastam cum virgine victor
"Gramineo, donum Triviae, de cespite vellit.

"Non

“ Non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes

“ Accipere: * neque ipse manus feritate dedisset.”

* That is, Neither would Metabus, “ prae feritate,” have accepted of their hospitality; which Virgil has expressed by giving the hand, which was always looked upon as a token of hospitality and friendship. When Aeneas was introduced to Evander, Pallas said to him;

——— “ Nostris succede penatibus hospes:

“ Accipitque manu, dextramque,” etc. Aen. VIII. ver. 123.

So likewise, Aen. III. ver. 83:

“ Jungimus hospitio dextras, et tecta subimus.”

This interpretation seems natural and easy; whereas the commentators have rendered this passage difficult and obscure, by putting a forced construction upon “ manus dare.”

VER. 605, 606.

“ Adversi campo apparent: hastasque reductis

“ Protendunt longe dextris, et spicula vibrant.”

* Ruacius is certainly mistaken in his interpretation of this passage: “ Apparent contra oppositi in campo: et immittunt longè hastas brachiis contractis, et conjiciunt spicula.” They are not yet engaged, but only preparing, and still on their march. — † This will be very evident to any one, who reads the whole passage, from ver 597 to 611.

VER. 633—635.

“ * Tum vero et gemitus morientum, et sanguine in alto

“ Armaque, corporaque, et permisti caede virorum

“ Semianimes volvuntur equi.”———

* How much confusion is there expressed in the very found of these verses!

VER. 677—681.

——— “ Procul Ornitus armis

“ Ignotis, et equo venator Iapyge fertur:

“ Cui pellis latos humeros erepta juvenco

Z z 2

“ Pugnatori

“ Pugnatori operit ; † caput ingens oris hiatus,
 “ Et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis.”

† This was a very common dress among the Roman foldiers ; and occurs perpetually, both on the Trajan and Antonine pillar, at Rome.

Thus Virgil of Aventinus, a son of Hercules :

“ Ipse pedes tegmen torquens immani leonis,
 “ Terribili impexum seta, cum dentibus albis,
 “ Indutus capiti : sic regia testa subibat
 “ Horridus, Herculeoque humeros innexus amictu.”

Aen. VII. ver. 669.

And others of the Roman Poets of Hercules himself :

——— “ Tergo videt hujus inanem
 “ Impexis utrinque jubis horrere leonem ;
 “ Illius in speciem quem per Theumesia Tempe
 “ Amphitryoniades victum juvenilibus annis,
 “ Ante Cleonaei vestitur praelia monstri.”

Statius, Theb. I. ver. 487.

——— “ Cleonaeo jam tempora clusus hiatus
 “ Alcides.”——— Val. Flaccus, I. ver. 155.

A figure (perhaps of young Aventinus) is given, Pol. pl. XVII. fig. 5. on purpose to shew the manner how they wore the lion's skin over their heads, the more exactly.

VER. 699—701.

“ Incidit huic, subitoque aspectu territus haesit
 “ * Apenninicolae bellator filius * Auni ;
 “ Haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.”

* The limits of the Alpes and Apennines were not ascertained by the ancients, nor are they to this day ; and therefore the Ligures who possessed that ridge of mountains from the Var to the Macra were by some authors called Alpini, by others Apennini. “ Vulgo tamen pro Apennino habitum fuisse, ut etiam nunc habetur, quicquid montium ad Varum usque flumen protenditur,” as Cluver observes, Ital. Ant. lib. I. c. xxxi. Silius, lib. V, makes (I know not by what authority) the country of Aunus to be on the lake afterwards called Thrasymenus :

“ Quae

“ Quae vada Faunigenae regnata antiquitus Auno
“ Nunc, volvente die, Thrasymeni nomina fervant.”

N. B. Part of the Ligures were called Ingauni, and their city Albingaunum, now Albenga. Vid. Strab. lib. IV.

*² It appears from Silius, that the Lacus Thrasymenus was formerly called Lacus Auni :

“ Quae vada Faunigenae regnata antiquitus Auno
“ Nunc, volvente die, Thrasymeni nomina fervant.”
De Bel. Pun. lib. V. ver. 8.

As Virgil frequently chooses the names of rivers for his heroes; Qu. Whether he does not hint at Hannibal's treachery on the side of this lake, in making this treacherous fellow the son of Aunus?

VER. 768—782.

“ *¹ Forte facer Cybele Chloreus, olimque sacerdos,
“ Insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis:
“ Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis ahenis
“ In plumam squamis auro conferta tegebat.
“ Ipse peregrinâ ferrugine clarus et ostro,
“ Spicula torquebat Lycio Cortynia cornu:
“ Aureus ex humeris sonat arcus, et aurea vati
“ Cassida: tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque *² crepantes
“ Carbasseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro;
“ Pictus acu tunicas, et barbara tegmina crurum.
“ Hunc virgo, sive ut templis praefigeret arma
“ Troia, captivo sive ut se ferret in auro
“ Venatrix, unum ex omni certamine pugnae
“ Caeca sequebatur; totumque incauta per agmen,
“ Femineo praedae et spoliis ardebat amore.”

*¹ In the conclusion of this story of Camilla, Virgil has very finely touched upon the female passion for dress and shew. Though the heroine seems to have shaken off all the other weaknesses of her sex, she is still described as a woman in this particular. After having made a great slaughter of the enemy, she unfortunately casts her eye on an embroidered Trojan, “ singles out this well-dressed warrior, is seized with a woman's
“ longing for the pretty trappings he was adorned with. This heedless
“ pursuit

“pursuit after these glittering trifles, the Poet (by a nice concealed moral) represents to have been the destruction of his female hero.” See Addison’s *Spectator*, Vol. I. N^o xv.

*² Speaking of one of the priests of Cybele, who always wore linen. Martial, speaking of Hermogenes stealing linen wherever he saw it, says;

“Linigeri fugiunt calvi, sistrataque turba,
“Inter adorantes cum stetit Hermogenes.”

Lib. XII. Ep. xxix.

VER. 783—795.

“Telum ex insidiis cum tandem tempore capto
“Conjicit, et superos * Aruns sic voce precatur :
“Summe Deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
“Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
“Pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
“Cultores multâ premimus vestigia prunâ :
“Da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis
“Omnipotens. Non exuvias pulsaeve tropaeum
“Virginis aut spolia ulla peto : mihi caetera laudem
“Facta ferent : haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis
“Pulsa cadat, patriam remeabo inglorius urbem.
“Audiit, et voti Phoebus succedere partem
“Mente dedit ; partem volucres disperfit in auras.”

* The character Virgil gives Aruns, who kills Camilla, is a very singular, and a very mean one. Camilla was very brave, and had destroyed many of the Trojans, but still she was a woman ; and therefore the Poet thought her death unbecoming a man of honour, and chuses to charge it on a silly, vain, cowardly, treacherous, and contemptible creature. He was ridiculous in his religious, and vain in his military, boasts ; “Quem
“primi colimus,” etc. and, “Mihi laudem facta ferent.” Cowardly in his manner of attacking Camilla (*Tacitus*, ver. 763 ; *Furtim*, ver. 765 ; “ex
“insidiis,” ver. 783) ; not daring to meet her face to face : and when he killed her ; “Fugit exterritus :”

————— “Nec jam amplius hastae

“Credere, nec telis occurrere virginis audet.” etc. Ver. 808.

So contemptible, that when *Opes*, one of *Diana's* nymphs, was going to revenge *Camilla's* death, by killing him; she cries out in a scornful manner to him;

——— “*Tunc etiam telis moriere Dianae?*” Ver. 857.

In short, he is represented as such a wretch, that when he is killed, his own companions shew not the least concern for him.

“*Illum expirantem focii atque extrema gementem*
“*Obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt.*” Ver. 866.



AENEID . THE TWELFTH.

VER. 1—4.

“**T**URNUS ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos
“ Defecisse videt, sua nunc promissa reposci,
“ Se signari oculis; * ultro implacabilis ardet,
“ Attollitque animos.” ———

* Without being provoked by Drances.

VER. 72—74.

“ Ne, quaeso, ne me lacrymis, neve omine tanto
“ Prosequere, in duri certamina Martis euntem,
“ O mater; * neque enim Turno mora libera mortis.”

* *Servius* imagines difficulties here, perhaps, without reason; and, certainly, there is no greater difficulty here than above, in ver. 49, where *Turnus* says in answer to *Latinus*;

——— “*Letumque finas pro laude pacisci:*”

That is, “If death is my fate, suffer me to take it in exchange for honour:” and though he says this, yet the four verses which follow shew that he does not seem to doubt of success. So here he tells *Amata*, that after having promised to meet *Aeneas* in a single combat, it is not in his power to decline or defer it, though he should fall in the battle; and at the
same

same time he seems not to fear that it would be his fate to fall, for he adds ;

———— “ Phrygio mea dicta tyranno
 “ Haud placitura refer.” ———— Ver. 76.

Both these passages imply only a supposition of losing the day.

VER. 161—164.

———— “ Ingenti mole Latinus
 “ * Quadrijugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
 “ Aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
 “ Solis avi specimen.” ————

* Buonarroti, Medagl. p. 178, supposes that this was intended as a compliment to Augustus, in allusion to what is mentioned by Suetonius in Aug. c. 94. It is certain, the statues of the sun were formerly crowned with rays as here described.

VER. 206—211.

“ Ut † sceptrum hoc (dextrâ sceptrum nam forte gerebat),
 “ Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras ;
 “ Cum semel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum
 “ Matre caret, posuitque comas et brachia ferro :
 “ Olim arbos ; nunc artificis manus aere decoro
 “ Inclusit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.”

† Ovid, in speaking of Jupiter, describes him as resting on his scepter ; which, if taken in the modern sense of the word, would be almost as ridiculous, as if one should describe a general, at the head of his troops, resting on his truncheon. The old scepters being as long as a hunting-pole, may serve to explain some expressions in Virgil, relating to King Latinus's scepter ; which would not be so proper, if applied to a truncheon or modern scepter. It was a whole young tree, cut from the root, and stripped of its branches.

VER. 287, 288.

“ Infraenant alii currus, aut corpora saltu
 “ * Subjiciunt in equos.” ————

“ Quaer.

* Quaer. If Sub may not signify, from below? They throw themselves, by springing from the ground, at one leap, into the saddle.

VER. 384—390.

“ Interea Aeneam Mnestheus, et fidus Achates,
 “ Ascaniusque comes, castris statuere *¹ cruentum,
 “ Alternos longâ nitentem cuspide gressus.
 “ Saevit, et infractâ luctatur arundine telum
 “ Eripere, auxilioque viam, *² quae proxima, poscit:
 “ Ense secant lato vulnus, relique latebram
 “ Rescindant penitus, seseque in bella remittant.”

*¹ Augustus Caesar was wounded in a skirmish between him and Lepidus in Sicily, after they had defeated Sext. Pompeius. *Και αὖτε ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς τὴν θώρακα ἐλάσθη.* Appian, De Bell. Civ. lib. V. p. 1173. ed. Toll.

*² So Alexander falling ill a little before the battle of Issus, and being informed of his enemy's approach, cries out; “Lenta remedia, et segnes
 “ medicos non expetunt tempora mea.” Q. Curt. lib. III.

VER. 395—397.

“ Ille, ut * depositi proferret fata parentis,
 “ Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
 “ Maluit.” ———

* Morientis; laid down to die, or stretched out, being just expiring; a dying person, naturally stretching himself out. Thus Ovid uses Depositus;

“ Jam propè depositus, certe jam frigidus aeger.”
 Lib. II. Ep. ii. ver. 47.

And Cicero: “Aegram et propè depositam reipublicae partem suscepisse.”
 In Ver. III. v.

VER. 400—404.

——— “ Ille * retorto
 “ Paeonium in morem senior succinctus amictu,
 “ Multa manu medicâ Phoebique potentibus herbis
 “ Nequicquam trepidat; nequicquam spicula dextrâ
 “ Sollicitat, prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.”

* “ Il Pallio fu proprio de’ medici, che perciò venivano appresso gli Egizi chiamati *πασοφοροι*, Palliofori: e lo dovevano portare fuccinto e involtato in un modo simile alle statue di quel Dio, le quali si veggono avere scoperto il petto, e il braccio destro.” Medagl. di Buonarroti, p. 125. Statius, speaking of Apollo and Aesculapius, says;

———— “ Ritu se cingit uterque
“ Paeonio.” ————— Lib. I. Sylv. iv. ver. 108.

And Silius, speaking of Hannibal’s physician Sinalus, says;

———— “ Intortos de more accinctus amictus.” Lib. V.

† What the manner of dressing was appears most distinctly in the figures of Aesculapius. See Pol. Pl. XX. fig. iii.

VER. 697—703.

“ At pater Aeneas, audito nomine Turni,
“ Deferit et muros, et summas deferit arces,
“ Praecipitatque moras omnes; opera omnia rumpit
“ Laetitia exultans: horrendumque intonat armis.
“ Quantus † Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
“ Cum fremit illicibus quantus, gaudetque navali
“ Vertice se attollens pater † Apenninus ad auras.”

† The large size of the statues for the Mountain Deities in general, will help to account for several similes of the ancient poets, in which they compare their heroes to mountains. When Aeneas is going to engage Turnus, Virgil says that he moved on, “Quantus Athos,” etc. This simile cannot well be understood literally of those mountains; or will at least become much more poetical and just, if you understand it of the Deities supposed to preside over them: whose statues were often of a vast size, among the ancients; as they are sometimes even among the moderns. I never met with any ancient figure of father Apenninus: but that famous modern one of him by John de Bologna, at a seat of the Great Duke’s near Florence, if it stood up, would be above sixty foot high. As the ancients were much more magnificent in their works of art than the moderns, they had probably figures of Mountain Deities, even much larger than this.

+ There was a God called Pennus, much worshiped on the Great St. Bernard; and some remains of his temple are still to be seen there.

From

From Count Richa, at Turin. ——— † *Pen* signified high or chief : hence the Alps Penninae, and the Apennines in Italy ; and with us, Pen ap pen, near High Wicomb, in Buckinghamshire ; the old Pennocrusium, or Penkridge, in Staffordshire ; Pendennis, in Cornwall ; and Pen-maen-mawr, and many others, in Wales.

VER. 811—812.

———— “ Flamini † cincta sub ipsâ
“ Starem acie, traheremque inimica in praelia Teucros.”

† Juno had a joint right of casting the lightening with Minerva and Jupiter. See note on Aeneid I. 42.

VER. 834—841.

“ Sermonem Aufonii patrium moresque tenebunt ;
“ Utque est, nomen erit ; commixti corpore tantum
“ Subsident Teucri : morem ritusque sacrorum
“ Adjiciam : faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos.
“ Hinc genus, Aufonio mixtum quod sanguine furget,
“ Supra homines, supra ire Deos pietate videbis :
“ * Nec gens ulla tuos aequè celebrabit honores.
“ Annuit his Juno, et mentem laetata retorfit.”

* Compare this with Book III. 433 to 439. We are told by Tully that the temple of Juno Sospita was repaired in his time. “ Quinetiam
“ memoriâ nostrâ templum Junonis Sospitae L. Julius, qui cum P. Rutilio
“ Consul fuit, de Senatus sententiâ refecit, ex Caeciliae Balearici filiae
“ somnio.” Tull. De Divinitat. lib. I.

VER. 865—868.

“ Hanc versa in faciem, Turni se * pestis ad ora
“ Fertque refertque sonans, clypeumque everberat alis :
“ Illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor ;
“ Arrestaeque horrore comae.” ———

* These are the stings of a guilty conscience for having broken the treaty, he had sworn to at the altar, by declining the single combat.

VER. 885—886.

“Tantum effata, caput glauco contextit amictu,
 “Multa gemens, et se † fluvio Dea condidit alto.”

† Virgil speaks this of Juturna, sister of Turnus. She was a Naïd ; and, in particular, one of the Tiberinides. See her story, in Ovid. Fast. II. ver. 585—606.

VER. 896—902.

——— “Saxum circumspicit ingens :

“Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
 “Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis.
 “Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
 “Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus :
 “Ille manu raptum trepidâ torquebat in hostem
 “Altior infurgens, et cursu concitus heros.”

* See Mr. Pope on the Iliad, XXI. ver. 468.

Juvenal speaks in his usual humorous way :

“Saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
 “Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione
 “Tela ; nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, et Ajax,
 “Vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
 “Aeneae ; sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
 “Illis dissimiles, et nostro tempore natae.
 “Nam genus hoc vivo jam decrescebat Homero ;
 “Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos :
 “Ergo Deus quicumque aspexit, ridet, et odit.”

Juvenal, Sat. XV. 63, etc.



DISSERTATION THE FIRST;

ON THE

TWO PHILIPPI:

In Seven LETTERS to C. J. Esq;

L E T T E R I.

THE TWO BATTLES OF PHILIPPI,

Mentioned by VIRGIL in his Georgics, and copied by several other Poets, seemingly contradictory to History.

DEAR SIR,

HA VING formerly had some discourse with you concerning Virgil's two battles of Philippi, and wanting time to solve all your doubts, and produce sufficient authorities in favour of my opinion, I beg leave to send you my thoughts thereupon in writing. — My principal aim in undertaking this task is to satisfy your curiosity, and vindicate Virgil from some aspersions thrown on him by the critics; in doing which, I tell you beforehand, I shall be very tedious; and, I fear, I shall tire your patience sooner than I can defend your friend. — The subject is in itself very dry, and the discussing a point so much controverted, and in which, not only Virgil, and several correspondent passages in other poets, but likewise the credit of the old historians is concerned, must necessarily swell a letter to a very great length, and my manner of treating the subject may still make it appear much longer: but if you can have as much patience to read what I have to offer, as I have had to examine the several articles of this dispute, I doubt not but you will be fully convinced of the truth of what I before advanced in conversation, and that we shall be as perfectly agreed in this, as, I flatter myself, we are in all other respects.

The difficulty, you know, consists in the contradiction there seems to be between the Poets and Historians in a matter of fact. Virgil tells us,
that

that ^a Philippi twice saw the Roman armies engaged against each other, meaning, first, Julius Caesar against Pompey ; secondly, Octavius Caesar and Antony against Brutus and Cassius.

“ ^b Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis

“ Romanas acies iterum vidēre Philippi ;

“ Nec fuit indignum Superis his sanguine nostro

“ Aemathiam, et laetos Haemi pinguescere campos.”

All the other poets who have mentioned these battles agree with Virgil, and seem to have copied from him ; thus Ovid ^c.

^a Dr. Lamotte in a letter published in the History of the Works of the Learned, for Jan. 1738, thinks he has solved this difficulty by supposing that the battle of Pharsalia is in this place entirely out of the question, and that Virgil had regard only to the two actions that passed between the Romans in the plains of Philippi, in the first of which Cassius was defeated, in the latter, Brutus, about a month after the other. It must be owned he has improved upon what Ruæus formerly proposed to the same purpose, and his observation on the connexion between “ Ille etiam extincto,” and “ Ergo inter sese,” has enforced this argument as far as it will bear ; but if he will examine Manilius, and the several passages relating to Philippi, which I shall hereafter produce from Lucan, I doubt not but he will be convinced, that all the Poets by their two Philippi understand those two memorable actions commonly distinguished by the names of Pharsalia and Philippi. At present therefore in this sense let us understand Virgil.

Catrou, in his dissertations upon Virgil, mentions the like opinion of another critic upon this passage, thus, “ Un sçavant critique de nos tems tranche le noeud, et prétend que les deux batailles dont Philippi fut témoin furent les deux combats consécutifs, que Brutus et Cassius livrèrent contre Octavien et contre Antoine à la vue de Philippi en Thrace. De là, dit-il, les expressions de Virgile,

—— “ Paribus concurrere telis

“ Romanas acies *iterum* videre Philippi.

“ En effet la bataille qu'on appella de Philippes consista en deux actions. Dans la première, Cassius, qui se crût vaincu, quoique son parti eût en de l'avantage, plein d'une terreur précipitée, se fit tuer par Pindare son affranchi. Dans la seconde, qui se donna quelques semaines après, Brutus, défait et vaincu, se fit donner la mort par le bras d'un de ses domestiques, pour éviter de tomber aux mains de ses vainqueurs. Voilà, dit ce critique, les deux batailles que vit la Philippes de Thrace.

—— “ Iterum videre Philippi.”

Then Catrou quotes likewise the criticism of Ruæus upon the same place, and prefers the latter as the more ingenious ; but concludes that neither of them can be supported ; it being very evident, as he says, that *lis* and *iterum* relate to two battles, that of Pharsalia, and that of Philippi. His words are these, — “ Sans toute la difficulté seroit anéantie par ces systèmes, s'ils étoient souténables. Par malheur, il paroît evident, que le *bis*, et que l'*iterum*, des passages que nous examinons, tombent sur la bataille de Pharsale, et sur celle de Philippes,” etc. Notes on Virgil, Georg. I. note 19.

^b Georg. lib. I. 489.

^c Met. lib. XV. 824.

“ Aemathiâque

“ Aemathiâque iterum madefient caede Philippi.”

And Petronius ^d,

“ Cerno equidem gemino jam stratos marte Philippos.”

Lucan, whom I shall have frequent occasion to mention hereafter, often speaks of both battles of Philippi; and Manilius is still more express than the rest, when describing, as Virgil does, the calamities foretold by the heavens, he says ^e,

“ Civiles etiam motus, cognataque bella
 “ Significant; nec plura aliâs incendia mundus
 “ Sustinuit, quàm cum, Ducibus jurata cruentis,
 “ Arma Philippæcos implerunt agmine campos.
 “ Vix etiam siccâ miles Romanus arenâ
 “ Offa virûm, lacerosque priûs superastetit artus;
 “ Imperiumque suis conflixit viribus ipsum;
 “ Perque Patris Pater Augustus vestigia vicit.”

In short, all the Poets concur in fixing the scene of both actions at Philippi; and yet, if any credit is to be given to antient history, nothing can be more certain than that the former battle was fought in Theffaly, on the plains of Pharsalia; the latter on the fields of Philippi, near the confines of Thrace and Macedonia; above two hundred miles distant one from the other.

Upon this appearance of disagreement between the Poets and Historians, there is, as one may easily imagine, as little agreement between their commentators: if you will give yourself the trouble to consult all their remarks, not only on this passage of Virgil, but on the several other Poets and Historians, who mention Philippi, you will find so much confusion and contradiction amongst them, that you will be apt to think Philippi for ever destined to be a field of battle, and may still say with Virgil,

— “ Inter sese paribus concurrere telis
 “ Romanas acies iterum vidêre Philippi.”

I do not intend to engage in all their quarrels, but shall consider only such critics, who take it for granted, that either the Poets or Histo-

^d Satyr.

^e Astron. lib. 1.

rians are guilty of a gross mistake : and first, that in this case the charge of a blunder on either is equally injurious and unreasonable ; and then shall endeavour to make it appear that without the supposition of such a blunder they are fairly reconcileable.

Among the Poets, Virgil is principally concerned, being not only accused as the prime delinquent, but the occasion of others falling into the same error. Mr. Rowe, not to mention any more, lays this to his charge. in a note on Philippi, at the latter end of the first book of his Translation of Lucan^f, where, allowing his author to be mistaken, he does not attempt to clear him, but seems to think it sufficient excuse for him and the other Poets, to have blundered after their great master. His words are as follow : “ It is pretty strange that so many great
“ names of antiquity, as Virgil, Ovid, Petronius, and Lucan should be
“ guilty of such a blunder in geography, as to confound the field of
“ battle between Julius Caesar and Pompey, with that between Octa-
“ vius Caesar and Brutus, when it was very plain one was in the middle
“ of Thessaly, and the other in Thrace, a great part of Macedonia ly-
“ ing between. Sulpitius, indeed, one of the Commentators upon Lu-
“ can, says, there was a town called Philippi, in whose neighbour-
“ hood the battle between Caesar and Pompey was fought ; but upon
“ what authority I know not : but, supposing that, it is undeniable that
“ these two battles were fought in two different countries. I must own,
“ it seems to me to be the fault originally of Virgil (upon what occasion
“ so correct a writer could commit so great an error is not easy to ima-
“ gine), and that the rest took it very easily from him, without making
“ any farther enquiry.”

As great a veneration as you have for Virgil, I believe you do not think it impossible that he should err : The best writers of antiquity might perhaps now and then nod as well as ours ; but in the present case, where the criticism turns purely upon matter of fact, it is not very modest to imagine (without evident authority) that we should be better informed of what happened in Virgil's days, than he was himself. Had the matter in debate been of little moment, he might, through inadvertency, have made a slip ; or had it been transacted in an obscure corner of the world, and known to few persons only, he might have been misinformed, and the mistake not discovered till this more enlightened

^f Ver. 1118.

age. But that the famous fields of battle, which decided the fate of the Roman empire, which were situated in the most frequented part of the world, and which must be as well known as the streets of Rome to so many thousands of the most illiterate Romans, to every common foldier of both armies; that these fields should be mistaken, by so correct an author as Virgil, is too absurd to be conceived. Dr. Lamotte observes, "That we should think a poet in our days very careless, and "unexact, who should tell us, that the two famous battles of Blenheim "and Ramillies were fought by the Duke of Marlborough upon the "same spot of ground." I entirely agree with him; it would, I think, be too gross even for Grubstreet: how then can it be imagined that the Great Genius of our age could possibly commit such a blunder? As little reason is there to suspect Virgil. We must consider, that at the time of the battle of Pharsalia, he was about twenty-three years of age; at that of Philippi twenty-nine; was soon after introduced to court, and must undoubtedly, when he wrote his Georgics, have conversed with several officers, who had been engaged in both actions: this we are sure of, that he was very intimate with Horace, & who was present at the latter battle, if not at both; and considering the part he acted there, as he himself often tells us, it is not unlikely that it was frequently the subject of their conversation, and innocent raillery; and if Virgil had been so bad a geographer, he might have been better informed by his friend, unless we can suppose him in so great a fright, that he knew not where the battle was fought. But had this escaped both Virgil and Horace, can it be conceived that Augustus, the principal person concerned at Philippi, Maecenas, to whom the Georgics were dedicated, and every one of that polite court, should all overlook such a palpable mistake, and suffer it to pass uncorrected? And it is still much stranger, that none of the critics of that age, especially if they had as much sagacity and good-nature as ours, should ever discover the blunder, or upbraid Virgil with it, which, it is certain, they never did, otherwise it would have been impossible that so many poets, who followed him, should all blindly fall into the same error.

Having said thus much in justification of Virgil, and, I hope, fully acquitted him, I should proceed next to the Historians; but I must beg

* Lib. II. OJ. vii.

leave first to premise, that this plain evidence, not to say demonstration, in favour of Virgil, has, I doubt not, betrayed many eminent modern writers into a belief that both battles were fought exactly on the same spot, upon an ill-grounded supposition that this was Virgil's meaning. Thus ^h Hofman in his Universal Lexicon, ⁱ Moreri and Collier in their Historical Dictionaries, ^k Ferrarius in his Lexicon Geographicum, Baudrand in his edition of the same with emendations, and ^l Dr. Wells in his Historical Geography of the New Testament, all agree that Pompey was defeated near Philippi on the borders of Thrace, as well as Brutus and Cassius; and if there was occasion to make farther enquiry, I doubt not but we should find many more writers of the same sentiment, notwithstanding Caesar himself (whose authority surely cannot be disputed) assures us, in his Commentaries, that the famous battle, between him and Pompey, was fought in Thessaly on the plains of Pharsalia. — Indeed these authors are so far from pretending to produce any testimonies from antiquity in favour of this assertion, that most of them stand confuted by themselves, and in the very same page, make Pharsalus in Thessaly, as well as Philippi on the confines of Thrace, memorable

^h *Philippi*. “Colonia et urbs Macedoniae, “ condita an instaurata a Philippo Rege, in “ Thraciae confinio, apud montis Pangaei “ radices, olim Crenides. Hic campi Philippi, ubi inter Caesarem et Pompeium “ pugnatum est, postea verò inter Augustum “ et Cassium.” Hofman Lex Univ.

ⁱ *Philippus*. “Ville de Macedoine.—St. “ Paul convertit les peuples de cette ville.— “ et leur ecrivit de sa prison la lettre que “ nous avons entre les Canoniques.—C'est “ aussi pres de cette ville que Pompée fût de- “ fait par Caesar en 705 de Rome, et que “ Cassius et Brutus furent vaincus par Au- “ guste et Marc Antoine en 712. Comme “ Tite Live, Plutarque, Velleius, Dion, “ Appien, Florus, etc. l'ont remarqué.”

Moreri Dictionaire Hist. — This almost literally translated by Collier.

^k *Philippi*. “Apud oram maris Aegæi, “ ad 10 mill. pass. dist.—ab Amphipoli 53. “ etc. Hic campi Philippici, ubi inter Cae- “ sarem et Pompeium pugnatum.” Phil. Ferrari Lex. Geogr.

^l Speaking of St. Paul going to Philippi, he says, — “Near to it lay the fields, thence “ called Campi Philippici, famous for two “ great and memorable battles, the former “ between Julius Caesar and Pompey the “ Great, the latter between Augustus and “ Mark Antony on the one side, and Cas- “ sius and Brutus on the other.” Hist. Histor. Geogr. of the New Test. Part II. chap. iv. sect. 2.

for the same action. — See ^m Ferrarius, ⁿ Hofman and ^o Moreri on the word *Pharfalus*.

Nothing therefore need be said more with regard to them but that they are manifestly guilty of a gross mistake in History and Geography. Others again, and those in greater numbers, seeing the absurdity of the former opinion, tell us, that both battles were fought, not at the aforementioned Philippi, on the borders of Thrace, but near a more obscure town of the same name in Thessaly.

Thus ^p Servius, or rather the compiler of the notes that go under his name (if we may reckon him among the moderns), Stephanus in his *Theaurus Linguae Latinae*, ^q Petavius in his *Rationarium Temporum*, ^r Dr. Heylin in his *Cosmography*, ^s Torrentius in his notes on Horace, ^t Desprez in *usum Delphini*, ^u Monf. Dacier, and ^x Father Sanadon, in their several notes on the same author, and ^y Lord Lauderdale in his *Trans-*

^m *Pharfalus*. “Urbs Thessaliae ad Enipeum fluvium, qui in Peneum decedit, pugna inter Caesarem et Pompeium memorabilis.” Ferrarii Lex Geog.

ⁿ *Pharfalus*. “Thessaliae oppidum, ad Enipeum fluvium. Hinc Pharfalici Campi pugna inter Caesarem et Pompeium memorabiles. Hi postea Philippici dicti sunt, sive a Philippo Rege, sive a Philippis urbe vicinâ.” Hofman

^o *Pharfale*. “Ville de Thessalie, célèbre par la bataille que César y remporta sur Pompée dans les campagnes voisines.” Moreri.

^p *Philippi*. “Civitas est Thessaliae, in qua primò Caesar et Pompeius, postea Augustus et Brutus cum Cassio dimicaverunt.” Serv. Not. in Virg. Georg. lib. I. ver. 490. This copied verbatim by Stephanus.

^q *Philippi*. “Sequente verò anno cum M. Bruto et Conjuratorum Principibus Octavius et Antonius acie decertarunt in Thessaliâ, ad urbem Philippos.” Pet. Rat. Temp. part I. lib. iv. c. 20.

^r Dr. Heylin, giving an account of the cities of Thessaly, and having mentioned Pharfalus, nigh to which was fought the great battle betwixt Caesar and Pompey, comes next to Philippi, which he describes

as situated on the farther part of the same plains of Pharfalia, and famous for as memorable a battle, as that before, and of no less consequence, viz. that between Augustus and M. Antonius on the one side, and Brutus and Cassius on the other. Cosinog. p. 243.

^s *Philippi*. “Civitas Thessaliae, a Philippo instaurata, mutato nomine, cum Dathos antea diceretur, gemina Romanorum clade insignita, Pompeii primum, deinde Bruti et Cassii adversus Caesarem et Antonium,” etc. Torrent Not. in Hor. lib. II. Ep. ii. ver. 49.

^t *Philippi*. “Ad quam urbem in Thessalicis campis Augustus Brutum profligavit.” Not. in Hor. lib. II. Ep. ii. ver. 49. And yet the same author in a note on Philippi, Book II. Od. vii. places the same Philippi in Macedonia on the confines of Thrace.

^u See Remarques sur l’Ode xii. lib. II.

^x Lib. I. Od. iv. according to his distribution.

^y “Then curs’d Philippi’s fields saw once again

“Pile against pile, by Romans Romans slain:
“For to the Pow’rs Immortal it seem’d just,
“That Roman blood should twice stain the Pharfalian dust.”

lation

lation of Virgil, all agree that Brutus and Cassius were defeated in Theſſaly, on the ſame ſpot, which had been before fatal to Pompey the Great.

But the moſt ſtrenuous aſſerters of this opinion are the two late celebrated writers of the Roman Hiſtory, Fathers Catrou and Rouille, who tell us, ^a tom. XVIII. p. 159 of their Hiſtory, that — Caefar came and encamped with Antony on the ſame plain of Pharfalia, which had ſome years before been ſo fatal to Pompey the Great. And ^a pag. 173, having premixed — That it was neceſſary to examine carefully, which of the cities called Philippi, gave title to the famous battle of that name, and having reckoned three; one in the middle of Thrace, now called Philippopoli; the ſecond in Edonia, on the confines of Macedonia and Thrace; the third in Phthiotis, a little province of Theſſaly; they conclude for the laſt. In ſhort, their main drift, during their whole account of the war of Auguſtus and M. Antony againſt Brutus and Caſſius, which takes up above eighty pages, ſeems calculated to prove, that — ^b their famous battle was fought on the plain between Pharfalia and the Theſſalian Philippi; exactly on the ſame ſpot where Pompey the Great had been defeated by Julius Caefar. And to ſhew how firmly they are attached to this opinion, they add, that — “ It ſeemed as if Providence “ had ſo ordered it, that the adopted ſon of Caefar ſhould conquer at the “ ſame place, where his father had conquered before him.”

I would not have troubled you with ſo many quotations, and thoſe ſo contradictory to one another, but that though they lengthen out my letter, they at the ſame time are a good apology for writing it, as they ſhew how requiſite it is to have a paſſage better underſtood, which has given occaſion to ſo many miſtakes.

^a “ Caefar malgré ſon infirmité ne ſé-
“ journa pas long-tems à Dyrrhachium et
“ vint camper avec Antoine dans cette même
“ plaine de Pharfale, qui quelques années
“ auparavant avoit été ſi funeſte au Grand
“ Pompée.”

^a “ C’eſt ici qu’il ſaut examiner avec ſoin,
“ quelle fût celle des villes nommées Phi-
“ lippes, qui donna ſon nom à la fameuſe
“ bataille que nous allons décrire,” etc.
Pag. 173, etc.

^b “ Caefar et Antoine, charmés d’avoir
“ ſauvé du danger les huit légions qu’ils
“ avoient oppoſées d’abord à Brutus et à

“ Caſſius, ſe rabbatirent, enſemble vers la
“ Theſſalie, et camperent dans la même
“ plaine, entre la troiſième Philippes et Phar-
“ fale, précifément au même lieu où le Grand
“ Pompée avoit été défait par Jule Caefar.
“ — Brutus et Caſſius ne diſcontinuerent
“ point de fuivre en queue les ennemis, et
“ arriverent enſin dans ces vaſtes campagnes
“ qui ſeparoient les villes de Philippes et
“ de Pharfale. Il ſembloit que la Provi-
“ dence eût réglé, que le fils adoptif de
“ Caefar vaincroit au même endroit, où ſon
“ pere avoit vaincu.” Pag. 175, 176.

I ſhall

I shall now consider the account given of the battle of Philippi by the antient historians, and endeavour to vindicate them from a more severe charge brought against them, no less than forgery. But this shall be the subject of my next, unless you prevent further correspondence by declaring you are already fully satisfied with the explanation I formerly hinted to you, and submit to any terms, rather than meet me any more at Philippi.



L E T T E R II.

A P P I A N ' s Account of the Battle of P H I L I P P I.

SINCE I find by your obliging answer to my last letter, that you are willing to meet me again at Philippi, I beg leave to bring with me the antient Historians, and Appian at the head of them. As this author has been more circumstantial than any other, especially in his plan of the country, the march of both armies, and their different encampments, I shall give you his account at large, as exactly as I can. To which I shall add the testimonies of other Historians in his favour, and then consider the objections brought against them, and leave you to judge whether they or their adversaries deserve most credit.

Appian, in the fourth book of his Civil wars, having related the several conquests made by Brutus and Cassius in the East, particularly in Asia Minor and Rhodes, and what forces and sums of money they had collected from thence to prosecute the war against Caesar and Antony, tells us (pag. ^a 1018) that Brutus ordered his Lycian fleet, and his other ships, to sail round to Abydus, that he marched thither with his foot, and there waited for Cassius to join him from Ionia, that they might pass over together to Sessus. Caesar and Antony on the other side assembled their forces at Brundisium, and, notwithstanding all attempts to intercept them, sailed over to Epidamnus. ^b “ In the mean time Ceditius and Norbanus, “ whom Caesar and Antony had dispatched before with eight legions into “ Macedonia, marched 1500 furlongs (near 200 miles) towards the

^a Edit. Toll. Amst. 1670.

^b Ib. pag. 1023.

“ mountains

“ mountains of Thrace, till having passed beyond the city Philippi, they
 “ made themselves masters of the Straits of the ^c Torpidi and Salapaci in
 “ the territories of Rascupolis, which was the only known or common
 “ passage from Asia to Europe; and therefore the first opposition was to
 “ be made there to the arms of Brutus and Cassius, who had now passed
 “ from Abydus to Seftus. This Rascupolis and his brother Rascus were
 “ of the royal family of Thrace, joint sovereigns of the same country,
 “ who being at that time divided as to the part they were to act in the
 “ approaching war, Rascus sided with Caesar and Antony, and Rascupolis
 “ with Brutus and Cassius, each bringing a body of 3000 horse. Brutus
 “ and Cassius enquiring what rout they were to take, Rascupolis told them
 “ that the road by Aenus and Maronea was the nearest, the easiest, and
 “ most frequented, which led to the Straits of the Salapaci; but, as those
 “ were possessed by the enemy, that pass was impracticable. However
 “ he knew another road, but it was three times as far about, and very
 “ difficult. Upon this ^d Brutus and Cassius supposing the enemy came not
 “ that way with intent to block up the road and oppose their passage, but
 “ that scarcity of provisions had forced them to advance from Macedonia
 “ towards Thrace, therefore they determined to take the common road of
 “ Aenus and Maronea.

“ Wherefore, marching first by Lyfimachia and Cardia, which are, as
 “ it were, the two gates to the Isthmus of the Thracian peninsula, they
 “ came the next day to the gulf of Melas.— Here the Generals mustered
 “ their forces, and Cassius made a speech to the army.—^e Then marching
 “ for two days by the side of the gulf, they came to Aenus, and thence
 “ to Doriscus, and such other towns as are on the sea coast as far as mount

^c Or Turpili and Sapaci.

^d Τὴς δὲ πολέμιας ὑπολαβούσης ἡ ἐς κώλυσιν
 ὁδῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπαυλῶν, προφῶν δ' ἀπορία ἐς Θρά-
 κην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐξάδιζον ἕν ἐπὶ
 “Αἰνῆ καὶ Μαρωνείας. “Ὅθεν ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίας τε,
 καὶ Καρδίας· (αἱ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρακίης χερρὸν ἴσου
 διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι) μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμί-
 ραν ἐς τὴν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκετο. Pag. 1024.

In all the editions I have hitherto seen of
 this author, there is a full stop after ὑπερβῆναι,
 and none after Μαρωνείας, by which it seems
 as if Brutus and Cassius went first to Aenus
 and Maronea, and from thence to Lyfimachia
 and Cardia: And accordingly T'ollius has

thus translated it: “ Versus Aenum et Ma-
 “ roneam moverunt, atque inde petierunt
 “ Lyfimachiam et Cardiam.” But as this is
 evidently contrary to Geograpy, there must
 be a mistake, which may easily be rectified,
 by only pointing it as I have done: And then
 the sense will be, that, after consultation
 which road to take, they resolved upon that
 of Aenus and Maronea. And so the march
 of the army begins at “Ὅθεν ἐπὶ. This makes
 the passage clear, and agreeable to Geogra-
 phy.

^e Pag. 1037, etc.

“ Serrium. Now this promontory running out far into the sea, and their
 “ road leading them higher up into the country, they ordered Tullius
 “ Cimber with the fleet, and one legion well armed, with some archers,
 “ to sail round the cape and along the coast.”

Here Appian describes this coast as desert, and relates at large how it came to be so, and then proceeds thus: —

“ ^f — Cimber having sailed beyond this desert coast, was preparing
 “ according to his instructions, to mark out proper places for encamping,
 “ and stations for their shipping, to the end that Norbanus and Ceditius
 “ might abandon their Straits, judging it to no purpose to maintain them
 “ any longer. This partly succeeded as was expected, for upon appear-
 “ ance of the fleet upon the coast, Norbanus was in great consternation
 “ for the Straits of the Sapaiei, and called Ceditius from the Turpili to
 “ come with all expedition to his succour: Who came accordingly. And
 “ thus the Straits of the Turpili being abandoned, the army of Brutus
 “ passed them. But their stratagem being now discovered, Norbanus and
 “ Ceditius strongly fortified the Straits of the Sapaiei, and secured them
 “ against Brutus. Upon this his army began to be disheartened, fearing
 “ lest they must now at last undertake the round-about way they had
 “ before declined, and be obliged to travel back again the same way they
 “ came, notwithstanding it was late in the year. Whilst they were in
 “ this distress, Rascupolis told them that by a circuit of three days they
 “ might get beyond this mountain of the Sapaiei, though indeed the way
 “ had been hitherto unpassable, by reason of precipices, want of water,
 “ and thick cover. But if they would carry water with them, and open
 “ a narrow road sufficient for the army to march, the close contexture of
 “ the woods would prevent their being discovered even by the birds of
 “ the air. That on the fourth day they might reach the river Harpeffus,
 “ which falls into the ^g Hebrus. ^h From whence, in one day more, they

^f Pag. 1038.

^g The original has *Ἑρμὸν*, but as we can find no river of that name in the country, the translators have rendered it by Hebrus.

^h I must own that, according to the common maps of this country, it would be impossible that from the river Harpeffus, which falls into the Hebrus, an army could in one day reach Philippi. And indeed considering what a mountainous country this is, and that ano-

ther river, viz. Nessus, must lie between the Harpeffus and Philippi, this passage seemed to me at first sight very improbable. And therefore I was inclined to think that Appian was mistaken herein. But upon examining P. Lucas's account of this country, I find, that, upon a journey from Philippopoli to Macedonia, he happened (luckily for our purpose) to travel this cross road, and agrees very exactly with Appian in this particular.

“ might arrive at Philippi, enclose the enemy, and so entirely cut off
 “ their retreat, that it would be impossible for them to escape. This
 “ advice was agreeable to them in their present circumstances, especially
 “ as it gave them hopes of encompassing so great an army of the enemy.
 “ Therefore a detachment was sent before, under the conduct of L.
 “ Bibulus and Rascupolis, with instructions to open a defile. They la-
 “ boured with great fatigue, but briskly, and with chearfulness, especially
 “ after some spies, whom they had dispatched before, returned with
 “ news, that from an eminence they had discovered the river. But on
 “ the fourth day being tired with toil and thirst (the water which they
 “ brought with them beginning to fail), they clamoured that they had
 “ been forewarned to provide against drought for three days only, and
 “ began to be under terror for want of water, not disbelieving the reports
 “ of those who had seen the river, but on a suspicion that their guides
 “ were leading them a different way. They were now desponding and
 “ mutinous, and whenever they saw Rascupolis running about and en-
 “ couraging them, they reviled and pelted him. But as Bibulus was
 “ exhorting them by fair words to persevere with patience, they who
 “ were in the front espied the river towards the evening, and making
 “ loud acclamations with great joy, as usual on such occasions, their huz-
 “ zas were communicated from one another quite to the rear. Which
 “ when Brutus and Cassius heard, they forthwith marched the rest of the
 “ army through this avenue that was cut for them. However, they were
 “ disappointed in their design of deceiving or intercepting the enemy.
 “ For Rascus the brother of Rascupolis, suspecting the occasion of these
 “ huzzas, sent out spies, and having discovered what was done, was asto-
 “ nished that so great an army had marched where there was no water,
 “ and where he thought no wild beast could pass, by reason of the
 “ thick woods. Of this he gave intelligence to Norbanus’s army, who

He tells us, that upon that journey he came
 on the 11th of June 1706, to the river Har-
 deme (certainly the old Harpeffus), which he
 says falls into the Mariza, formerly Hebrus
 near Adrianople. That he travelled five
 hours on the banks of it, and lodged that
 night near its source. The next day having
 travelled for four hours over steep and diffi-
 cult mountains, he came to the river Carosou,
 formerly Nessus, passed it by boat, and ar-

rived the same day, viz. June 12, at Drame,
 in the plains of Philippi.—As to the situa-
 tion of Drame, he says, that it is five hours
 distant from the ruins of Philippi, and places
 it in his map, westward of those ruins, and
 farther from the source of the Hardeme than
 Philippi itself. And yet he made but one
 day’s journey from the Hardeme thither. See
 P. Lucas’s second voyage to the Levant, tom.
 Ist, from cap 25 to 28 inclusive.

“ fled

“ fled in the night from the Straits of the Sapaei to Amphipolis. And
 “ the Thracian Princes were celebrated in both armies, one for conduct-
 “ ing an army so blind a way, the other for discovering it. By this ex-
 “ traordinary attempt the army of Brutus arrived at Philippi, and
 “ Tullius Cimber came also on the same coast, and so the whole army
 “ was assembled.

“ Philippi is a city formerly called Datus, and in earlier times Crenides,
 “ because there are many fountains of running water round the hill.
 “ King Philip fortified this place as lying commodious against the incur-
 “ sions of the Thracians, and called it Philippi after his own name.
 “ The city is built on an eminence, guarded by precipices all round, and
 “ takes up the whole extent of the top of the hill. To the north it has
 “ the thick woods through which Raseupolis conducted Brutus’s army:
 “ To the south is a marsh, and beyond that the sea: Towards the east
 “ are the Straits of the Sapaei and Turpili, and on the west a plain as
 “ far as Murcinus, and Drabiscus, and the river Strymon, ⁱ 350 furlongs,
 “ a very fruitful and beautiful country, where some place the rape of
 “ Proserpine, as she was gathering flowers. Here likewise is the river
 “ ^k Zygaëtes, where it is pretended Pluto’s chariot broke down as he was
 “ passing it; from whence the river took its name. This country lies on
 “ a declivity, descending from Philippi and ascending from Amphipolis.
 “ Not far from Philippi is another hill named Bacchus’s Mount, in which
 “ are gold mines, which they call Asyla. And when one has gone about
 “ ten furlongs farther from Philippi, there are two other hills both within
 “ eighteen furlongs of Philippi itself, and eight from each other. On
 “ these hills Cassius and Brutus encamped, the former on that to the
 “ south, the latter on the other to the north; and desisted from pursuing
 “ Norbanus’s army; being informed that Antony was approaching,
 “ Caesar being left at Epidamnus sick. As this plain before them was
 “ proper for an engagement, so were these craggy hills for encampments,
 “ being well guarded on either side. For on one side were marshes and
 “ lakes as far as the river Strymon; on the other, all approaches were
 “ narrow, unfrequented, and impracticable. In the middle between
 “ these two hills, which were eight furlongs distant, lay the common
 “ road, as it were through a gate, from Asia to Europe. Here they
 “ built a wall across from hill to hill, leaving gates in the middle, so

ⁱ This probably is a mistake; the Geographers reckoning no more than 250 furlongs, or about 31 miles.

^k A fracto jugo.

“ that both camps were hereby united. Near them ran a little brook
 “ or torrent which some call Ganga, other Gangites, and behind them
 “ was the sea, which supplied them with all necessaries, and was a good
 “ station for their shipping. For they had their magazines at the isle of
 “ Thafus, which was an hundred furlongs distant, and the harbour for
 “ their shipping at Neapolis seventy furlongs. The two Generals, being
 “ pleased with this situation, fortified their camps. In the mean time
 “ Antony marched with his army, with all expedition, intending to make
 “ himself master of Amphipolis, which might be of service to him in the
 “ war. And finding, to his great joy, that Norbanus had already secured
 “ it for him, he left all his provisions there, with one legion under the
 “ command of Pinarius, and himself very bravely advanced and encamped
 “ on the plain, within eight furlongs of the enemy. The advantage
 “ and disadvantage between the two camps immediately appeared very
 “ manifestly. They were on hills, these in the plain; they had their
 “ fuel from mountains, these from the marshes; they watered from the
 “ brook, these from the wells which they were forced to sink on the
 “ spot; they fetched all their provisions a few furlongs distance from
 “ Thafus, these ¹ 350 furlongs from Amphipolis. Antony indeed seemed
 “ obliged to act as he did out of pure necessity, because there was no
 “ other hill, and the rest of the plain being lower than what he possessed,
 “ was sometimes overflowed by the torrent, from which and the wells
 “ they had digged, they found plenty of fresh water. But this boldness
 “ of Antony, notwithstanding it proceeded from necessity, alarmed the
 “ enemy, when they found that immediately from his march he encamped
 “ so near them as it were in contempt. Therefore they raised many re-
 “ doubts, and fortified all places with ditches, walls, and ramparts; the
 “ enemy likewise fortifying all that was necessary. Cassius, observing
 “ this furious violence of Antony, walled up all the space between his
 “ camp and the marsh, which, as being very narrow, had been before
 “ neglected; so that nothing now should remain unwalled. Besides, Brutus
 “ was flanked by precipices, Cassius by the marsh and sea, and all between
 “ was secured by ditch, rampart, wall, and gates.”

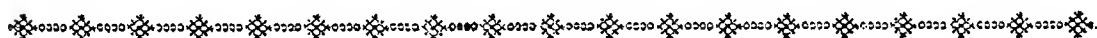
Both armies being thus situated, and Caesar arrived in his camp, Appian
 proceeds to relate both actions; ^m the former, which ended with the death
 of Cassius by the hand of his armour-bearer Pindarus, ⁿ and the second,
 which followed about twenty days after the other, in which Brutus lost

¹ See Note Pag. preceed.

^m P. 1046.

ⁿ P. 1064.

the day, and fell by the hand of his friend Strato. In both these battles, as well as the stratagems used on both sides previous to each action, there are several circumstances which suit exactly with the situation of the camps near Philippi, as before described, but can by no means agree with the field of Pharsalia. For instance, Antony's stratagem to draw a line across the marsh which lay between Cassius and the sea, in order to cut off all communication between their army and the isle of Thasus; and Cassius's counterwork to frustrate ^o the design and render it useless: Again, between the first and second battle, after the death of Cassius, Caesar's disposition of his camp in such a manner, that by dividing his army into several separate bodies about half a mile distant from each other, they might extend themselves quite to the shore, and so cut off the ^p communication between Brutus's army and the sea.—Thus far Appian.—Let us next enquire, what the other Historians say, to corroborate his account: Of which in my next.



L E T T E R III.

Testimonies of other Historians in favour of APPIAN'S Account. And CATROU'S and ROUILLE'S Objections.

AS we have lost all that part of Livy which related to Augustus, and have no full and complete history remaining of those times, but only compendious tracts, written by the Romans themselves, we can hope but for little assistance thence, whence we ought chiefly to have expected it.

Velleius Paterculus, who lived nearest to the time we are speaking of, only mentions the name ^a Philippi, without giving any description of the place, as supposing it sufficiently known and agreed on: Yet I think the

^o P. 1044.

^p P. 1056.

^a Tum Caesar et Antonius trajecerunt ex-

ercitus in Macedoniam, et apud urbem Philippios cum M. Bruto Cassioque acie concurrunt. Lib. II. cap. 70.

bare naming it in the manner he does, “*Urbem Philippos*,” is a plain indication that he meant the famous city near Thrace; for had he intended the other Philippi in Thessaly (which was a more obscure town, and usually known in history by its former name Thebes) he would certainly have told us so, and given us some mark whereby to have distinguished it.

Suetonius in his *Life of Augustus*, speaks likewise of “*Bellum Philippense*,” without farther enlarging upon it, or giving any description of the place where the battle was fought: But there is a subsequent passage in that author too, which accidentally ascertains it to Philippi on the borders of Thrace: For speaking, in the *Life of Tiberius*, of omens which foretold the future grandeur of that Prince, he says, “^b that upon his first expedition through Macedonia into Syria, it came to pass at Philippi, that the altars formerly consecrated by the victorious legions flamed out, of themselves.” Now it is certain that the road through Macedonia into Asia was by the city Philippi on the borders of Thrace: not through Thessaly^c. — But supposing we had no direct proof in favour of one Philippi more than the other, yet it is a strong presumption against the Thessalian, that not one of the Historians, Greek or Roman (except L. Florus, whom I shall consider and explain hereafter), gives the least hint that both battles were fought at the same place. It is scarce possible that such a circumstance could have escaped them all. The Greek Historians give us the harangues of the several Generals before the action; and methinks the field itself must naturally have led them to dwell on such a remarkable topic; or, supposing Brutus and Cassius had purposely avoided the name Pharsalia as ominous, for the same reason it must have been insisted on by Octavius and Antony, who would have gloried in going to revenge the death of Julius on the same spot where he himself had conquered, and had spared the life of Brutus. Their silence alone is a sufficient argument against the truth of it.

It may farther be observed on this head, that Plutarch, in his *Life of Antony*, speaking of several smart embassies which passed between Octavius and Antony a little before the battle of Actium, tells us, that in one of them, ^d “Antony returning an haughty answer to Octavius, chal-

^b Ingresso primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit, ut apud Philippos, sacratae olim victricium legionum arae, sponte subitis col-

luerent ignibus. Suet. Vit. Tiber.

^c See *Via Egnatia* in the Map of Macedonia.

^d Τέτοις ἀντικομπάζων Ἀντώνει· αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς μονομαχίαν πρὸςκαλεῖτο καίπερ ὡς πρεσβύτερος, εἰ

“ lenced him (notwithstanding their disparity of age) to a single combat, “ or, if that should be refused, that he would come to a general decisive “ battle on the plain of Pharsalia, where J. Caesar and Pompey had “ engaged before.” Now had this been the same place where he himself had fought for Octavius, and had been the chief means of gaining the victory, and securing to him a share in the empire, it cannot be conceived that he would, in such an insulting letter, have omitted so material a circumstance.

But you will say all this amounts to no more than a negative evidence. I shall now therefore produce some positive testimonies from the other Greek Historians, and hope to shew, that they tally exactly with Appian, and do not in any one thing, as I apprehend, contradict his topography.

Plutarch, in his Life of M. Brutus, tells us, ^e “ That when Brutus and “ Cassius had passed out of Asia into Europe, they marched on as far as “ the sea-coast over-against Thafus; there the troops under Norbanus being encamped in a place called the Straits, and near to Symbolon, they “ surrounded them, forced them to decamp, and quit the place, and Norbanus very narrowly escaped losing his whole army.”

Dion Cassius agrees still more expressly with Appian, ^f “ That when “ Brutus and Cassius had settled their affairs in Asia, they hastened to

δὲ φεύγοι τῆτο, περὶ Φάρσαλον ἤξει τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ὡς πάλαι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήϊος, διαγωνίσασθαι. Plut. Vit. Ant.

The Fathers Catron and Rouille, in their Roman History, tom. XVIII. p. 668. represent this passage in a quite different light; and make Antony speak of the field of Pharsalia, as twice before stained with Roman blood. Antony's words according to their translation are as follow: “ Je ne refuse pas “ même de livrer bataille dans les plaines de “ Pharsale, déjà deux fois teintes du sang Roman.” They do not indeed quote their authority, but the whole challenge is printed by them in Italicks, as the real words of Antony. I leave you to judge whether this is agreeable to truth; or whether the passage is not misrepresented, in order to give a colour to a favourite scheme; as they say Appian has done.

^e Μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Θάσον θαλάσσης προῆλθον. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν περὶ Νωρβανὸν ἐν τοῖς γενοῖς λεγομένων, καὶ περὶ τὸ Σύμβολον στρατοπεδεύοντων, περιελθόντες αὐτὰς ἠνάγκασαν ἐποστῆναι, καὶ προέσθαι τὰ χωρία, μικρὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν ἐδέησαν. Plut. Vit. Brut.

^f Ταῦτ' ὅν ἀμφότεροι πράξαντες εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἡπειροῖο καὶ αὐτὰς, Γαῖός τε Νωρβανός, καὶ Δεκίδης Σέξας ἔφθησαν, τὸν τε Ἰόνιον πρὶν τὸν Στάτιον εἰλεῖν, περαιωθέντες, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μέχρ' αὐτῶ Παγλαίῳ γῆν προκατασχόντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις στρατοπεδευσάμενοι. Τὸ δὲ δὴ Ἄστυ τῆτο παρὰ τε τῷ Παγλαίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Συμβόλῳ κεῖται. Σύμβολον γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ὀνομάζουσι, καθ' ὃ τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο ἐτέρῳ τινὶ εἰς μεσόγειον ἀναλίσκουσι συμβάλλει. Καὶ ἔστι μεταξὺ Νεαισπόλεως καὶ τῶν Φιλίππων. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῇ Θαλάσσῃ κατ' ἀλιπέρας Θάσσον ἔστι· ἡ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ πεπόλισται. — Καὶ (ἔτυχον γὰρ τὴν συνιομωτάτην αὐτῶ ὑπερβολὴν, ὅτε Σέξας καὶ ὁ Νωρβανός προκαταλαβόντες) ταύτη μὲν.

Mace.

“ Macedonia. That Norbanus and Ceditius Saxa prevented them, having passed the Ionian Sea before Statius could come to intercept them, and having possessed themselves of all the country as far as Pangaeus, encamped in the neighbourhood of Philippi.” Then he gives a short but very plain description of the situation of Philippi. “ The city [Philippi] says he, lies near to Pangaeus and Symbolon. Symbolon is so called, because there that mountain joins itself to another that extends itself into the Midland, and lies between Neapolis and Philippi. The former of which places is on the sea shore over-against Thasus, the latter on a plain amidst the mountains.” Then he proceeds to tell us, “ That Saxa and Norbanus having possessed themselves of the shortest way over the mountains, Brutus and Cassius would not attempt to pass that road, but fetched a compass round about another way towards Crenides.” And here we must observe, there can be no dispute, which Philippi is here meant, because we find it specified by its ancient name Crenides.

Let us next endeavour to fix, as near as we can, where these Straits were, which Saxa and Norbanus made themselves masters of; and which Appian calls the Straits of the Sapaeci; Plutarch, simply, the Straits, which he places near to Symbolon; and Dion Cassius, the shortest way over the mountain. In making this enquiry, I find that the same pass (at least one part of it) was called in the Itinerary, ^g Acontisma. And as it was a Roman station, we may thereby learn its distance from Philippi, being computed by some ^h at twenty one miles, by others at nineteen; viz. nine from Acontisma to Neapolis, and ten or twelve from thence to Philippi.

We may farther discover from Ammianus Marcellinus, in an account he gives of Thrace, ⁱ that the steep narrow Straits, called Acontisma, were situated near the eastern limits of Macedonia; and therefore could not be far from the river Nessus, which was usually reckoned the boundary between that country and Thrace. The same author tells us in an-

^g Βρετος ὅτε Κάσσιος ἐδὲ ἐπιέρασεν διαβῆναι, ἴτερον δὲ τινα μικρότερον κατὰ τὰς Κρενίδας ὠνομασμέναις περιελθόντες. Dion. Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. xlvii.

^g *Acontisma* was probably so named *ἡ ἀκοντίστω*, *jaculator*, on account of the frequent skirmishes, which happened there in disputing the pass; or else from the resemblance of its craggy mountain to a back-bone, which in

the Macedonian language, as Hesychius informs us, was called *Ἀκόντιον*.

^h Compare Antoninus's Itinerary with the Itin. Hierosol.

ⁱ Ex angulo orientali Macedonicis jungitur collimitis per arctas præcipitesque vias, quæ cognominantur Acontisma. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii. c. 4.

other place, ^k That these Straits were fortified by one of the Roman Generals as a principal pass to the Northern nations. And in the same state we are assured they remain to this day; nature has stamped some marks upon them which are unalterable; and the additional fortifications have so far escaped the fury of those northern swarms who so frequently passed them, that Paul Lucas, who travelled this road in the year 1714, speaking of ^l La Cavalla (which is the old Neapolis, or near it) tells us, “ That among the neighbouring mountains there are still to be seen very thick and long walls, and many fortifications which were undoubtedly made for the defence of that city. One would be surpris’d, says he, to see such remains of walls reaching up to the tops of the highest mountains, without any tradition concerning them from the people of the country. But one may easily discern that they were intended to block up the pass by different entrenchments. — Remains of towers and walls are still to be seen, which shut up this defile, the road through which is very narrow.”

I am not aware of any objection can be made to the situation of the Straits as above described, unless it is, that Appian seems to reckon the Straits of the ^m Sapaei in Thrace, by making them part of the dominions of Rascopolis a Thracian Prince; whereas Symbolon and the Straits near

^k Obstruxit tres aditus angustissimos, per quos provinciae tentantur arctoae: Unum per Ripensem Daciam, alterum per Suecos notissimum, tertium per Macedones, quem appellant Acontisma. Lib. xxvi. c. 7.

^l Ce qu’il y a de plus remarquable, c’est qu’on voit encore aujourd’hui dans les montagnes, qui sont voisines (à la Cavalle), de grosses et longues murailles, et plusieurs fortifications, qui avoient sans doute été faites pour la défense de la ville. On est surpris de voir ces restes de murs s’étendre jusqu’ au sommet de plus hautes montagnes, sans que la tradition du país puisse rien apprendre de particulier sur ce sujet. Mais il est aisé de juger qu’on avoit songé à fermer ce passage par des différens retranchemens, qu’il n’étoit pas aisé de forcer.—On voit encore dans la campagne des restes de tourset de murailles qui fermoient ce défilé, dont les chemins sont très étroits. Paul Lucas’s 3d voyage, tom. I. p. 36.

^m The maps, which mention the Sapaei, generally place them more Eastward than I have done, and near to the river Hebrus. But I know not by what authority: All the ancient Historians and Geographers, who speak of them, having unanimously agreed in fixing them near the city Abdera on the river Nessus or Nestus. — Thus Strabo places Abdera on the east side of that river. Μετὰ τὸν Νέσσον ποταμὸν πρὸς ἀντιόλᾳς Ἀβδῆρα πολλῆς, etc. See the Epitome, at the end of Strabo’s VIlth Book.—And in another place, he says, the Sapaei inhabited near it. Σίβητες ἐκατέρωθό τινες τῶν Θρακῶν, εἴτα Σίβητοι, εἴτα Σάϊοι, οἱ δ’ αὐτοὶ ἔτοι Σάπαι νῦν ὀνομάζονται. Πάντες γὰρ ἔτοι περὶ Ἀβδῆρα τὴν οἰκιστὴν εἶχον, etc. Strab. lib. xii. p. 549. Edit. Steph. — And Pliny reckoning up the several nations on the banks of that river, mentions the Sapaei among them. “ Ad Nestum amnem Pangaei montis ima ambit, inter Elethos, Diabessos, Carbilefos,

it, as described by Dion Cassius, etc. were manifestly in Macedonia. To this I answer, that granting Appian had not been so exact as could be wished, yet considering the place was so near the confines of both countries, which were frequently confounded, the mistake, if any, is very inconsiderable. But I see no necessity of allowing even this: For though Rascupolis is called by him a Thracian Prince, his dominions, as tributary to the Romans, might possibly extend over part of the mountains of Macedonia as well as Thrace. ⁿ Lucan calls him only, Lord of the cold northern coast. ^o But Julius Caesar speaks expressly of him as a Macedonian in the list he gives us of Pompey's forces before the battle of Pharfalia, when he reckons two hundred Macedonian horse, commanded by that brave Prince.

Be that as it will, it is plain Appian places those Straits near to Philippi, which, he says, was bounded by them on the east, and so they answer exactly to those mentioned by Dion Cassius, Plutarch, the Itineraries, Am. Marcellinus, and by the late traveller Paul Lucas; and probably they were one continued difficult road, quite over the mountain, between the river Nessus, and Symbolon or Philippi. And thus we find it represented in De l'Isle's map of Macedonia, by a wall running across the mountain.

It is somewhat more difficult to fix the Straits of the Torpidi, or Turpili, there being no particular description left of them (as I know of) by the ancients. But though Appian does not directly tell us where they were, yet we plainly find by him that they lay eastward from the former, and probably not very near; for when ^p " Norbanus was under some apprehension for the Straits of the Sapaei upon discovering a fleet on the coast, and thereupon summoned Ceditus from the Turpili to his assist-

" inde Bryfas, Sapaeos, Odomantes."—And in the same place, "Nessi amnis ostium, Mons Pangaeus, Abdera libera civitas." Plin. lib. iv. c. 11.—Herodotus giving an account of the march of Xerxes's army from the Hellespont to Greece, says, that near to Abdera he passed the river Nessus, which falls into the sea. Κατὰ δὲ Ἀβδῆρα λίμνην μὲν ὑδαμίαν εἶσαν ἐνομασθῆν παρὰ μείψαλο Ξέρξης, ποταμὸν δὲ Νέσσοι ρέουσα ἐς θάλασσαν. Herod. lib. vii. § 109. And in the same place mentions the Sapaei, as lying west of the Bistones; reckoning the Thracian nations from east to west, in this

order, Paeti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapaei. Herod. ibid.—See likewise in Scylax and Mela the situation of Abdera.

ⁿ Gelidae dominum Rascupolin orae. Lib. v. ver. 35.

^o Ex Macedonia cc equites erant, quibus Rascupolis praeerat excellenti virtute. Caes. Comm. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii. c. 4.

^p Ὑπὸ τῆς Φαλίαςίας τῶν νεῶν ὁ Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στρατῶν ἐθορυζήθη, καὶ ἐκάλεε Κεδίκιον ἐκ τῶν Τερπίλων κατὰ σπεδὴν ἐπιτερεῖν οἱ, καὶ ἐπενέρει. App. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv. p. 1038.

" ance;

“ance; we may observe that he requires him to be expeditious” (*κατὰ πρῶτον ἐπιχειροῦν οἱ*) which supposes them at least not near enough to join immediately in case of any sudden attack. We may farther gather from Appian at what distance Brutus and Cassius were from Philippi when they were obliged to turn out of the road; for he tells us that after they had passed the Straits of the Turpili, and were advancing towards those of the Sapaiei, and found them secured, Rascupolis proposed to them a new road, which was computed by him at five days march from Philippi, and only three out of the way (*ἡ περὶ ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν τριῶν*) therefore the direct road must be two; this agrees very well with the account ^r Paul Lucas gives of another defile on the Thracian side of the river Carafou or Neffus, nine hours distant from it, which he describes as fortified in the same manner with that of the Sapaiei, or La Cavalla; and which (except that of La Cavalla) is the only narrow pass remarked by him on all that road.

But whether these Straits of the Turpili, were on the east or west side of the river Neffus, is not material; they were manifestly in the neighbourhood, which is all that is requisite to our present purpose: I would only observe, in order to settle this geographical point, that in case they were on the Macedonian side of the river Neffus, and near adjoining to the other Straits, then the circuit taken by Brutus and Cassius was only round that single mountain. But if these Straits were on the Thracian side of the river, I think they cannot be otherwise placed than as I have placed them in the plan annexed.

From this excursion to the Straits let us return to Philippi, and view the several encampments. And here we shall find our other Historians concurring with Appian in the bad situation of Caesar and Antony, in a low ground encompassed with marshes; and the advantageous posts of Brutus and Cassius, and in several other circumstances which agree perfectly with Philippi near Thrace, not with Pharfalia; as the nearness and

^a P. 1039.

^r Nous passâmes la rivière Noire ou Carafou à gué; et après avoir marché six heures dans une plaine qu'arrose la rivière que je viens de nommer, nous couchâmes dans le village d'Inigé.—Le 15 après trois heures de chemin nous trouvâmes encore sur le bord de la mer un lac, où l'on pêche des truites et des anguilles, et un château; d'où l'on a tiré une

muraille de 22 pieds d'épaisseur, qui s'étend jusques sur la montagne voisine à plus 1500 pas de là, et sur laquelle on remarque encore les restes d'un autre château qu'on nomme Bourron Caltet. Ouvrages sans doute des derniers Empereurs Romains, qui avoient fortifié ces défilés pour se mettre à couvert de l'invasion des Turcs. See Paul Lucas's 3d Voyage, tom. I. p. 61.

free access to the sea and isle of Thafus, from whence Brutus and Cassius were supplied with provisions; and Antony's attempt to cut off that communication by making a trench across the marsh which lay between their camp and the sea^s.

But it is needless to produce instances of the harmony of these three historians in this respect. The Fathers Catrou and Rouille give up that point; they acknowledge^t "that Appian's account is full of incidents and descriptions which can have no relation to a field of battle on the plains of Pharfalia, and that Plutarch and Dion Cassius agree with him in fixing it on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia." Yet notwithstanding these concessions, they entirely reject their account as fabulous, because they cannot reconcile them to the Poets; and tell us, "That setting one authority against the other, the testimony of Virgil, Marcellus, Ovid, and Lucan, almost all contemporaries with Augustus, ought to prevail against three historians who were strangers, and who wrote above a century after the time we are speaking of." In another place they attack Appian in particular, and condemn the moderns, who, out of too much credulity or affection, have taken him for their guide; in short, they declare, "they have chosen rather to follow the truth, though abandoned, than fall into the same error with the rest of the world."

^s See Dion Cassius, Book XLVII. and Plutarch's life of Brutus.

^t "Il ne faut pas dissimuler, que la narration de cet Ecrivain (Appien) est chargée d'incidents et de descriptions, qui ne peuvent avoir lieu, si l'on place le champ de bataille dans les plaines de Thessalie. Nous ne disavouons pas même, que comme lui Plutarch et Dion Cassius ont fixé la scène dans cette vaste campagne, qui confine avec la Macedoine et la Thrace." Histoire, tom. XVIII. p. 200.

"Est il bien vrai que la bataille, que decida du sort de Cassius et de Brutus, ne se donna point à la vue de Philippes, vers l'extrémité Orientale de Macedoine, mais dans les plaines d'une autre ville du même nom située en Thessalie, à peu de distance de Pharfale? C'est un fait, dit on, qui ne

paroit pas pouvoir se concilier avec le récit de Plutarque, d'Appien, et de Dion Cassius; mais, autorité pour autorité, le témoignage de Virgile, d'Ovide, de Marcellus, et de Lucain, presque tous contemporains d'Auguste, doit prevaloir à celui de trois Historiens étrangers, et postérieurs de plus d'un siècle aux tems que nous parcourons." P. 187.

^x "Leur autorité et leur nombre nous ont paru former un préjugé légitime contre le récit d'Appien, que quelques modernes, ou trop crédules, ou trop prévenus en sa faveur, ont cru devoir prendre pour leur guide." Rom. Hist. tom. XVIII. p. 199.

^y "Nous avons mieux aimé suivre la vérité abandonnée, qu'errer avec la multitude." P. 188.

Who would not infer from such a declaration, that these reverend fathers could produce sufficient proofs to make good their charge, and invalidate the testimony of the antient historians? But, as far as I can find, all they pretend to alledge against them, is, "That they were foreigners, and lived above a century after the time we are speaking of."

I shall consider their arguments, and endeavour to give a full answer to them in my next.



L E T T E R IV.

Answers to the foregoing Objections.

WHO would believe that two learned fathers of France, writing the Roman History in the eighteenth century, should agree to lay aside the most celebrated Greek writers of the same History, in one of the principal parts of their work, for no other reason, than "Because they were foreigners, and lived above one century after the time they wrote of?" This, I must own, comes from them with so bad a grace, that it would scarce be worth while to answer them in a serious manner, were it not more out of regard to their character, than their arguments. But such powerful adversaries, let their weapons be never so weak, may do mischief by their bare authority; and it is certain their name has so far prevailed, as to gain them already many followers.

Let us therefore consider if there be any force in either of their objections; and, I think, every one is the more concerned to do justice to the Greek Historians, because we depend upon them to supply the loss of the Latin, and, if their credit sinks, what will become of one of the principal branches of the Roman History, the age of Augustus?

The first objection against them is, — "That they were foreigners." But how so? It is true they were not natives of Italy, no more was Lucan, nor, perhaps, Manilius. But they were all born subjects of Rome,

as

as well as the Poets ; and though they chose to write in a foreign language (if Greek might be called so) yet, ^a by their own account, they could not be unacquainted with the Latin Tongue. They spent the greatest part of their lives in the city of Rome, or its neighbourhood, and were advanced to the ^b highest dignities in the state, which is more than can be said of the Poets ; such honour seldom falling to their lot.

Therefore if there were any public records to be consulted, they could not want opportunities of having recourse to them, nor any other advantages requisite to their purpose. Again, as to the place of action, if that is material, they must at least be as well acquainted with the ground, where the battle was fought, as the Poets were, for I know no reason to believe, from what they have said, that any one of them was ever upon the spot ; whereas, it is probable, that the three Greek Historians were all there. This may be conjectured of Appian, from the curious plan he has given us of the country ; of Dion Cassius, as it lay directly in his road, between his own country, Bithynia, and Rome ; and for Plutarch, still more may be said ; he was, by birth, of the city of Chaeronea in Boeotia, the adjoining province to Thessaly, and, as we are told in his life, was employed in public embassies from his own country to other states of Greece, and travelled all over those parts, — “ to peruse
“ the archives of every city, that he might be better enabled to write
“ the lives of his Grecian worthies, and describe the laws, customs, rites,
“ and ceremonies of every place ;” — and therefore, it is more than probable, that he had been both at Philippi and Pharsalia, especially the latter, as it lay but few miles from him ; and if both battles had been fought there, it cannot be conceived that a man of so great learning and

^a Plutarch, in the beginning of his Life of Demosthenes, tells us, that he learned Latin late, and modestly owns, that he was not so great a critic in it, as to pretend to judge between Demosthenes and Cicero, which of them was the greatest master of his own tongue ; but it is plain, by this account, that he was no stranger to the language. Dion Cassius was a Pleader in the courts of justice at Rome. See his History, lib. xxxvii. p. 835. And Appian, who is principally concerned, was not only

a Pleader in their courts of Justice, but had afterwards the honour of presiding there, as he himself tells us at the latter end of the preface to his works—Δίκαιος ἐν Ρώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων, μέχρι μὲ σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἤξισαν.

^b Plutarch was Consul under Trajan. — See Suidas. — And Dion Cassius was a Senator for about forty years, and twice Consul. See Ger. Voss. de Hist. Graec. lib. ii. c. 15. and Fabric. Biblioth.

curiosity, could possibly have been so grossly ignorant as to fix the latter battle at Philippi on the farther side of Macedonia.¹

The other objection against these Greek Historians, is, — “ That they “ wrote above a century after the battie of Philippi.” This argument may have some weight with regard to particular circumstances or springs of action, wherewith those who write in after-ages cannot be supposed to be so well acquainted as those who lived at or near the time. But in the present enquiry, whether a remarkable battle was fought in this place or that, I cannot think that a century or two can make any great difference, unless in times of the grossest ignorance. For if age alone, without other infirmities, may be allowed not only to impair the sight of Historians, but so entirely to blind them, as not to discern the most memorable occurrences, it follows that history must be very short-sighted; and we must lie under this sad necessity of believing none, or those only who write the history of their own times. — The only questions, I think, ought to be, Whether these Historians, notwithstanding that distance of time, were furnished with proper materials for compiling their history; and particularly, Whether they had opportunities of being rightly informed of the fact before us: or, whether they erred from inadvertency: or, lastly, Whether they did not wilfully endeavour to deceive. — The first thing to be considered, is, Whether they were furnished with proper materials. And this, I think, cannot be disputed, for notwithstanding they all lived after the reign of Augustus, yet undoubtedly that Prince, who was so great an encourager of learning, and enjoyed many years of peace to accomplish his designs, could not be so far wanting to himself, as, when he had built his Palatine Library, to neglect furnishing it with some memorials of his own reign, especially so remarkable a part of it, as the battle which established him in the empire. Nay, we are assured, that, after the example of his predecessor, he wrote ^c commentaries of his own life (though since lost); and we are farther sure, that these Historians had the perusal of them. Plutarch mentions them frequently, and ^d Appian quotes a passage from them, relating to Augustus’s retiring from his tent in this very battle we are now speaking of.

^c “ Multa varii generis profâ oratione
“ composuit, et aliqua de vitâ suâ, quam
“ tredecim libris, Cantabrico tenus bello,
“ nec ultra, exposuit.” Suet. Octav. Caes.
§ 85.

^d Καίσαρ αὐτῷ δι’ ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον ἐκ ὕψους,
ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένη τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς
ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν. Appian, De Bell. Civ.
lib. iv. p. 1045. ed. Toll.

It is manifest, therefore, that they neither wanted materials, nor neglected to make use of them. But you will say, the best historians, notwithstanding all these advantages, are liable to mistakes. I own, few authors, especially voluminous ones, are free from them, nor should I think it any reproach to these reverend fathers, if, in so extensive a work as theirs is, they should themselves, now and then, afford us instances of this human frailty : but supposing they had undertaken to write the history of the late civil wars of their own country, or even those of England, provided they had lived amongst us, and had been assisted with all the advantages abovementioned, they would think great injury done them to imagine that they could possibly, through distance of time, be so grossly mistaken, as to represent the principal action of either of those wars, in a wrong country, two hundred miles distant from the place where it was really fought. Why then should they lay this to the charge of three Greek Historians? They have indeed the complaisance to make the following excuse for them, — “^c That resemblance of names might give occasion to the mistake.” — And being willing to grant every thing that can be desired, I will acknowledge, in return for their civility, that had the Greek Historians only named one Philippi instead of the other, without enlarging any farther, this might have passed for a geographical error, though it is pretty extraordinary it should have escaped so many. But the case here is far different : the dispute here does not turn upon a word, or a single mistake of a place or action, but whether the whole relation be true or false. For Appian’s account is such, that one part confirms another, and all three Historians agree in general in the same account ; and, therefore, if the battle was not fought at their Philippi, the whole description of the march of both armies, the geography of the country, the disposition of the camps, and defiles leading to them, and the advantages accruing to Brutus from the fleet, and isle of Thafus, must be all imaginary : there could be no fleet lying near, no sea-marshes, no lines drawn across them to intercept communication ; in short, every article of this part of their history, must be pure invention and romance ; and what critics would be so good-natured to allow all this to be no more than the slip of a pen occasioned by resemblance of names ?

^c La ressemblance des noms a pu donner lieu à la méprise.” Catr. et Rou. Hist. Rom. tom. XVIII. note on p. 187.

Since it appears then, that the account given us by Appian, and the other Historians, if it is fabulous, could not proceed from want of opportunities of being better informed, nor from haste, or inadvertency, but must be merely from design, the only thing remaining to be examined, is, Whether we have any reason to suspect them of such a wilful premeditated forgery. And here, distance of time is entirely out of the question, or, if it comes at all under consideration, it is to their advantage; for, we know, that passion and spleen may so far blind an Historian, when he is talking of the affairs of his own time, as to make him prostitute his character to party zeal, and call God in the most solemn manner to witness to a lie. But, in the present case, there could be no such motives; no prejudice or affection could induce those Historians deliberately to fix a battle in a wrong country, and counterfeit descriptions which had no relation to the real place of action, and therefore if they had done so, it was purely lying for lying's sake, to indulge an idle, romantic genius:—Indeed these fathers do not scruple to lay this to Appian's charge. They tell us, “^f This Greek writer, who lived much after the time, “ having fancied that Philippi in Macedonia was the place, where Octavius and Antony gained their famous victory, in order to give some “ colour of truth to this pretence, has counterfeited camps, marches, lakes, “ mountains, and rivers, upon the confines of Macedonia and Thrace, “ and that those accumulated circumstances have led most of the moderns “ into a mistake.”

Such a character of ingenious fiction, might suit very well with the author of Cassandra or Cleopatra, but is a severe attack upon the veracity of a celebrated Historian, and what, I believe, was never before laid to his charge. ^g Photius, in his Bibliotheca, calls him, “ a lover of “ truth, and particularly well skilled in military history,” and so far was he, according to that critic, from having a luxuriant fancy, that he rather taxes him with being too jejune.

^f “ Cet Ecrivain Grec, qui vivoit en des “ tems bien postérieurs, s'est imaginé que la “ Philippes de Macédoine avoit servi de scène “ à la victoire d'Octavien, et d'Antoine. “ Pour donner une couleur de vérité à sa “ pretention, il a feint des campemens, des “ marches, et des situations de lacs, de montagnes, et de rivières, aux confins de la

“ Macédoine, et de la Thrace. Tant de “ circonstances accumulées ont induit dans “ l'erreur la plupart des modernes” Hist. Rom. tom. XVIII. p. 188.

^g “ Εστὶ δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἀπείρητος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς τὴν δὲ ἱστορίαν, ὡς εἴη τ' ἔστι, φιλαλήθης, καὶ στρατηγικῶν διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας μεθόδων, εἴτις ἄλλοι, ἱποφύτης. Phot. Biblioth.

Other critics have not spared their censures of him, but they are of a quite different nature from this of the French fathers. Scaliger, in his rough language, calls him, “^h Alienorum laborum fucum;” and Ger. Vossius says, “ⁱ That the learned have long observed, that he was “much indebted to Polybius, and that he used to transcribe Plutarch, “word for word.” And considering how vast a work he undertook, this observation may probably be very just; but then these very reflections serve to vindicate him from this new charge. Besides, had he really been so much given to flourishing, as is here pretended, how came he to chuse for a fabulous scene, one of the most remarkable parts of his history, where he might be so easily detected? This was the greatest folly as well as dishonesty: he should rather have shewed this genius in other parts of his works; his Syrian, Punic, or Mithridatic wars, etc. where he might have expatiated with more safety. And, if this be true, we have reason to suspect all his works, and ought no longer to rank him among the Historians, but Romancers. But this would be granting more than his adversaries will care to allow: the frequent use they have made of him, and his associates, through the greatest part of their history, is a full proof that they have a better opinion of them, and the success of their own works is a manifest evidence of what I undertook to prove, that neither difference of country, nor distance of a century or two, are sufficient to destroy the credit of Historians.

In short, there is not the least pretence to suspect that the Greek Historians have misrepresented the battle of Philippi, either through ignorance, inadvertency, or design. The evidence is as clear in their favour as the Poets; and, all circumstances considered, if any thing can be more unreasonable than the former charge against Virgil, it is this of the Fathers against the Historians.

The truth is, these learned men are themselves guilty of what they lay to Appian’s charge. They first persuade themselves that both battles were fought on the same spot, and then resolve, right or wrong, to make it out ^k. They transport both armies, I know not how, by a kind of witchcraft, above two hundred miles from the Straits of the

^h Scaliger in Animadvers. Eusebianis. Ed. Commelin. p. 163.

“docti jamdiu observarunt.” Ger. Voss. de Hist. Graec. lib. II. cap. xiii.

ⁱ “Sane multum Polybio debere, ac Plutarchum ad verbum exscribere solitum viri

^k See their Hist. vol. XVIII. p. 175, 176, etc.

Sapaei, into Theffaly, and there form camps, and counterfeit whatever they think requisite to give any colour to their scheme. And when they thus sacrifice the reputation of the Historians, it is not to the Poets, as they pretend, but, in reality, to their own misinterpretation of them. For the Poets, I am persuaded, no where affirm that both battles were fought on the same spot. Their interpreters mistake them, and affirm so for them: as I hope to make appear in my following letters.



L E T T E R V.

VIRGIL's Two PHILIPPI explained and reconciled to History.

MOST of the disputes we have in the world, are owing to our misapprehending each others meaning; as soon as we come to a right understanding, we find no foundation for quarrelling, we are all of the same mind.

And as these controversies frequently happen even among those who speak and write the same language; with much more reason may they be expected between Poets and Historians, who are obliged to talk, as it were, different dialects. Whenever, therefore, they seem to contradict one another in facts, where it is scarce possible that either of them should err (as in the case before us), we should do well to consider, whether the Poet whose language is most difficult, and, consequently, most liable to be misunderstood, has not some hidden meaning different from what his words seem at first to import. And, upon farther examination, we may probably find, that, as widely as he seems to differ from the Historians, they are perfectly agreed, and mean the same thing by different expressions.

It is true that several commentators have canvassed this passage of Virgil, and endeavoured to explain him in such a manner, as to reconcile him to history. No one has laboured this point more than Ruæus. But his interpretation can be of no service to the other Poets, if it is to Vir-

gil: it is purely an evasion. And, I am persuaded, from what I have heard you say on this subject, that all the other explications you have met with, have given you very little satisfaction, and perhaps as little to the generality of the world.

When I have said this, you may think it great presumption in me to pretend to solve a difficulty, which has been so often attempted unsuccessfully. But you know, when people meet with a difficult knot (^a such as Ruæus calls this) they chuse to cut it, rather than give themselves the trouble to untie it, or else they twist and entangle it more, by being in too great a hurry, or not taking a right method to examine it as they ought. Yet, after all, it may so happen, that a less skilful hand that has patience to turn and search it round, may luckily hit upon the right thread, and then nothing may appear more easy than to unravel it. This I take to be the present case, and the knotty point, which has occasioned so much perplexity, may, I think, be easily solved by supposing — That Virgil means by his two battles of Philippi, not two battles fought on the same individual spot, but at two distant places of the same name; the former, at Philippi near Pharfalus in Thessaly, the latter, at Philippi near the confines of Thrace. And though the Historians (all except Lucius Florus), for distinction's sake, call the latter battle only by the name of Philippi, yet as there was a Philippi likewise near Pharfalia, in sight of which the former was fought, the Poets (for certain reasons which I shall consider hereafter) call both by the same name. But to set this matter in a clearer light, I beg leave to shew,

First, That there were two Philippi, near which the two battles were fought.

Secondly, That both Philippi were in Macedonia, otherwise called Emathia.

Thirdly, That both were at the foot of mount Haemus.

The former of these articles will serve to illustrate the two first verses,

“Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
“Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi.”

And the other two articles may explain the two latter,

“Nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro.
“Emathiam, et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.”

^a Difficilem nodum.

And first, that there were two Philippi.

Every body allows the famous city of that name on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia, in ancient times called Datum, and afterwards Crenides, till it took the name of Philippi, from Philip the father of Alexander. Besides this famous city, there was another town of less note, of the same name, in Theffaly, formerly called Thebae, and surnamed Philippopolis, and by contraction Philippi, from Philip the son of Demetrius. This place lay in that part of Theffaly called Phthiotis, and therefore was usually called the Phthian, or Theffalian Thebes, to distinguish it from Thebes in Boeotia. — ^b See Polybius, Strabo, Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and Pliny.

Polybius, in the fifth book of his History, giving an account of King Philip's war against the Aetolians, tells us, "That his principal view in that expedition, was to take from them Thebae Phthiotides, and therefore encamping near the Enipeus, he went and laid siege to that town; which he describes as a place of great importance. That it was about three hundred furlongs (thirty-seven miles and half) from Larissa; that it lay convenient to command Magnesia and Theffaly, adjoining to that part of Magnesia, which belonged to the Demetrians, and to that part of Theffaly inhabited by the Pharsalians and Pheraeans. That the Aetolians, who were at that time masters of it, used from thence to make incursions on the Demetrians, Pharsalians, and Larissaeans:" cap. xcix. And then adds, "That when Philip had made himself master of the place; he reduced the inhabitants under his yoke, placed there a colony of Macedonians, and, instead of its former name *Thebes*, called it the city of *Philip*: Φιλίππε τὴν πόλιν ἀντὶ Θεῶν καλῶνόμεσεν:" cap. c.

Diodorus, in the passage cited above, says, it was called in his time, *Philippopolis*: and Stephanus Byzantinus, or (as some will have it) his epitomizer Hermolaus, says it was called *Philippi*. At least (which is enough for our purpose) the Poets certainly call it so, particularly Lucan, in several places of his *Pharsalia*.

For instance, when Sext. Pompeius, a little before the battle of Pharsalia, goes to consult the Theffalian witch, Erictho, about their success,

^b ὁῦτος Φθίας. Polyb. Legat. vi. — ὁῦτος Φθιώτιδες. Strabo, lib. ix. — ὁῦτος Φθιώτις. Ptolemy, lib. iii. c. 13. — Ἡ νῦν δὲ καλεμένη Φιλίπποπολις κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν Φθιώτιδες ὁῦτος ἐκαλεῖτο. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. fragm. — *Thebas Theffaliae*. Plin. lib. iv.

c. 8. — *Thebas Phthias*. Liv. lib. xxxii. c. 33. — Again, lib. xxviii. c. 7. *Thebas Phthioticas*. — And, lib. xxxix. he calls this place by both names within the space of ten lines, *Philippopolis* and *Thebae Phthiae*.

Lucan represents her sitting on a rock, which overlooked the Theſſalian plain, and ſpreading her enchantments over Philippi; that the battle might not be transferred to any other place.

————— “ Hanc ſidi ſclerum ſuetique miniſtri,
 “ Effraſtos circum tumulos ac buſta vagati,
 “ Conſpexêre procul praeſruptâ in caute ſedentem,
 “ Quâ juga devexus Pharfalica porrigit Haemus.
 “ Illa magis magicisque Deis incognita verba
 “ Tentabat, carmenque novos fingeſbat in uſus,
 “ Namque timens, nè Mars alium vagus iret in orbem,
 “ Aemathis et tellus tam multâ caede careret,
 “ Pollutos cantu, dirisque venefica ſuccis
 “ Conſperſos vetuit tranſmittere bella Philippos;
 “ Tot mortes habitura ſuas, uſuraque mundi
 “ Sanguine.” ————— Lucan VI. 573, etc.

Again, when the ſoldiers who followed Cato into Libya, after the defeat at Pharfalia, were going to deſert, upon the news of Pompey’s death, Cato reproaches them with cowardice, and ſays, “ Caefar will eaſily believe by this behaviour, that they were the firſt who turned their backs “ at the battle of Philippi;” which muſt be Pharfalia.

————— “ Credet faciles ſibi terga dediſſe,
 “ Credet ab Emathiis primos fugiſſe Philippiſ.” Lib. IX. 271.

There are many other inſtances in Lucan, to this purpoſe, which I may have occaſion to produce hereafter; but I muſt not omit one here, which is very remarkable, that though he gives his poem the title of Pharfalia, yet the firſt time he ſpeaks of that fatal battle, he mentions it by the name of Philippi:

————— “ Video ‘ Pangaea nivofiſ
 “ Cana jugiſ, latosque Haemi ſub rupe Philippiſ.” Lib. I. 680.

It is farther obſervable, that Lucan’s poem is named indifferently both from Pharfalia and Philippi, by Statius in his Sylvae, where he introduces

‘ Mons Pangaeus is uſually placed by Geographers at the eaſt end of Macedonia, but here the Poet uſes it in a more extenſive ſenſe, for the whole range of mountains ſpreading themſelves over all that country, and therefore he ſpeaks in the plural number, and probably alludes to the etymology of the name.

Calliope

Calliope celebrating that author. When she has spoken to him prophetically of his more puerile performances, she concludes with his noblest work, and names the subject of it from Philippi and Pharfalia, as synonymous terms :

“^d Mox coeptâ generosior juventâ
 “ Albus ossibus Italîs Philippos,
 “ Et Pharfalica bella detonabis.”

And it is still more remarkable, that Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of the same poem, by the title of Philippi only, when he celebrates the three authors who were natives of Corduba, the two Senecas, and Lucan :

“ Pugnam^e tertius ille Gallicani
 “ Dixit Caefaris, ut gener, focerque
 “ Cognata impulerint in arma Romam,
 “ Tantum dans lachrymis suis Philippis,
 “ Ut credat Cremerae levem ruinam.”

Sidon. Carm. IX. ver. 236. etc.

Having thus made it appear, that, besides the famous city near Thrace, there was another Philippi, in Theffaly, near the Pharfalian plain, and that the battle between Julius Caesar and Pompey, was often distinguished by the name of That Philippi, as well as by the name of Pharfalia; I proceed next to shew,

That both Philippi, were in Macedonia or Emathia.

This country, like many others, underwent several changes, both as to its extent and name. It was anciently called^f Paeonia, then Emathia,

^d Statius Geneth. Lucani, lib. II. carm. vii.

^e Lucan.

^f “ Emathia quae nunc dicitur, quondam appellata Paeonia est.” Liv. lib. xl.

Ἡμαθία ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν Παιονία προσεφρενμένη. Suidas.

“ Macedonia, Emathia antea dicta.” Plin. lib. iv. § 17.

“ Macedonia antea nomine Emathionis regis, cujus prima virtutis experimenta in illis locis extant, Emathia cognominata est.” Justin. l. vii. c. 1.

Ἡμαθία ἢ νῦν Μακεδονία. Stephanus de ur-

bibus et populis — Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Μακεδὼν ἡγεμὼν πότε τῆς ὁμονύμου χώρας, ἥτις καὶ Ἡμαθία πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο. Eustath. ad Dionys. ver. 254.

Lucan makes so little scruple of using *Emathia* for *Macedonia*, that he calls the palace of Alexandria, *Emathia tecta*, because built by Alexander the Macedonian King.

— “ Cum se parvâ Cleopatra biremi
 “ Intulit Emathiis, ignaro Caesare, tectis.
 “ Dedecus Aegypti. — Lib. x. 53.

and afterwards Macedonia, as we learn from Livy, Suidas, and many other writers, both Greek and Latin. Emathia or Paeonia, properly so called, were only small districts of what was afterwards called Macedonia: so we are informed by ^s Ptolemy, who places Emathia betwixt the rivers Axios and Aliacmon, and reckons the chief cities of that division, Edeffa and Pella. In process of time, the name Emathia was usually given to all Macedonia, in its full extent, and both words used indifferently, as synonymous terms; the prose writers generally calling it Macedonia, and the Poets, for a very obvious reason, as constantly, Emathia.

This being premised, I shall now shew, That the two Philippi were within that province.

And, first, for the famous city near Thrace.

It must be allowed, that, till the time of Philip, the father of Alexander, Macedonia reached no farther eastward than the river Strymon, and this city, at that time, must consequently belong to Thrace. So Scylax expressly tells us, “Beyond Macedonia is the river ^b Strymon, which is “the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace.” But this Geographer lived many years before that country was added to Macedonia (i. e.), before the time of Philip. And, it may be observed, that in his catalogue of the cities of Thrace, he mentions no Philippi, but calls it by its ancient name, Datum. Indeed some later Geographers set the same limits. ⁱ Pliny says, “That the river Strymon, which rises in mount Haemus, is “the boundary of Macedonia.” And ^k Strabo, “That all the countries “beyond the Strymon, as far as the mouth of the Pontus, and to mount “Haemus, belong to the Thracians.”

But in this they must be understood according to ancient Geography, not as it was in their own time; for Strabo himself, within a few lines after the former passage, subjoins — “^l Some reckon that country likewise, from the Strymon to the Nessus in Macedonia,” and adds this reason, “because Philip took peculiar pains to make himself master of

^s See Ptolemy, lib. iii. c. 13.

^b Μέλα Μακεδονίαν Στρυμὼν ποταμὸς ἔτε· ὁρίσει Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην. Scylacis Periplus, Art. De Macedonia.

ⁱ “Macedoniae terminus amnis Strymon ortus in Haemo.” Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 10.

^k Τὰ δὲ πέραν Στρυμὸν ἤδη, μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς γῆματι καὶ τῆς Αἰμε, πάντα Θρακῶν εἰσι.

Strabo, lib. vii. p. 323. ed Par.

^l Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Στρυμὸν μέχρι Νέσσου τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσέμενον. — Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐσπέδασε διαφερόντως περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, ὥστε ἐξειδίωσασθαι καὶ συνεστήσατο προσόδες μεγίστας ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐφυΐας τῶν τόπων. Strabo, lib. vii.

“ that

“ that district, and raised very great revenues from the mines, and other “ products of the country.” Again, at the latter end of the same book, the epitomizer having cursorily run over Macedonia, says, “^m Then follows the mouth of the Nessus, which separates Macedonia and Thrace, “ according to the bounds set by Philip and his son Alexander in their “ time.”

The same boundary still continued when that country fell into the hands of the Romans. Livy tells us expressly, that when Paulus Aemilius had taken King Perseus prisoner, and made Macedonia tributary to the Romans, “ⁿ He divided the country into four parts: one of which “ was all that district lying between the Strymon and the Nessus,” which was called *Macedonia Prima*, or *Macedonia Thracia*, because it formerly belonged to Thrace. Agreeably to this division, we find this district reckoned in Holy Scripture, in Macedonia. St. Luke, in his account of St. Paul’s travels, calls Philippi, the “^o chief city of that part of Macedonia” (πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις), Acts, cap. xvi. ver. 12.

Thus far for Philippi near Thrace. I shall now shew, that as Macedonia reached eastward as far as the Nessus, so, to the south, it comprehended all Thessaly, and, consequently, took in the Pharsalian Philippi.

It is true that Thessaly did not entirely follow the same fate with the other district. For notwithstanding Philip; the father of Alexander, had annexed both countries to Macedonia, yet afterwards, Thessaly was dismembered from it by the Romans, in the first Macedonian war^p. And though Philip the son of Demetrius, who was subdued by Titus Quintus Flamininus at the famous battle of Cynoscephalae, was, on the conclusion of the peace, restored to the rest of his dominions, yet the seve-

^m Εἴτα τὸ Νέσσυ γόμα τῷ διορίζοντι Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην, ὡς Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ τότε παῖς διώρισον, ἐν τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὰς χρόνοις. Excerpta ad finem, lib. VII.

ⁿ “ Deinde in quatuor regiones dividi Macedoniam iussit. Unam fore et primam “ partem quod agri inter Strymonem et “ Nessum amnem sit,” etc. Livy, l. xlv. § 29.

^o Or rather, “ a city of the first part,” or “ division of Macedonia.” For, Le Clerc with great probability conjectures, that πρώ-

της, not πρώτη, is the true reading. And Castellio, as if he had read πρώτης in his copy, translates it *Primae Partis*. Τῆς μερίδος is, *the part*: upon which, the question naturally arises, *what part*? A question which can no way receive a satisfactory answer, but by reading πρώτης: It was *that* part, which Livy informs us, was the *first* of the four into which Macedonia was divided by Paulus Aemilius.

^p About the year of Rome 557.

ral states of Greece, which had been long subject to the Macedonians, and with them the Theffalians, were set at liberty, and Macedonia, on that side, reduced to its ancient limits. This we find attested by Livy, who has recorded the decree of the Roman Senate on this occasion, as it was publicly proclaimed by an herald in the general assembly of the Greeks, at their Isthmian games¹. Again, when K. Perseus was conquered and taken prisoner by P. Aemilius, in the second Macedonian war, and that kingdom extinguished, and the country restored to liberty, on payment of tribute to the Romans, Theffaly, which continued faithful to Rome, still preserved its former freedom. And, therefore, upon the division of Macedonia into four parts, by P. Aemilius, as above-mentioned, Theffaly, or the greatest part of it, was not included, but the ^r river Peneus fixed as the boundary of Macedonia on that side. During this time, Theffaly must be considered as a free country, independent of Macedonia. But it did not long enjoy this liberty, for the Macedonians having taken up arms again under Andriscus, surnamed Pseudo-philippus, and other usurpers, were at length totally subdued, in the ^s third Macedonian war, by Q. Metellus, thence surnamed Macedonicus. And the Achaian war breaking out about the same time (occasioned by the insult offered to the Roman ambassadors at Corinth), the several states of Greece, properly so called, together with Peloponnesus, were conquered by L. Mummius. Thus, that whole country, by the name of ^r Achaia, being reduced, as well as Macedonia, to the form of a Roman province, Theffaly, which lay between them, could not escape being swallowed up with them. And as it was subjected to the same governor, so, probably, it was then re-united again to Macedonia. See ^u Ruf. Fest. and ^z Sigonius. But whe-

¹ "Senatus populusque Romanus, et Quintius imperator, Philippo Rege Macedonibusque devictis, liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse jubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque omnes, et insulam Euboeam, et Magnetas, THESSALOS, Perrachos, Achacos, Fthiotas." Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 32.

² "Tertia pars facta quam Axius amnis ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occasu cingunt." Liv. lib. xlv. c. 29.

³ About the year of Rome 607.

⁴ Καλεῖται δὲ ἐν Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' Ἀχαΐας ἡγεμονία δὲ Παρὰ τοῖς, ὅπου ἐκτεινέσθαις Ἑσθίας δὲ Ἀ-

χαϊῶν τότε τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ προσηγόρῳ. Pausanias, lib. vii. c. 16.

^u "Libera diu sub amicis nostris Achaia fuit. Ad extremum (legatis Romanorum apud Corinthum violatis) per L. Mummius consulem, capta Corintho, Achaia omnis obtenta est. Epirotae, qui ali- quando cum rege Pyrrho in Italiam venire praesumpserant, victi, atque Theffali simul cum Achivorum et Macedonum regionibus, nobis accesserunt." Rufi Festi Breviar.

^z Sigonius, speaking of the recovery of Macedonia from Pseudo-Philippus, by Q. ther

ther that was the time of their re-union or not, this is certain, that when Virgil wrote (which is all we want to prove), Thessaly was not only reckoned within the province of Macedonia, and subject to the same governor, but was so far incorporated with it, that at that time it was usually comprehended under one name.

Strabo, going to describe that part of Europe from the ^y Adriatic to the mouth of the Danube, and reckoning up all the nations contained within that tract, divides them into Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, the Illyrians and ^z Thracians. And his epitomizer, describing that part of the same peninsula which is bounded on the north by Haemus, and on all other sides by the sea, divides the whole into these four general parts, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Achaia; therefore Thessaly must be contained under one of them. ^a Eutropius, speaking of the civil war between J. Caesar and Pompey, distinguishes all that country, exclusive of Thrace, into these three parts, Epirus, Macedonia, and Achaia; and as Thessaly was the principal scene of action, it must necessarily be included. Again, ^b Dio Cassius, speaking of the allotment of the several provinces of the Roman empire, by Augustus, in Virgil's time (about the year of Rome 727), when the emperor gave up the direction of some of the provinces to the people and senate of Rome, and reserved others to himself, he divides that whole country, including Dalmatia, into these three parts, Greece with Epirus, Dalmatia, and Macedonia. — Again, ^c in the following reign of Tiberius, this whole country is comprehended by that accurate writer Tacitus, under the names of Macedonia, and Achaia,

Metellus, has this remark. “Tum vero
“Thessaliam Macedoniae formulae esse
“ascriptam facile existimarim,” etc. Car.
Sigonius de Antiquo Jure Provinciarum,
lib. i. c. 8.

^y Λοιπὴ δ' ἐστὶν τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἡ εἰς τὴν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ τῆς κύβης θαλάττης ἀρχαίη ἀπὸ τῆς μυχρῆς τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς, etc. Strabo, lib. vii. p. 313. ed. Steph.

^z Τὰ γὰρ ὅρη ταῦτα, ἀρξίμενα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδρίας, δέχεται κατ' εὐθείαν γραμμὴν ἕως τῆς Εὐξείνης ποιοῦντα χερσίνησον μεγάλην πρὸς Νότον, τὴν τε Θράκην, ὁμῶς καὶ Μακεδονίαν, καὶ Ἀχαιίαν. Excerpta ad finem Strabonis, lib. vii.

^a “Consules cum Pompeio, Senatusque omnis, atque universa nobilitas ex urbe fugit,

“et in Graeciam transivit. Apud Epirum,
“Macedoniam, Achaïam, Pompeio duce,
“contra Caesarem bellum paravit.” Eutropii Brev. lib. vi. 16.

^b Ἐπορίσθη διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Ἀφρικὴ καὶ ἡ Νυβιδία ἥτε Ἀσία, καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δαλματικόν, τότε Μακεδονικόν, etc. Τῆς δὲ καὶ τῆς γερυσίας εἶναι. Dio Cass. lib. liii.

^c “Achaïam ac Macedoniam onera deprecantes levare in praefens proconsulari imperio, tradi Caesari placuit.” Tac. Annal. lib. i. c. 75. — And again, cap. 80. — “Prorogatur Popaeo Sabino provinciae Maesia, additis Achaïa, et Macedonia.”

only; Epirus being included in the latter, as it was part of the same province, and Dalmatia omitted, because Augustus had before resumed the government of it to himself, ^d as Dio Cassius informs us in the place above-mentioned.

The Holy Scriptures speak the same language with respect to Macedonia and Achaia. St. Luke, giving an account of St. Paul's travels, says, "When he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia," Acts xix. 21. And St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, "It hath pleased" "them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the" "poor saints which are at Jerusalem," Rom. xv. 26. In short, wherever the Apostle speaks of this country (as 2 Cor. ix. 2. and xi. 9, 10. 1 Thess. i. 7, 8.), he constantly uses the names Macedonia and Achaia only, though probably he had preached in Thessaly too, since he himself tells us in his Epistle to the Romans (which was written from Corinth), that from "Jerusalem and round about (*καὶ κύκλῳ*) unto Illyricum he had" "fully preached the Gospel of Christ." And though he must necessarily have passed through Thessaly, in his several journies betwixt Philippi and Corinth, yet neither St. Luke, in his account of those journies, nor St. Paul himself, ever once mentions the name. — From all these testimonies both sacred and profane, it plainly appears, that Thessaly must be included in Macedonia or Achaia; and that it was in the former, is very evident, not only as it had formerly been a member of it, but from Ptolemy's account; who expressly tells us, "^e That the southern boundary of Macedonia, was a line drawn from the mouth of the river Celydnus, along the side of Epirus, and then of Achaia, to the Malian Bay, in which line lie mount Pindus and Oeta." This manifestly includes all Thessaly. And, in the same chapter, Ptolemy reckons all the Thessalian towns, particularly our Thebae Phthiotides, (or Philippi), in Macedonia, and never once mentions Thessaly as a distinct province.

Notwithstanding all I have said, it must be acknowledged, that Thessaly seems often to be distinguished from Macedonia by the best authors. So ^f Caesar, in his Commentaries, calls the river Haliacmon (not Peneus,

^d Ὑπερὸν τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλιλίαν τὴν περὶ Νάβωνα τῷ ὅλῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δαλματίαν ἀνέλαβε. Dio Cass. *ibid*.

^e Ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημέριος τῇ ἐπιούσῃ γραμμῇ παρὰ μὲν τὴν Ἠπειρὸν ὥς ἀνέμιον· ἐφ' ἧς γραμμῆς διατείνει τὸ Πίνδον ὄρος.

Παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀχαϊαν ἐξ ἧς μέχρι τῆς Μαλιακῆς κόλπου ἐφ' ἧς γραμμῆς εἰσιν ἡ Ὀρετὴ τὸ ὄρος. Ptol. l. iii. c. 13.

^f "Quò iter expeditius facerat M. Favonium, ad flumen Haliacmonem, quod Macedonia a Thessalià dividit, cum co-

as Livy and others) the boundary between those countries; and generally, indeed, in his account of that war, he mentions Theffaly and Macedonia apart. But this he may be supposed to do, with regard to the ancient division, for clearness and distinction's sake, as that part of the country was the principal seat of the war. The like distinction of names still continues between Wales and England, notwithstanding they have been so long united into one country.

In short, unless we allow Theffaly to be part of Macedonia (or Emathia according to the Poets language), how can we explain many passages in Lucan, who generally gives it the epithet, Emathian, almost in every page of his poem; and expressly calls his Pharsalia, *Emathis* (lib. II. 250.), and the country, which was the seat of the campaign between Caesar and Pompey, *Macetum Terras*, lib. V. ver. 2. — Nay, what an egregious blunder had he committed, even at first setting out, to begin his poem with —

“Bella per Emathios campos?”

I have insisted the longer on this head, because Geographers differ very much in their maps and descriptions of Macedonia, especially on the side of Theffaly, which is represented by most of them as a distinct province. Whereas it appears, that from the time of Philip the father of Alexander (unless for about fifty years from the first of the third Macedonian war), it was constantly reputed as a part of Macedonia, not only in the style of Poets, who might be allowed to stretch a little, but even in vulgar language. And the settling this true boundary to Macedonia, so as to take in both Philippi, is of singular use in explaining this passage in Virgil, as well as many others in the other Poets. — I must now advance one step farther, to shew that

Both Philippi were near mount Haemus.

This assertion may seem at first sight directly contradictory to what we have been before proving. For if the two Philippi were so far from each other, at the two most distant extremities of Macedonia, how could they be both situated at the foot of mount Haemus, a mountain of Thrace? The eastern Philippi was indeed on the confines of Thrace, and therefore there can be no great difficulty in placing *that* at the foot of this

“hortibus lx, praesidio impedimentis legionum reliquit, Castellumque ibi muniri” “jussit.” Caes. De Bell. Civ. lib. iii. c. 36.

mountain ; but to bring Haemus into Theffaly (which we usually find in maps at so wide a distance) may appear as strange as the old fabulous accounts of moving the mountains of that country, Pelion and Offa. But if we consider the matter fairly, we may perhaps find this no hard task. Let us look upon Haemus in the same view as the Alpes and Apennines, not as a single mountain, but an extensive chain. Agreeably to this notion, it is commonly called *Cadena del Mondo*, as Father Hardouin informs us in his Pliny, lib. IV. § 18. The ^s old epitomizer of Strabo, speaking of Haemus, tells us (as before observed) that these mountains reached in a strait line from the Euxine sea to the Adriatick ; and as the same ^h bridge still stretched itself farther on, though not in a strait line, yet uninterrupted, quite through Macedonia and Greece, encompassing Theffaly, why might not the same name be continued throughout ? It must be allowed, that the head, or highest part of the mountain, was in Thrace, and one province of that country was from thence called Haemimontana. But all the other mountains, viz. Rhodope, Pangaeus, etc. quite round to Pindus and Oeta, are branched out from the same head, and therefore may deservedly be reckoned limbs of the same body. And as St. Bernard, St. Goddard, Mount Senis, Monte Giogo, Maliella, etc. are only different names by which we distinguish the several parts of the Alpes and Apennines, with the same reason that whole length of mountains which begin in Thrace, and run in a continual chain through Macedonia and Greece, might properly be called Haemus, though every link had its different name. Virgil himself seems likewise in another place to take this mountain in the same extensive view, when he cries out,

— “ O qui me gelidis in vallibus Haemi
 “ Sistat ! et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra ! ”

Georg. II. ver. 488.

The Poet is drawing a comparison between the pomp of great men, and the innocent pleasures of a country life ; and as all the other places mentioned in this passage, were in Theffaly or Achaia, it is reasonable

^s Pag. 8 Note (6).

^h Servius did not consider this ; but observing that the Poets mention Haemus in Theffaly, therefore he calls it twice Mons Theffaliae, and seems to take it as a distinct mountain of that country (Note on Geor. i.

ver. 492. and Geor. ii. ver. 488.) ; whereas the Poets reckon it only as a branch of the Thracian mountain extended into Theffaly, and called by them, in their figurative language, by the same name.

to suppose, that by the valleys of Haemus, he means the same country too; and that his wish was to retire thither to the fountains of the Muses, or groves of the Philosophers. In this sense Father Catrou understands him in his note on “ⁱ O! ubi Tempe,” etc. Georg. II. 486.

But as it is possible that Virgil (as elegant a taste as he had) might prefer even the wilds of Thrace, to the vanities of a court, I shall insist no farther on this argument, but proceed to quote some passages from Lucan, which evidently shew that Haemus reached to the Thessalian Philippi. Thus, at the latter end of the first book, he prophesies that the battle of Pharsalia (which he calls by the name of Philippi) was to be fought under the rock of Haemus:

— “*Latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos.*” Ver. 681.

Again, when he has brought both armies into the plains of Pharsalia, and is describing the frightful dreams which terrified Pompey’s army the night before the engagement, he says,

“*Multis concurrere visus Olympo*
 “*Pindus, et abruptis mergi convallibus Haemus,*
 “*Edere nocturnas belli Pharsalia voces,*
 “*Ire per Ossaëam rapidus Baebeïda fanguis.*” Lib. VII. 174.

All the other places here mentioned with Pharsalia, were strictly in that neighbourhood; the mountains of Thrace were at too great distance to be concerned; and, therefore, it must be supposed, that he means only a branch of Haemus, stretched out into Thessaly, which he fancies shaken with the same convulsion.

Again (book X.), Lucan, speaking of Julius Caesar’s being besieged in Cleopatra’s palace at Alexandria, expressly calls Haemus, *Thessalian*.

“*Audax Thessalici qui nuper rupe sub Haemi.*” Ver. 449.

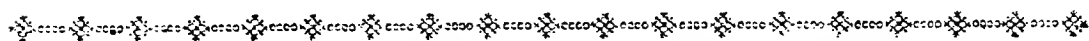
And (book VI.) when the companions of S. Pompeius are enquiring for the Thessalian Witch before-mentioned, the Poet brings Haemus even to Pharsalia:

ⁱ “*Le Mont Haemus commence en Thessalie, se repand ensuite dans la Macedoine, puis dans la Thrace, et finit en Scythie.* Virgile alors soupироit après la “*Grèce. Il avoit resolu d’y aller consumer le reste de ses jours dans l’étude de la philosophie.*” — See Catrou’s Translation of Virgil.

“*Conspexere*

“Conspexêre procul præruptâ in rupe sedentem,
 “Quâ^k juga devexus Pharfalica porrigit Haemus.” Ver. 576.

Where it must be observed, that he describes the Pharfalian hills, as spurs of Haemus, and stretched out from the declivity of that mountain.



L E T T E R VI.

Reasons why VIRGIL chose to call both Battles by one Name.

FROM what has been said in my former letter, I hope you will allow, that by means of the two Philippi, this controverted passage in Virgil, considered by itself only, may be understood. The chief difficulty consisted in not thoroughly examining the forementioned articles. Those being cleared up

—— “Circumfusa repente

“Scindit se nubes, et in aethera purgat apertum.” Aen. I. 586.

If we farther examine the context, we shall still see the place in a clearer light, and plainly discover for what reasons Virgil chose to call both battles by the same name, rather than distinguish them, as the Historians do, by the two different names of Pharfalia and Philippi.

We must observe then, that the Poet, in this first book of his Georgics having laid down rules for ploughing, sowing, and reaping, and directed how the husbandman should be employed during the whole year, according to the variety of seasons and weather, comes (ver. 351.) to shew by what symptoms we may discern those approaching changes of the weather :

^k The spurs or branches of a mountain properly called *Juga* : so Ovid, in his story of Atlas, changes his head into the *Cacumen*, and his hands and shoulders into the *Juga* :

“Quantus erat mons factus Atlas, jam
 barba comaeque,

“In filvas abeunt : *juga sunt humerique manusque* :

“Quod caput ante fuit summo est in monte cacumen.”

Ovid. Met. lib. IV. fab. xvii.

“Atque

“ Atque haec ut certis possimus discere signis.”

And having described the common country prognostics, he insists chiefly on those taken from the sun :

——“ Solem certissima signa sequuntur.” Ver. 439.

And remarks, that the lessons we have from thence are so sure and instructive, that they not only forewarn alterations of weather, but revolutions of states ; and often discover the most secret plots and conspiracies :

——“ Solem quis dicere falsum

“ Audeat ? Ille etiam caecos instare tumultus

“ Saepe monet, fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.”

Ver. 465.

From hence he takes occasion, in compliment to Augustus, to observe, that this his protecting and favourite Deity shewed so much concern for Rome, upon the murder of Julius Caesar, that for some time he covered his head with an obscure veil, and seemed to threaten the world with perpetual darkness :

“ Ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Roman ;

“ Cum caput obscurâ nitidum ferrugine texit,

“ Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.” Ver. 468.

And then enumerating several other strange phaenomena which happened on that occasion, he concludes, that all these prodigies concurred in portending to the Romans the continuance of their civil wars, and denouncing the vengeance of the Gods against the murderers of Caesar, and that in so remarkable a manner, that there appeared in it a particular stroke of Providence, according to the Heathen superstition, that the second battle should be fought in the same province with the first, and near a second Philippi ^a.

^a Catrou, in his notes on Virgil, has observed, that the signs which followed the death of Julius Caesar, were likewise prognostics of another evil, the civil war between Octavius Caesar and Antony, and Brutus and Cassius, which was finished by the battle of Philippi. “ A la vérité ces signes qui suivirent la mort de Jules César

“ furent aussi des pronostics d’un autre malheur, c’est de la guerre civile qui s’éleva entre Octavien César et Antoine contre Brutus et Cassius ; et qui finit par la bataille de Philippes.” Dissert. on Virg. Georg. I. Note 18. — Now since he has advanced so far as to find the two Philippi, and to observe that Virgil’s signs

“ Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis

“ Romanas acies *iterum* videre *Philippi*.”

Dr. Lamotte very justly observes (in the ^b remarks, which I referred to in my first letter) that there is a manifest connection between “ Ergo inter sese,” and the preceding lines, and that Ergo is an inference from those prodigies which attended the death of Caesar. I entirely agree with him therein, but I don’t understand the conclusion he draws from thence: “ That this connection being supposed, then the fight of Pharfalia must be entirely out of the question. For what relation, says he, could this battle have to the death of Caesar, which happened above three years after!” With submission to the Doctor, the bare mentioning a second battle must necessarily have some reference to the first; and this relation is sufficient to justify the use of the words *Iterum* and *Bis*. But there is a farther relation here, viz. the resemblance between the field of battle where Julius Caesar conquered, and that where his death was revenged. There was something *ominous* in it; something which corresponded very well with the preceding prodigies; both places near which the two battles were fought were of the same name, both within the same province, and at the foot of the same mountain. And though these circumstances may appear trifling in this critical age, they were certainly very material at that time. Omens have still some influence even with us, but much greater regard was universally paid to them by the ancients, and, I believe, the modern Romans will allow that no people were more superstitious in this respect than their ancestors.

Tully, in his book *De Divinatione* (which was wrote at a time very *à propos* to our present subject, viz. the year preceding the battle of *Philippi*), ^c runs over the whole system of the ancient divinations, and amongst

which followed the death of Caesar, were prognostics of another civil war, and that that war was finished by the battle of *Philippi*; it is somewhat strange that he should not make the least discovery of Virgil’s meaning; and that he should come so near the mark without ever touching it.

^b Hist. of the Works of the Learned, for Jan. 1738.

^c Neque solum Deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt, sed etiam hominum, quae

vocant Omina. Quae majores nostri quia valere censebant, idcirco omnibus rebus agendis, “ Quod Bonum, Faustum, Felix, Fortunatumque esset,” praefabantur: Rebusque divinis, quae publice fierent, ut “ Faverent. “ Linguis,” imperabatur; inque seriis imperandis, “ ut litibus et jurgiis se abstinerent.” Itemque in lustrandâ coloniâ, ab eo, qui eam deduceret; et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret; bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent, eligebantur. Quod idem in

the rest reckons that of omens, or observations from similitude of names, which, he tells us, made so great an impression on the minds of the Romans, as to have a share in all their affairs as well civil as religious. For instance, “ When a new colony was to be planted, or when a general reviewed an army, or a censor numbered the people, such persons were chosen to conduct the sacrifices, whose names seemed to promise prosperity; and in levying recruits, the consul or general took particular care, that the first soldier on the muster-roll should be of a lucky name.” In short, nothing was transacted without this scrupulous care: And, as an instance how far this whim prevailed, he relates the following story: “ When L. Paullus returned to his house the same evening that he was elected a second time consul; and that the war against Perseus, King of Macedonia, was allotted to him, he found his little daughter in tears, and enquiring into the reason, she told him, that Perseus was dead, meaning her lap-dog.” Upon this, the grave consul embraced his child with great eagerness, and took what she said as a lucky omen.

’Tis true, the Philosopher, at the same time that he relates the story, very deservedly ridicules any reliance on such superstitious fancies; but the constant regard paid to them by the Romans, and observed, as we find, by Tully himself when consul, is a sufficient reason for the Poet, at a time when he is describing all the significant prodigies which followed the murder of Caesar, and forewarned the civil wars consequent thereupon, not to omit this ominous circumstance, that the same Emathia, and the same name Philippi, should be twice fatal to the Romans.

We find the ancient Historians full of the several unlucky tokens which immediately preceded the last fatal blow; “ as the swarms of bees hovering over Cassius’s camp; an ensign-bearer making a false step, and letting fall an image of victory; the liſtors by mistake turning the crown of laurel upside down, which adorned their fasces; and many other such minute

delectu consules observant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine. Quae quidem à te scis et consule et imperatore summâ religione esse servata. Praerogativam etiam majores omen justorum comitiorum esse voluerunt. Atque ego exempla ominum nota proferam. L. Paulus, consul iterum, cum ei bellum, ut cum rege Perse gereret, obtigisset, ut eâ ipsâ die domum ad vesperam rediit, filiulam suam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva, oscu-

lans, animadvertit trifidulam. Quid est, inquit, mea Tertia? quid tristis es? Mi Pater, inquit, Perseus periit. Tum ille arctius puellam complexus, Accipio omen, inquit, mea filia. Erat autem mortua catella eo nomine. Tull. de Divinat. lib. I. ver. 45, 46.

^d Μέλισσαι πολλαὶ τὸ τῷ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον περιέσχον, etc. Dion Cassius, edit. Hannov. p. 351.

incidents; some of which (as they pretend) affected even Cassius, though an Epicurean. But the most memorable story, and which most nearly concerns our present purpose, is that of the vision which appeared twice to Brutus, first in Asia just before his passage into Europe, and again at Philippi, a little before the battle. As Appian relates the first appearance, the phantom seemed to lay a particular stress on the name Philippi. Ὁφθαλμοὶ δὲ σοὶ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις, I will appear to thee again, and that at Philippi; or, I will meet thee once more at a Philippi. Taking the words in their ominous and emphatical sense, they appear in a stronger light; the ambiguity in the name Philippi, gives them a greater force; and as this story must be fresh in every body's mouth, when Virgil wrote his Georgics, 'tis not improbable that he thence took the first hint of his two Philippi.

It is true there is something equivocal in this expression—"Iterum videre Philippi." And that has been the occasion of its being so much misunderstood; but this sort of double entendre, which in another place would be a fault, is here a beauty, and Virgil has shewn great judgment in knowing when to use an ambiguity. The whole drift of this passage consists in signs and wonders preparatory to a great event; and if he represents this event in the ambiguous style, which was the language of the oracles, he speaks like their Gods.

Before I quit this subject, I beg leave to ask you (but cautiously) whether in the last two verses,—*"Nec fuit indignum,"* etc. it is not possible that Virgil may continue the double entendre, and allude, in the names *Emathia* and *Haemus*, to the derivation from Αἷμα, blood? nor is this a groundless conjecture, but an old notion which prevailed long before Virgil's time, that *Haemus* (at least) took its name from Blood. This appears plainly from *Apollodorus*, who speaking of the Giants wars, tells us, That *Typhon* flying from *Jupiter* into *Thrace*, "and fighting with him about *Haemus*, "threw whole mountains at him, which being retorted back upon him by "thunder, much blood was spilt upon the mountain; and from thence, "it is said, the mountain was called *Haemus*."

It must farther be remarked, that this blood which gave name to the mountain, was the blood of one of the Giants; and as the complement has frequently been paid to *Augustus*, to compare his success in the civil war, with the victories of *Jove* over the Giants, why may not Virgil allude

* Καὶ μαχόμενον περὶ τὸν Αἷμον ὅλα ἔβαλεν ὄρη, πολὺ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει ἐξέκλυσεν αἷμα. Καὶ φασιν ἐκ τέτων δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ χειρὶ πάλιν ὠρυμένῳ τέτω τὸ ὄρος κληθῆναι Αἷμον. *Apoll. Bibl. lib. I.*

to the same story? And as it was too trite a subject to dwell long upon, he only just hints at the comparison. — “Nec fuit indignum superis,” etc. Nor did the Gods think it unbecoming them, that the same country and mountain, which took their names from the blood of the Giant who rebelled against Jove, should twice be fattened with the blood of the Romans, who fought against the Caesars.

I fear you will think this observation very trifling and ridiculous; but what seems monstrous at first sight, may, when seen in a true light, appear very beautiful and regular. Do but consider what has been said before of the great superstition of the Romans, with regard to names, and that sporting with words was the delight of their oracles; and then perhaps you will allow, that this quibble (if you will call it so) which would otherwise be unbecoming the dignity of Virgil, is in this place very *à propos*. No Poet was ever, perhaps, less guilty of this low wit than himself; but punning may not always be unseasonable in the gravest writer. He himself has shewn by the famous instance of Ascanius's trencher, that a little joke, when rightly applied, may (even in an epic poem) have its grace and beauty. And I think that in this sense too it may be justly said,

“Dulce est desipere in loco.”

However, if you still imagine that in this latter part I have too much indulged an idle fancy, I hope it will not prejudice you against the other part of my interpretation. I think nothing can be plainer than that the chief spirit of the passage consists in the double Philippi. “This makes the connection clear, and the inference entirely just.”

Having now done with Virgil, I proceed to consider all the correspondent places in the other Poets. My principal aim was to vindicate him; but as the other Poets, by imitating him, are fallen under the same or worse censures, they are equally entitled to justice. And it seems more necessary to say something in their favour, because they are entirely given up even by those few advocates who have pleaded for Virgil.

§ Lippius, in a note on the name Philippi, in Velleius Paterculus, lib. II. c. 70. says, “Jure miror quid poetis aliquot in mentem venerit confundere haec loca et urbes, quasi si utrumque bellum in iisdem campis depugnatum.” Then quoting Virgil's “Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi,” he adds, “Quem tamen excuset, quasi Philippi iterum vi-

§ Dr. Lamotte's words.

§ See Burman's edit. of Velleius.

“derint,

“derint, sed non iidem.” But for Manilius and the other Poets, and the Historian L. Florus, he thinks them inexcusable. And Vossius, in his note on the same place, says, “Non sit dubium quin geminos Philippos intelligat Maro, illos qui in Thessaliâ sunt, et alteros qui in Macedonia ad Haemum montem. Reliqui omnes poetæ lapsi.”

These remarks from such eminent critics in favour of Virgil, must have been of service towards explaining him, had there not been many reasons for paying no more respect to their authority.

They don't professedly undertake the defence of Virgil, but only mention him cursorily in their comments on another author. Besides, they only just hint at Virgil's meaning, without sufficiently enlarging upon it. Again, what they say would serve only to explain the two first verses relating to the two Philippi, not the two latter, as to the extent of Emathia and Haemus. But the chief reason for disregarding their remark I take to be this: The manifest partiality which appears in their sentence. Therefore, as I observed before, it is very necessary, even to Virgil's justification, to clear his followers as well as himself: For when they are all brought to the same bar, it seems very unjust to acquit the principal and condemn his accomplices.

It may be, the other Poets, who copy from Virgil, don't express themselves so artfully as their master, and for that reason they may be more liable to exception: But we must consider how difficult it is to copy exactly after so good an original; yet their design in the main may be the same: And therefore, making allowances for difference of styles, I doubt not but they may be all explained in the same manner. And, if I can make this appear, it will not only clear them from the aspersions thrown on them, but will be a good evidence in Virgil's favour; that this passage, as difficult as it has appeared to the moderns, was not only well understood by the ancients, but likewise much admired, otherwise it would never have been so universally imitated.

The consideration of these articles must be referred to another letter, which shall conclude this subject.

L E T T E R VII.

Passages in other Poets explained in the same manner as VIRGIL. And L. FLORUS reconciled with the other Historians.

THE first Poet after Virgil who has puzzled his commentators by his battles of Philippi, is Ovid; who, at the latter end of his *Metamorphosis*, introduces Venus complaining in the assembly of the Gods, of the barbarous stroke which she foresaw threatened Julius Caesar in the Senate-house. . To this Jupiter answers, that he could not avert the blow, it being decreed by Fate, that Caesar must fall : But at the same time assures her for her comfort, “ That she should give him a seat in Heaven, that “ his adopted son and heir should succeed him in the empire, and that “ the Gods would prosper him in his wars to revenge the death of his “ father :

“ ^a Ut Deus accedat caelo, templisque colatur,
 “ Tu facies : Natusque suus, qui, nominis heres,
 “ Impositum feret urbis onus : caesique parentis
 “ Nos in bella suos fortissimus ultor habebit.”

And then concludes :

——— “ Pharfalia sentiet illum,
 “ Emathiâque iterum madefient caede Philippi.”

As these verses manifestly relate to Augustus, it must be owned, they seem at first to point out the plain of Pharfalia, as the place where he was to conquer as well as Julius, and that the same Thessalian Philippi (according to Catrou and Rouille) were again to be drenched with Roman blood. But as this is evidently contrary to History, it follows that either Ovid was mistaken ; or that this was not his meaning. Several of his own

^a Met. lib. xv. 818, etc.

commentators give it up as a blunder in their author. But though he was not always the most correct writer, yet I think he could not possibly be so entirely ignorant of public affairs, when he wrote his *Metamorphosis*, as to place an action at Pharsalia in Thessaly, which happened at Philippi on the borders of Thrace. 'Tis true he was not of age to remember the battle of Philippi, as has been before observed, that Virgil did; but he was born before the action: And what an unlucky planet must we suppose him born under, to think him capable of committing so gross a blunder in the most remarkable transaction of his own time? As this cannot well be conceived, let us try if such a construction may not be put on his words as may reconcile them to history.

Let us consider then, that the plain of Pharsalia was rendered for ever memorable by the victory obtained there by Julius Caesar: That he had there spared the lives of those by whom he was afterwards assassinated. And as Jupiter here promises to make the adopted son revenge that death by another signal battle, what impropriety was there in saying, that Pharsalia should be sensible of this victory, notwithstanding it was to be obtained in a distant part of the province? or, in other words, that Pharsalia should rejoice at the vengeance taken by Augustus on the murderers of his father:

——— “ Pharsalia sentiet illum.”

This construction seems to me very plain and easy, and then the last verse may be as easily understood in the same sense with Virgil, of a second Philippi to be soaked with Roman blood in the same fatal province:

“ ^b Emathiâque iterum madefient caede Philippi.”

As there has been some difficulty in understanding this passage, it must be entirely owing to our being so far removed, as we are at present, from Pharsalia and Philippi: This distance deceives us, and makes the Poet appear in a dubious light. But when he wrote, his countrymen were as well acquainted with those places, and what happened there, as we are with Blenheim, and probably much better, as it was part of their own dominions. And therefore, as the words could not possibly, at that time, be taken in the wrong sense which has been since put upon them, there could be no ambiguity in comprehending their true meaning.

^b Or Emathiique, for both are read.

The next Poet to be considered is Manilius, who, according to the best accounts, lived about the same time with Ovid. This author, in imitation of Virgil, speaking (at the latter end of the first book of his *Astronomicon*) of wars and conspiracies presignified by comets and other signs from heaven, instances particularly in those prognostics which attended the battles of Philippi:

- “ Civiles etiam motus, cognataque bella
- “ Significant, nec plura aliàs incendia mundus
- “ Sustinuit, quàm cum ducibus jurata cruentis
- “ Arma Philippeos implerunt agmine campos.”

From hence he takes occasion, in farther conformity with Virgil, to observe the fatal relation between the two battles:

- “ Vix etiam siccâ miles Romanus arenâ
- “ Offa virûm, lacerosque priùs superastitit artus ;
- “ Imperiumque suis conflixit viribus ipsum ;
- “ Perque patris pater Augustus vestigia vicit.”

Father Catrou, and many others, conclude this passage to be a full proof that both battles were fought on the same individual spot. And indeed, if we understand the words in the strictest sense, and (as that Father says) “ according to the rigour of the letter,” this seems to be the most obvious meaning. But we may with equal reason conclude, that both battles were fought, not only on the same spot, but within few days, or hours, one of the other. “ [Vix etiam siccâ arenâ.]” No body could ever suppose these latter words should be taken literally. And it is as inconsistent with history to understand the rest so: Therefore let us take the whole figuratively.

The real resemblance between the two battles consisted in this, that Augustus pursued his enemies into Macedonia, as Julius had done ; in both battles Romans fought against Romans ; both were fought in the same province ; and in both the same party prevailed : And thus far Augustus

^c Lucain et Manilius, qui ont écrit depuis Virgile, servent de commentaire au texte que nous examinons. Ces deux écrivains parlent plus nettement encore que Virgile des deux batailles de Pharsale et de Philippi, qui selon eux furent livrées précisément au même lieu, “ à entendre la chose à la rigueur des termes.” Manilius est encore plus formel que Lucain, et ses vers marquent expressément les batailles de Pharsale et des Philippies données “ à la lettre” au même lieu. See Catrou’s *Critical Notes on Virg. Georg. I.* note 19.

trod in his father's steps. If Manilius has expressed this in very bold terms, it is agreeable to his usual style; but I see nothing in it extravagant: For, what greater hyperbole is there in saying, The soldiers in the latter action trampled on the bones of those who were slain in the former, though at a great distance, considering both happened in the same province, and in the same cause, than in saying, The blood spilt in the former battle was scarce dried up, when the latter was fought, though there was six years distance between one and the other?

However, whether we allow this to be too bold a stroke in Manilius, or not, I think there can be no doubt but, as he introduces his two battles in the same manner with Virgil, he had him in view; and, to use his own words, attempts to go "*per patris vestigia*;" but as his genius was not equal, it is no wonder if he rambles a little out of the way: "*Sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis*."

I come next to Petronius, who has the following prophetic verses relating to the Roman civil wars, spoken by Fortune to Pluto; in which, among other disasters, she foretells the two fatal blows of Philippi:

"*d Cerno equidem geminâ jam stratos morte Philippos,*
 "*Thessaliaeque rogos, et funera gentis Iberae*
 "*Et Libyae cerno.*"

This is expressed so short, that there is nothing particular in it, more than bare mentioning those fatal blows. Besides, the "*gemina mors*" (if that is the true reading) may possibly be interpreted in the same sense as Dr. Lamotte, and the critic quoted by Catrou, understand Virgil, of the death of the two Generals, Brutus and Cassius, in two different actions. There is some greater ground here for this supposition, because the battle of Pharsalia is sufficiently denoted, by the beginning of the next verse — "*Thessaliaeque rogos*:" And allowing that to be the case, then this passage must relate only to one Philippi; and can have nothing to do with our present dispute, wherefore I shall wave it, and proceed to examine Lucan.

I have already brought this author as an evidence, in my fifth letter to prove, that there was a Philippi in Thessaly near the plain of Pharsalia. I shall now produce some other testimonies from him; to shew that he speaks of both battles by the single name Philippi; and that he lays an

* Tornaes. in loc. et Nic. Heinf. in Ov. Met. lib. xv. 824, read "*gemino marte*."

emphasis on the name, as if there was a fatality attending it, or, as he expresses himself on a like superstitious occasion :

“ Tanquam fortuna locorum
“ Bella gerat.” Lib. IV. 661.

For instance, at the latter end of the first book, when the frantic matron runs through the streets of Rome, and prophesies the calamities of the approaching civil wars. She first enumerates those brought upon them by Julius Caesar, as the battle of Pharsalia (which she calls by the name of Philippi, as is before observed); the murder of Pompey in Aegypt; the fall of Cato, etc. in Africa; the ruin of their cause in Spain; and concludes that part of the tragedy, by the death of Caesar in the Senate-house. Then she proceeds to the renewal of the war by Octavius: — “ Confurgunt partes iterum:” (ver. 692.) and foreseeing the fatal battle of Philippi, she cries out in her fury to Apollo,

“ Vidi jam, Phoebe, Philippos.”

As if she had said, “ Whither are you carrying me, to see another Philippi! “ I have seen enough of Philippi already;” meaning that in Theffaly, or the battle of Pharsalia. This, I think, gives a right enthusiastic spirit to this passage, and yet renders it plain and easy; and without such a construction, it is to me utterly unintelligible.

Again (book VII.) when the two armies of Caesar and Pompey are actually engaged at Pharsalia, and the Poet sees his favourite Brutus exposing himself in the hottest of the action, he cries out to him in this pathetic apostrophe (ver. 590.)

“ Ne rue per medios nimium temerarius hostes,
“ Nec tibi *fatalis* admoveris ante Philippos,
“ Theffaliâ periture tuâ.”

Don't forestall your Philippi, or endeavour by your rashness to precipitate your doom, and mistake this Philippi for yours. It is decreed indeed by Fate, that you shall fall in the same province, but not till it is your own.
* Alluding to his being afterwards made Governor of Macedonia.

* See Appian de Bello Civili, lib. iii. p. 856. Brutus by Hortensius, some time before the battle of Philippi. Plut. Vit. Bruti.
864. 892. and 921. edit. Toll. Plutarch likewise tells us, that this province was resigned to

Again, at the latter end of the seventh book, immediately after the battle of Pharfalia, Lucan makes an apostrophe to Theffaly, and expostulates with her, how it came to pass that the Gods should destine her to be the ruin of the Romans, not only by this fatal battle, but that the same country should soon be the scene of a second no less bloody action, meaning that of Philippi. Then expressing himself with the utmost detestation against her on both these accounts, he upon recollection makes an apology, and says, — Had she alone been criminal, she might deserve all his imprecations, but the destruction was now become so universal, that one country, as it were, absolved another, and all were equally guilty; then concludes with these two verses:

“ Hesperiae clades, et flebilis unda Pachyni,
“ Et Mutina, et Leucas puros fecêre Philippos.”

That is, These several places having participated of the guilt, have, in some measure, wiped off the stain from the two Philippi. For I think nothing can be more evident than that both are here intended. The Theffalian or Pharfalian could not be omitted, because it was the principal subject of the poem. Of this Mr. Rowe was so sensible, that, without any authority, he takes the liberty, in his translation, to change Philippi into Pharfalia, and renders the last verse thus:

“ And Aetium justify Pharfalia’s plain.”

But how does that mend the matter? It would have been equally absurd, considering all that precedes, to have said nothing of the other Philippi, or to imagine, that, when Philippi is named, Pharfalia only is to be understood.

The whole tenor of the apostrophe evidently shews the necessity of mentioning both battles, which Lucan does by one word, Philippos: As Mr. Rowe might have done too, had he understood his author’s double Philippi. In short, I believe, one may venture to affirm, that wherever Lucan, thro’ the whole course of this poem, speaks of, or hints at, both battles jointly, he never once mentions Pharfalia, but constantly makes use of Philippi to comprehend both. And I am persuaded, that the passages I have before cited (Letter V.) from Statius and Silius Apollinaris, relating to Lucan, are likewise to be understood of his double Philippi, viz.

“ Albos ossibus Italæ Philippos.” Statius.

And,

And,

“Tantum dans lacrymas fuis Philippi,” etc. Sidon.

And I cannot but think that this notion of the two Philippi, sets all these passages in a new light, and gives them an additional strength and beauty. The only seeming difficulty I can find in Lucan, with regard to this dispute, is, that by his Theffalia, we must sometimes understand all Macedonia; as particularly in the place above-mentioned relating to Brutus, — “Theffaliâ periture tuâ.” And again, in the apostrophe to Theffalia, at the latter end of the same book:

“Theffalia infelix, quo tantos crimine tellus
 “Lacifisti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
 “Tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit ævum,
 “Immemor ut donct belli tibi damna vetustas?
 “Quæ seges infectâ furget non decolor herbâ?
 “Quo non Romanos violabis vomere manes?
 “Ante novæ venient acies, scelerique secundo
 “Præstabis nondum ficos hoc sanguine campos.”

Meaning, by the two last verses, the battle of Octavius and Antony against Brutus and Cassius. Lib. VII. from ver. 847 to 854.

Father Catrou, in his Critical Notes on Virgil, ^f urges this passage as an evident proof, that both battles were fought on the same individual spot, the plain of Pharsalia. But pray which is most reasonable to be believed, that all the ancient Historians (at least, all except L. Florus) were mistaken in the account they give us of those battles, or that Lucan, by a figure not unusual to Poets, puts one district of a province to signify the whole? It may be that no other author before him ever used Theffalia in this extensive sense; and perhaps Virgil’s great modesty would not have permitted him to have taken such a liberty; but it is not much to

^f Lucain apostrophe la Theffalie, et lui prophétise, qu’elle sera le théâtre de deux combats décisifs, l’un de Jules contre Pompée, l’autre d’Octavien et d’Antoine contre Brutus et Cassius, etc. Il faut donc, qu’en effet les deux batailles se soient données récemment à la vue d’une ville de Philippes qui ait été voisine

de Pharsalie. Catrou’s Critical Notes on Virg. Georg. l. note 19. And again with Rouille in their Roman History.—Le texte de Lucain et de Manilius est encore plus décisif, et peut tenir lieu de commentaire à celui de Virgile, *Malbœrenjê Theffalie*, etc. Hist. Rom. tom. XVIII. liv. i. p. 187.

be wondered at in a Poet, who being young, and of great fire and vivacity, was remarkably bold in his poetic licences, and often overleaped the bounds which other Poets prescribed themselves; and perhaps never more than in his geography, as may be seen in his description of Cato's march over the sandy deserts of Libya, and his excursion to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, Book III.

However, I think in the present case he is very excusable. We know that Latium was frequently put for all Italy; and the country we are now speaking of, Macedonia, was almost constantly by the Poets, and often by other writers (as has been before remarked), called Emathia, which, strictly speaking, was only a small part of it. And why might not Thessaly have the same privilege, especially considering how great a share it bore in the civil wars? For this likewise must be taken into the account, that some remarkable accident, or the peculiar interest one district has above others, or the great share it bore in the revolution of the state, frequently gives occasion to new-name a country, or to extend the name of one district to its neighbouring provinces. This happened in the case of Holland, Switzerland, and many other countries; and thus Achaia of old, was, till the time of the Achaian war, no more than a small part of Greece; but because it was principally concerned in that league against the Romans, therefore, at the conclusion of the war, when Greece became a Roman province, that whole country, together with Peloponnesus, was usually known by the name of Achaia. Lucan takes no greater liberty with Thessaly: That district had been the chief scene of the civil war, and had ruined his darling Pompey; therefore the Poet, through his whole poem, takes all opportunities to brand it with marks of his abhorrence, and to express his utmost detestation against the country which had given the first fatal blow: He extends the same cursed name to the rest of the province, which was to prove fatal to the same favourite cause.

Thus much for the Poets. But there is one thing more to be considered before I have done, and that is, the authority of one ancient Historian against the others. This argument seems, I know, to some whom I have conversed with on this subject, to have more weight with it than any thing I have before mentioned; and, if unanswered, may destroy, or at least weaken, whatever I have urged with regard to the Poets. For, notwithstanding they may be allowed to speak figuratively, yet certainly they ought rather to be understood in a strict literal sense, when that is most agreeable to History. The author here meant is L. Florus, who, in his
account

account of the Civil Wars between J. Caesar and Pompey, speaks of their last famous battle, that is, the battle of Pharfalia, as fought on the plains of Pharfalia.—“ Sic praecipitantibus fati, praelio sumpta est Theffalia: “ et Philippicis campis urbis, imperii, generis humani *fata* commissa sunt,” lib. IV. c. ii. Again, in the following chapter, when he comes to the renewal of the war by Augustus Caesar, he places the chief scene of it in Theffaly. —“ Dum Octavius mortem patris ulciscitur, iterum fuit mo- “ venda Theffalia,” c. iii. And more expressly still in the seventh chapter, entitled “ Bellum Cassii et Bruti,” he speaks of the battle of Octavius and Antony against Brutus and Cassius, as fought precisely on the same spot with that of J. Caesar and Pompey.—“ Ordinâtâ, magis ut poterat, quam “ ut debebat, in triumviros republicâ, relicto ad urbis praesidium Lepido, “ Caesar cum Antonio in Cassium Brutumque succingitur. Illi, comparatis “ ingentibus copiis, *eandem illam, quae fatalis Cnaeo Pompeio fuit, arenam “ infederant,*” c. vii. All these articles agree so exactly with the scheme of Catrou and Rouille, that methinks words could not well be invented, better adapted to their purpose; and indeed, & they seem to glory much therein, as a sure evidence in favour of their opinion. But perhaps upon farther examination, we may find the Historian of as little service to them, as any of their poetical friends.

Let us first then consider, that L. Florus is unsupported by any other ancient Historian (for Paulus Diaconus cannot properly be reckoned of that number), and I think it would be doing too much honour to his little epitome, to put it in the scale against the whole body of ancient Historians, supposing him of equal value with any of the rest: Much less reasonable is it to give credit to him in opposition to them all, considering that he is not allowed by the critics to be very correct.

It is by no means honourable to detract from an author's character, in order to carry a point; and therefore, granting him his due praises, and that some censures passed upon him are too severe, yet even the most candid must at least allow, that he is sometimes inaccurate.

¶ Voici quelque chose encore de plus convaincant. L'Histoire vient ici au secours des poëtes, et les autorise. Florus parlant de bataille de Pharfale, etc. Catrou's Dissert. on Virg. Georg. i. note 19. And again, in the Rom. Hist. tom. XVIII. p. 188.—L'H-

istorien Florus et Paul Diacre se réunissent aux quatre premiers (*that is, to the four Poets*) pour placer la scène en Theffalie entre Pharfale et Philippes, quoiqu'ils eussent sous leurs yeux. les auteurs qu'on cite pour le sentiment contraire.

For this we need go no farther than the chapter last mentioned (*De Bello Cassii et Brutii*) where that story is represented in such a manner ^h as if there was no distance of time between the death of Cassius and Brutus; that both fell immediately, the one after the other, in the same engagement. One cannot well suppose Florus so ignorant as not to have known better; but his concise way of writing led him into this negligent way of expressing himself. And by this it appears, that he is not always to be understood in the strictest sense.

But without saying any more with regard to him, in comparison with the other Historians, as to his being only one against many, and not the most exact, let us farther observe, that he every where affects poetic flights; and if we consider him in that view only, we may perhaps without more ado easily reconcile him with his brethren.

Allowing then, according to my former position, that the battle between J. Caesar and Pompey was fought on a plain between Pharsalus and the Thessalian Philippi, and that there being little distance between these two places, it might be denominated indifferently from either; allowing likewise, notwithstanding the other Historians always distinguish that battle by the name of Pharsalia, yet that the Poets, for certain reasons before offered, often give it the name of Philippi, we may reasonably suppose that L. Florus, who affected to imitate them, chuses here their language; and whilst by his "*Philippicis campis*" he means Pharsalia, he tacitly alludes, as they do, to the second battle fought on a plain of the same name. There is very good reason for this supposition, because, whenever else he mentions this battle (which he does ⁱ three several times in this same chapter), he constantly calls it in the historical language, Pharsalia, and in this one place only names it from Philippi, and then prefaces the sentence with "*praecipitantibus fati*," and repeats the word *Fata* again at the latter end of the same sentence, thereby manifestly, I think, intimat-

^h Cassius inclinato cornu suorum, cum, captis Caesaris castris, rapido impetu recipientes se equites videret, fugere arbitratus, evadit in tumulum, inde pulvere et strepitu, etiam nocte vicinâ, eximentibus gestae rei sensum, cum speculator quoque in id missus, tardius renunciaret, transactum de partibus ratus, uni de proximis auferendum praebuit caput. Brutus etiam cum in Cassio suum animum perdidisset, ne quid ex constituti fide resignaret (ita enim par superesse bello conve-

nerat) ipse quoque uni comitum suorum confodiendum praebuit latus. Lib. iv. c. 7.

ⁱ In Africa cum civibus multò atrocius quàm in Pharsalia.

Nihil inter Pharsaliam et Thapson, nisi quod amplior, eoque acrior Caesarianorum impetus fuit.

Quartus triumphus, Jubam, et Mauros, et bis subactam ostendebat Hispaniam. Pharsalia et Thapson, et Munda nusquam. L. Flor. lib. iv. c. 2.

ing the fatality which attended the Commonwealth at the two Philippi. Secondly, as Thessaly was the principal scene of the subversion of the state, we may suppose that Florus uses it, in the second article, poetically for all Macedonia, a part for the whole. And then, Thirdly, it easily follows, that by "*Eandem illam arenam*," etc. no more is meant, than that Brutus and Cassius had possessed themselves of the same province, that amphitheatre which had before been fatal to Pompey.

And here it may be remarked, that the same author, in another place, speaking of the beginning of this civil war, uses the same metaphor, *Arena*, to signify, not a single field, but expressly a whole province: "*Prima civilis belli arena Italia fuit; cujus arces levibus praesidiis Pompeius infederat.*" Lib. IV. c. ii. It is true, the sense I have put upon these passages, is very different from what appears to be the more obvious meaning, and therefore they have been very liable to be mistaken; but the difficulty ceases, if we only consider what this Historian, as well as the Poets, chiefly aimed at, a superstitious fatality, that the two famous battles which completed the ruin of the commonwealth, should both be fought in the same province, and both near a Philippi.

Florus was very superstitious with regard to little incidents, which he looked upon as the orders of Destiny. So lib. II. c. xiv. speaking of the third Macedonian and Punic wars happening at the same time, he says, "*Quodam fato, quasi ita convenisset inter Poenos et Macedonas, ut tertio quoque vincerentur, eodem tempore utrique arma moverunt.*" This prevailed especially as to names. So in the following chapter, when the Consul Mancinus had taken Carthage, excepting only the Byrsa, Florus observes, that the finishing stroke was by Fate reserved to the name of Scipio. "*Quamvis profligato urbis excidio, tamen fatale Africae nomen Scipionum videbatur. Igitur in alium Scipionem conversa respublica, finem belli reposcebat. Hunc Paulo Macedonico procreatum Africani illius magni filius in decus gentis assumpserat; hoc scilicet Fato, ut quam urbem concusserat avus, nepos everteret.*" Again, lib. II. c. vi, upon the sudden taking of Carthage in Spain, he remarks thus, "*Omen Africae canae victoriae fuit, quod tam facile victa est Hispana Carthago.*" I own, these may seem very trifling circumstances; but I only mention them to shew, that an Historian of such a turn may easily be supposed capable of calling the battle of Pharsalia by the name of Philippi, for the sake of the ominous conceit, if there was any town in the neighbourhood which could in the least justify him in so doing.

It may be likewise urged, that the poetical turn given to these expressions is by no means suitable to history, whatever liberty may be allowed to Poets. Be that as it will, I will not pretend to justify them on that score. It is certain, that at the time Florus wrote, the simplicity of the Roman style was very much adulterated; but every author's manner of writing is the best comment upon him. And it is sufficient to our present purpose, if what Dr. Lamotte (in the letter before mentioned) says of this author be true, "that he is full of flights and poetical conceits, and every where "gives into the wonderful." By this means, all that he has said may easily be accounted for, without supposing him guilty of a gross blunder, or charging him with contradicting the concurrent testimony of all the other Historians.

It may farther be observed, that as Florus through all his work is fond of poetical expressions, so it is probable, that in his account of the civil wars, he particularly follows the author of the *Pharfalia*, who chose them for his subject: From him he learnt to place the battle of *Pharfalia* in the fields of *Philippi*, and to extend the name of *Theffaly* to all *Macedonia*. According to the best accounts, they were both of the same family, and the Historian inherited not only the Poet's name, *Annaeus*, but his spirit, and manner of writing, with this difference only, that one was an historical Poet, the other a poetical Historian.

I have now gone through the several windings and turnings of this perplexed controversy; and hope, I have made out what I first undertook to prove: That neither *Virgil*, nor the ancient Historians, can, with any reason, be supposed ignorant where the battles of *Pharfalia* and *Philippi* were fought: And that, notwithstanding they seem to have been long at variance on that account, they mean the same thing; the difference between them being entirely owing to their being misunderstood by their interpreters; as it often happens that old friends quarrel, when those who are employed between them mistake their master's meaning, and blunder in delivering their message. I have said a great deal on so small a subject, but if agreeable to truth, I hope you will pardon the length, especially considering that several other conjectures on this affair, which are manifestly wrong, and serve only to embarrass it, would (if put together) make a much larger volume.

It is true, the subject itself must appear to many very trifling. They would say, that disputing so long about a single expression, was making much ado about nothing; and that it is of little consequence whether
this

this or that passage in Virgil, or any other author, is rightly understood or not. To such, the length of one of these letters would be sufficient to prevent their reading it. But I knew to whom I wrote, and therefore thought I could not be too full and particular, in settling a point, which has been so long controverted; and if I have done this to your satisfaction, I shall think my time not ill employed.

My principal design, as I at first informed you, was only to acquit Virgil; but I found his cause so interwoven with that of the other Poets, and one of the Historians, that it was absolutely necessary to explain them, in order to clear him, and make one entire reconciliation. The doing this brought me into such a wilderness, that it required some time to find the way out; and puts me in mind of that intricate pass, mentioned from Appian in my second letter, through which Rascupolis led Brutus and Cassius, when he undertook to shew them a new way to Philippi. They were obliged, as you may remember, to open a defile through a thicket of woods and briars, and the soldiers found themselves entangled in so many difficulties, that they were ready to stone their guide, on a suspicion that he was leading them out of the way. But I hope, after all, you will acknowledge with them, that, though the road has been bad, I have at last brought you to the true Philippi.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedient,

And most Affectionate Humble Servant,

E. HOLDSWORTH.

DISSERTATION THE SECOND;

O N

V I R G I L ' S S I B Y L :

In a L E T T E R to the fame.

VIRGIL'S SIBYLLA,

Not to be confounded with

DEIPHOBEE.

YOUR favourable acceptance of my late Remarks on Virgil's Two Philippi may, perhaps, put you to more trouble than you are aware of, having given me the assurance to communicate to you some farther thoughts on other parts of Virgil. That which I beg leave to submit to your judgment at present is the beginning of the sixth Aeneid, so far as it relates to the Sibylla; which, according to the common acceptation, appears to me so very perplexed, that, methinks, it looks like one of Sibyl's own prophecies; "Obscuris vera involvit."

The commentators and interpreters generally take it for granted, without further enquiry, that Deiphobe Glauci is the name Virgil gives his Sibyl. Upon a stricter examination, I am apt to believe, this will be found to be a mistake, and seems purely owing to negligence, and want of due attention to the whole tenor of this part of the Aeneid. I shall offer you my reasons for thinking so; and doubt not but, when you have considered all the circumstances preparatory to the descent into hell, you will be fully persuaded, notwithstanding the prejudice you may possibly have received in favour of the contrary and commonly received opinion, that

^a This Dissertation is not only one of the strongest instances of what is said in the advertisement prefixed to this work, in relation to Mr. Holdsworth's papers being left unfinished, and uncorrected; but much the greater part of it was also written on loose

and unconnected papers. The Editor was unwilling that they should be wholly lost to the world; and has endeavoured to bring them as much toward a consistency as he possibly could under such disadvantages.

these

these were two different persons; and that Deïphobe was no more than a priestess, or one of the priestesses, attending on the Sibyl.

In the first place then I conceive, that if Virgil is speaking only of one person here, he had no occasion to call her by any other name than that of Sibylla, which was sufficiently known. What the name means, or whether a family or proper name, is not agreed on; nor is it material: but because it may be deemed by some a general term, and that therefore Virgil added another name the better to distinguish his Sibyl, it may not be amiss to say something on this head. Pausanias^b, speaking of Delphi and its oracles, tells us, that this name is originally African. He says the Greeks make the first woman, who ever delivered oracles, to be daughter of Jupiter by Lamia, one of the daughters of Neptune; and that she was named Sibylla by the people of Africa. Varro, in his books *De Rebus Divinis*, written to Julius Caesar, says (as we are informed by Lactantius^c) that all the Sibyls were so called, either from a prophetess of that name at Delphi; or that the name imported, or was given to intimate, their being admitted into the secrets of the Gods. “Sibylla quasi Σιβελλη,” or in the Aeolic dialect Σιβελη. The same etymology is confirmed by St. Jerom^d, and others. Now, according to this etymology one may easily imagine, that it was sometimes used rather as a common than a proper name; and applied both by Greeks and Romans to any women pretending to divine inspiration. In this sense Aristotle speaks of Sibyls in the plural number; when discoursing of different tempers and constitutions, he observes that overheated brains produce Sibyls^e and Bacchae, and all such who are thought to be divinely inspired.

^b Lib. x. cap. 12.

^c — Sibyllinos libros non fuisse unius Sibyllae; sed appellari uno nomine Sibyllinos, quod omnes feminae vates Sibyllae sunt a veteribus nuncupatae, vel ab unius Delphidis nomine, vel a consiliis Deorum denunciandis; *οὐδὲ* enim Deos non *θεας*, et consilium non *θεον* sed *θεον* appellabant Aeolico genere sermonis; itaque Sibyllam dictam esse, quasi Σιβελλη. Lactant. *De Falsa Relig.* lib. i. cap. 6.

^d Quod si Aeolico genere sermonis Sibylla Σιβελη appellatur, recte consilium Dei sola

scribitur nosse virginitas. S. Hieronymus contra Jovinianum, lib. i.

^e In quibus multa et frigida bilis est atra, hi stolidi sunt et ignavi; in quibus permulta et calida, ii perciti et ingeniosi, amasi, propensi ad omnem excandescentiam et cupiditatem; nonnulli etiam loquaciores. Multi etiam propterea quod ille calor sedis mentis in vicino est, morbis vesaniae implicantur, aut instinctu lymphatico infervescunt; ex quo Sibyllae efficiuntur et Bacchae, et omnes qui divino spiraculo infligari creduntur. Aristot. *Probl.* § 30.

But notwithstanding this general acception of the word, it is certain that the antients were not so lavish as to bestow it at random on all the enthusiasts. We find very few, in all antiquity, distinguished with this name; and those are distinguished, generally, either by the places of their abode, or of their nativity.

Those authors who have made it their business to search into the history of Sibyls (on account of the Sibylline oracles), tell us, that some of the antients allow only one^f, others two^g, some three^h, others fourⁱ, and some five^k. Varro, who counts the most, reckons ten^l.

Although there have been so many different notions about the Sibyl or Sibyls, yet a Roman Historian, remarkable for his caution and reserve, does not scruple to oppose the opinion of there having been only one^m, to all the rest; and, indeed, upon a farther enquiry, that opinion

^f See Casimir Oudin, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis antiquis*, tom. i. § ii. p. 142.

^g Sibyllas, non decem, ut asserunt, sed duas fuisse non nescis. Marcianus Capella, *De Nupt. Phil.* lib. ii.

^h Delphicam, Heriphilem Erythraeam, et Cumanam. Solinus, c. vii.

ⁱ Pausanias admits four. Lamiam, alias Sibyllam Libycam; Herophilem, alias Delphicam vel Erythraeam; Demo, whom he calls the Cumæan; and Sabba, a Sibyl of the Hebrews, whom some call the Babylonian, and others the Egyptian Sibyl. *Lib.* x. cap. xii.

Quæer. Whether Aelian (*Var. Hist.* lib. xii. c. 35.) does not name four only? Ed. Var. Hazetius's note on his account of the Sibyls.

^k Tibullus mentions the Sibyl (or the Cumæan Sibyl); — Amalthæa; — Herophile; — the Albunæan Sibyl; — and the Marpeesian, or rather Mermessian Sibyl. *Lib.* ii. El. v.

The Mermessian Sibyl (as Mr. Holdsworth chooses to read it) was the same with the Erythraean; so called from Mermessus, near mount Ida in Phrygia; about which city all the ground is of a reddish colour, and very dry; according to Pausanias. So Stephanus Byzantinus calls the city itself, *red*:

ΜΕΡΜΗΣΣΟΣ. Πολις Τρωικη, αὐτὴ ἢ Ἐρυθραία Σιβυλλὰ· ἣν δὲ ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ ἐγέρει τὰ χρωματὶ.

^l He names them thus: 1. Persicam; 2. Libycam; 3. Delphicam; 4. Cumæam in Italiâ; 5. Erythraeam; 6. Samiam; 7. Cumanam, nomine Amalthæam, quæ ab aliis, Demophile vel Herophile nominatur; eamque novem libros attulisse ad regem Tarquinium; 8. Helleponticam; 9. Phrygiam; 10. Tyburtem, nomine Albunæam. Varro; from Laëtantius, *De Divin. Institut.* lib. i. cap. 6.

The practice of our modern painters, who usually represent the Sibyls as ten, seems to be founded solely on this authority from Varro. Michael Angelo was first led astray by it, in his great work in the Vatican, at Rome; and all the herd of inferior painters since have followed him implicitly.

^m Tacitus, speaking of a motion made for admitting a new book of the Sibyls, in the reign of Tiberius; and observing what great caution had been used, by order of Augustus, in receiving any such book as genuine; goes on thus: *Quod a majoribus quoque decretum erat, post exustum Sociali bello Capitolium; quaesitis Samo, Illo, Erythreis, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas Colonias, carminibus Sibyllæ; una*

will be found to have much more to support it than all the rest; for both the Greek and Latin writers speak more frequently of one, than of all the other numbers taken together.

Livy speaks of her in the singular number; and calls her by the plain name ^a Sibylla, without any addition to it. So does Pliny ^o, and ^p Ti-

seu plures fuere; datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humanâ ope potuissent, vera discernere. Tacitus, *Annal. lib. vi. § 12.*

^a It is where he is speaking of Evander; and says he was — Venerabilis vir, miraculo literarum; venerabilior, divinitate creditâ Carmentæ matris: quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllæ in Italiam adventum miratæ hæc gentes fuerant.

Virgil asserts the same of Carmenta; and that she foretold Aeneas's coming to settle in Italy.

— Cecinit quæ præpa futuros
Aeneadas magnos, et nobile Pallantæum.
Aen. viii. 341.

^o Divinitas, et quædam Cælitum societas, nobilissima ex feminis in Sibyllâ fuit; ex viris, in Melampode apud Græcos, apud Romanos in Marcio. *Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 33.*

^p Tibullus wrote the fifth Elegy of his second Book, on Messalinus's being chosen to be one of the Quindécimviri; who, among other religious charges, had the inspection of the Sibylline prophecies. Tho' he mentions four other antient prophetesses in it, he takes care to distinguish Sibylla from them, in a very eminent manner. He begins the Poem with a prayer to Phoebus (ver. 1 to 10.), the inspirer of all prophets and augurs (ver. 11 to 14.); and particularly of Sibylla:

Te duce, Romanos nunquam frustrata Sibylla est,
Abdita quæ senis fata canit pedibus:
Phoebe, sacras Messalinum sine tangere chartas

Vatis; et ipse precor, quod canat illa, doce.

Hæc dedit Aeneæ fortes, postquam ille parentem

Dicitur et raptos sustinuisse Lares:

Hæc fore credebat Romam, cum molus ab alto

Ilion arduentes respiceretque Deos.

Ver. 15 to 22.

He then describes the low estate of Rome, in Evander's time; and then bursts into a speech of Sibylla to Aeneas (ver. 39.) which she concludes thus:

Vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia lauros

Vescear, et æternum sit mihi virginitas.

Ver. 64.

Tibullus then adds:

Hæc cecinit Vates; et te sibi, Phoebe, vocavit;

Iactavit fusâ sed caput ante comâ.

Ver. 66.

and then speaks of the other prophetesses, cursorily, and all together.

Quicquid Amalthæa, quicquid Mermesia dixit,

Herophile Phoebo grata quod admonuit;

Quasque Albuna sacris Tiberis per flumina fortes

Portarit, sicco perlueritque sinu;

Hæc fore dixerunt, belli mala signa, cometen, etc.

Ver. 71.

bullus,

bullus, and Ovid ⁹, of the writers in Latin: and Plato ⁷, and Aristides ⁸, and Strabo ⁶, and Plutarch ¹⁰, among such as have writ in Greek.

In mentioning the authorities from the Roman writers just now, I did not forget so capital an one as Cicero; but reserved him on purpose, to close the evidence as to this part of the argument. Cicero has frequently occasion to speak of the Sibyl, and Sibylline oracles, in his books De Divinatione: but both in those, and in all the other parts of his works where he mentions her, he speaks of her in the singular number; and

⁹ Ovid, in describing Aeneas's voyage to Italy, after his having past by Pitheecusae, says;

Has ubi praeteriit et Parthenopeia dextra
Moenia deseruit, laeva de parte canori
Aolidae tumulum et loca foeta palustribus
ulvis;

Littora Cumarum, vivacisque antra Sibyllae

Intrat: et ut manes adeat per Averna paternos

Orat. — Met. xiv. ver. 106.

Ovid, in their returning from hell, calls her Dux Cumaea, ver. 121; and Virgo Cumaea, ver. 135; makes her say she was 700 years old then, and had 300 more to live, ver. 144; and concludes, as he began, with calling her by the plain name of Sibylla.

Talia convexum per iter memorante Sibylla,

Sedibus Euboicam Stygiis emergit in urbem

Troius Aeneas — Ver. 156.

⁷ Σωκρ. Είποις εν μοι τινα επωνυμιαν εχει Βακίς τε και Σιδυλλα, και ο ημεδαπός Αμφιλόγος; Οιαγ. Τίνα γαρ αλλην, ω Σωκράτης, πλην γε χρησµαδοί; Σωκρ. Ορθως λεγεις αλλα και τες δε μοι ετω πηρω αποκρινασθαι τινα επωνυμιαν εχει Ιππιας, και Περιανδρος, δια την αυτην αρχην. Οιαγ. Οίμαι μεν τυραννοί τι γαρ αλλο. Plato in Theag. sive de Sapiëntiâ.

⁸ Aristides (in his Oratio Platonica pro Rhetoricâ, § 22.), speaking of those who had ever been divinely inspired, mentions particularly the same Bacis and Sibylla, as two single persons; and at the same time observes, “that very few had ever been favoured with those supernatural powers; “such great gifts not falling to the lot of “many:” which, by the way, it would not have been so proper to have added, had there been so many as ten Sibyls.

⁶ Strabo, where he is speaking of Erythrae, a city in Ionia, says; “from thence “is the inspired Sibylla, the prophetess of “the antients:” (εκ δ’Ερυθρων Σιδυλλα εστιν ενδης, και μαυικη γυνη των αρχαιων. Lib. xiii.) And again (lib. xvii.), he speaks of the oracles of Sibylla, which the Romans preferred to any other; and calls her by no other name, but plain Sibylla there; and “the “old Erythraean Sibyl,” in the next page.

¹⁰ Τι δε; εαν ποιητικην παλιν η μιμητικην απωφανοιες, εκ ετεραν μεν ανδρων, ετεραν δε γυναικων εσαν, αλλα την επι την τα Σαπφης μιμητοις Ανακρεοντος, η τα Σιδυλλης λογια τοις Βακιδος ανηπαρεαδολοιμεν, εξαι τις αιτιασασθαι την αποδειξιν, οτι χαιρονη και τερπομενοι επαγει τη πικρη τον ακροατην; εδε τελος αν ειποις. Plut. de Virtutibus Mulierum, § 1.

He makes much the same opposition in another place. — Τι δε απολιπειν τα λεγολις ερωτικην μνην γεγοισεναι Σαπφω γυναικων μαυικην γεγοισεναι Σιδυλλαν, και Αριστοικαν, και οσαι δια μελιν εθεμισευσαν. Plutarch, De Pythiac Oraculis.

calls her by her name, plain Sibylla: without any additional title, except only in one place; where he calls her Sibylla Erythraea, from her native country; and his reason for using that additional title there is very evident; she being mentioned in that passage together with two prophets, Bacis and Epimenides; each of whom is distinguished there by Cicero, by names from their native country.

One thing, by the way, may seem very unaccountable, as to these quotations from Cicero: that he, who was so well acquainted with Varro, and his writings, should take no manner of notice of his * Ten Sibyls. Would not this almost justify one's doubting the authenticity for the world's having so long ascribed this opinion to Varro? For the proof of it is not bottomed on any thing in Varro's works, that are extant; but only quoted as from him, by an author who lived in the fourth century. A great name indeed; and one of the most celebrated writers among the Fathers of the Church: but as one does not see, in a quotation only, what preceded and followed that sentence; it cannot so thoroughly prove the opinion of Varro, as if it had been published in any compleat treatise of his own. He might give many of them as assumed names only; or mention them in some other sense, than we can possibly know, from this quotation only. All proper enquiry about this must lie out of our reach at present: and all that can be certain now, is, That if Cicero, in his time, understood that passage of his esteemed friend, the learned Varro, as an absolute assertion of Ten different Sibyls; it is exceeding strange, that he himself in all his works should, without taking any notice, or having any manner of scruple, always go on in representing the Sibyl as only one.

It appears from some of the passages which have been already cited from the antients † of the best ages, that the Cumaeon and Erythraean Sibyls (as they are called) are but one and the same person: and this is expressly asserted by Aristotle, in the following passage: "Cumae," says he ‡, "is a city of Italy; in which (as is apparent) is the opening of the earth which leads to the subterraneous cell of the prophetess Sibylla; who, they say, preserved her virginity there to a vast age: and though she was the (Sibylla) Erythraea, she is called by some of the inhabi-

* See p. 441, note † anteh.

Cicero.

† Strabo, as quoted p. 442, note †, and

‡ Aristotle, De Admir. § 90.

“tants of Italy, Cumana; and by others, Melachraena^a.” This Sibyl was called the Erythraean, as Erythrae was the place of her birth: and it was on that account that the Romans, whenever they sent any persons to collect Sibylline verses into foreign countries, took such particular care to name that city^b among the places where they were to enquire the most carefully after them.

This Cumacan (or Erythraean) Sibyl was looked upon as favoured with so high a degree of inspiration by the antients, that they^c prefer it greatly to that of the priestesses of Apollo at Delphi. Her inspiration was constant, theirs temporary; her’s (as Cicero says^d) from nature, theirs from the place only; her’s universal^e, theirs confined. She was also distinguished by her perpetual virginity^f; and had the singu-

^a Tzetzes, the old commentator on Lycophron, supposes the name *Μελαχραινα* (or *Μελαχραιρα*), to be taken from the obscurity of the Sibyl’s prophecies: *παρα το μελαινειν την φρασιν, και της χρησµης*. — *Quasi melainon την κραιραν και την κεφαλην, ητοι τοι νεν*. See note on Lycophron, ver. 1464.

^b Tacitus says; That when the Capitol was burnt, in the Social War, several were commissioned to go to enquire for the Sibylline verses, “at Samos, Ilium, and Erythrae; and even in Africa, Sicily, and “the Italian colonies.” *Annal. lib. vi. § 12.*

Agreeably to this Lactantius says; Ex omnibus civitatibus et Italicis, et Graecis, praecipue Erythraeis (libri), coacti alla ique sunt Romam; cujuscunque Sibyllae nomine fuerunt. *De Divin. Institut. lib. i. cap. 6.* Again, he says in another piece; Sibyllas plurimi et maximi autores tradiderunt, Graecorum Aristarchus, et Apollodorus Erythraeus; nostrorum, Varro et Feneſtella; hi omnes praecipuam, et nobilem praeter caeteras, Erythraeam fuisse commemorant. Apollodorus quidem, ut de civi et populari sua gloriatur: Feneſtella vero etiam legatos Erythras a senatu esse missos refert, ut hujus Sibyllae carmina Romam deportarentur: et ea Consules Curio et Octavius in Capitolio, quod tunc erat curante Q. Ca-

tulo restitutum, ponenda curarent. *Lact. De Ira Dei, cap. 22.*

^c Aristides, *Orat. Plat. pro Rhetoricâ, § 20, etc.*

^d Dii immortales quidem ipsi se nobis non offerunt, vim autem suam longè latèque diffundunt; quam cum terrae cavernis includunt, tum hominum naturis implicant: nam terrae vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturae Sibyllam. *De Divinatione, lib. i. § 36.*

^e Silius Italicus, for so tame a Poet, carries this very high.

— Haec, haec, veri facunda sacerdos!
Cui tantum patuit rerum, quantum ipse
negarit

Plus novissè Deus. —

Lib. xiii. ver. 492.

^f Lycophron, speaking of her cell at Cumae, calls it,

Παρθενε Σιβυλλης Οικητηριον. Ver. 1279.

— Ovid calls her, “The Cumaeen Virgin;” *Met. xiv. 135.* — Silius Italicus, “The chaste Sibylla,” *lib. xiii. 444.* “The celebrated Virgin,” *ib. 520.* and, “The Virgin,” by way of eminence several times, *ibid. 762, 781, etc.* and Tibullius makes her speak of “Eternal Virginity,” as her wish:

lar privilege granted to her of living to be a ^s thousand years old.

Several authors pretend to give us the Cumæan Sibyl's name; but with much disagreement, no two of them giving the same. Marcianus Capella, who makes the Cumæan and Erythraean Sibyl the same (and on very sufficient grounds, as has been proved above), in speaking of the latter, calls her Symmachia; and makes Hippoteusis her father: others call her Hermophile ^h; Solinus calls the Cumæan Sibyl ⁱ, Heriphile. But what seems of more weight than any of the former is to be found in Pausanias. It is where, in reckoning up the four most celebrated propheteesses of the highest antiquity, he calls the third of them Demo of Cumæ ^k; and that on no less authority than that of Hyperochus, a writer who was a citizen of Cumæ himself.

Now after so large an enquiry concerning the Sibyls in general, and the Cumæan Sibyl in particular, it is time to return to the point which gave occasion to it: and the chief thing I would observe from it is, that in all this variety of names and titles given to the Sibyls by the Greek and Latin writers of the best ages, there is not any such name given to any one of them as that of Virgil's Deïphobe; nor any one pointed out as the daughter of Glaucus. Had Virgil's Sibyl been a character introduced by that Poet, and unknown to the Romans; he might then certainly give her any poetical name he thought proper, and make her the daughter of Glaucus, or whomsoever he pleased: but this was far from being the case of their Sibyl. They were much interested in her from the beginning of their state; the oracles on which their fate, in a great measure, depended, were supposed to come from her: and her books were consulted by them, on all great emergencies. They had still some general accounts of her; and could not be ignorant, that she came from

Vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia lau-
ros

Vescear, et aeternum sit mihi virginitas.
Lib. ii. El. v. ver. 64.

^c Aristotle mentions her being said to have lived to a *vast old-age*, p. 441, note ^z anteh.

Phlegon Trallianus says, she lived ten generations; and refers to her own oracles, as the authority for it. Δεκα γενεας κατ' ανθρωπους γεινομεναι, ως αυτη φησιν εν τοις χρησμοις: as he is quoted by Oudin.

Ovid calls her, Vivax Sibylla, Met. xiv. 104: and makes her say to Aeneas, that she was 700 years old, when she arrived in Italy; and was to live 300 years more. Ib. ver. 144—146.

^h Marcian. cap. De Nupt. Phil. lib. ii.

ⁱ Sol. cap. vii.

^k Την δε επι ταυτη χρησμευς καλα ταυτα ειπεσαν, εκ Κυρης της εν Οπικαις εναι· καλεσθαι δε αυτην, Δημω· συνεγραψεν Υπεροχου, αιτη Κυραιου. Pausanias, lib. x. cap. 12.

Erythrae;

Erythrae ; lived to the age of a thousand years ; continued always in many palaces ; and particularly at Cumae, where she was at the time of Aeneas's arrival into Italy.

Deïphobe seems to be only an inferior priestess, or one of the common priestesses, belonging to this celebrated temple of Apollo, and the grove of Hecate ; but no prophetess herself : at least one only of a lower order, and very limited knowledge ; subordinate to the Sibyl. Virgil, whenever he speaks of her directly, never gives her the title of Vates ; but only Virgo or Sacerdos, without any other mark of distinction : whereas the Sibyl was of a superior character ; not only Arch-priestess and superintendant, as she ¹ says herself, of the groves of Hecate, but a great Prophetess too : endowed, at least according to the opinion of the Romans, with the largest gifts of divine inspiration that ever was pretended to in the Heathen world. The titles Virgil gives her are Vates, and that ^m Sanctissima et ⁿ Alma ; or Virgo ^o, as she was eminently so, having refused immortality to preserve her virginity ; and, lastly, Sacerdos : but it must be observed, that he never calls her simply Sacerdos, but always gives some additional epithet ^p to it, to distinguish her from the other priestesses over whom she presided.

The business of the priestess (such as Deïphobe) was, as I take it, to introduce those, who came to consult the Sibyl ; and therefore Aeneas sends Achates to fetch her to him ; which freedom he would not have taken with so sacred a person as the Sibyl, whom he was forewarned by Helenus to worship. And we find that when Deïphobe comes to him, there is not the least ceremony observed toward her, as unnecessary to a priestess of her inferior character : whereas, when he approaches the Sibyl, it is with awe and respect.

———— “ Tuque, O sanctissima vates
 “ Praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco
 “ Regna meis fati) Latio considere Teucros,
 “ Errantesque Deos, agitataque numina Trojae.
 “ Tum Phoebus et Triviae solido de marmore templi
 “ Instituiam ; festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.

¹ Sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis.

Aen. vi. ver. 564.

^m Aen. vi. 65.

ⁿ Ib. 74 et 117.

^o Ibid. 104.

^p Thus, Longaeva Sacerdos, Aen. vi. 321.
 et Magna Sacerdos, Ib. 544.

“ Te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris.”

Aen. VI. 65.

The business of this priestess was likewise to direct and attend the sacrifices ; and, as this charge required, she attends without the cell. Deïphobe comes to Aeneas in the vestibule, or outward court of the temple ; orders the proper offerings ; conducts the Trojans up to the temple ; and instructs Aeneas what time to pay his devotions. Nor do I find that she is ever admitted into the cell, or innermost part of the temple ; or even approaches to touch the doors ; for those fly open of themselves ¹.

The residence of the Sibyl was within the cave : there she was employed in writing her prophecies ; and from thence she delivered them. Thus Helenus describes her to Aeneas, “ Rupe ¹ sub imâ ; et ² antro seclusa.” And when Aeneas approaches the holy place, and stands with Deïphobe “ ante ³ fores ;” the Sibyl is shut up in the cave ; “ in antro ⁴ bacchatur Vates ;” and when the doors fly open, her prophecies are still delivered “ ex ⁵ adyto, antroque ⁶.”

When Deïphobe is conducting Aeneas toward the temple, and on approaching the sacred cell, informs him that the God is near, and is thereby seized with fanatic convulsions ; she is then without doors :

“ Talia fanti

“ Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,

“ Non comptae mansere comae ².”

Again, when she calls upon Aeneas, with some vehemence, to offer his vows immediately ; and tells him, the doors could not be open, till those were paid, she must still be without : for how could she enter in while the doors were shut ?

“ Neque enim ante dehiscunt

“ Attonitae magna ora domus. ³”

And it is as plain, that the doors continued shut till the conclusion of his devotions. For when Aeneas had offered up his prayers to Phoebus

¹ Oïlia jamque domûs patuere ingentia
centum

Sponte sua. Aen. vi. 82.

² Aen. iii. 443.

³ Ibid. ver. 447.

⁴ Aen. ...

⁵ Ibid. ver. 78.

⁶ Ibid. 98.

⁷ Ibid. 99.

⁸ Ibid. 48.

⁹ Ibid. 77.

and the other Gods, and his vows to the Sibyl; he concludes with this petition to her, as advised by Helenus; “that she would deliver her predictions verbally^b, not written upon leaves as usual;” for fear^c the opening of the doors should disperse them: which would have been very absurd, had the doors been already open.

Thus far then the sacred cave continues shut, and Aeneas and Deïphobe standing without; and at the same time the Sibyl is actually in her cell:

“At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro

“Bacchatur Vates^c:”

and then, immediately upon the conclusion of the vows, and not till then, the doors fly open:

“Ostia jamque domûs patuere ingentia centum

“Sponte suâ, Vatisque ferunt responsa per auras^d.”

Whoever reads these passages, and considers their connection, must, I think, be convinced that Deïphobe cannot be the Sibyl; without making the same person to be both within doors and without, at the same time: which would be too much conjuration, even for a Sibyl's cave.

On the other side, if we allow that these were two persons, the whole relation is clear and consistent. From verse 35th to the 54th, is the part of Deïphobe. From thence to verse 76th, is the prayer which she had pressed Aeneas to make; and his address and petitions to the Sibyl. At the next verse, the 77th, begins the part of the Sibyl herself: and her predictions, together with Aeneas's further petition to have an interview with his father, and the Sibyl's directions about the preparations necessary to his descent into hell, continue from the 77th verse to the 155th. After this, when Aeneas had^e found the golden bough, and carried it to Sibylla^f, and had performed^g the funeral to Misenus, he goes to the supposed mouth of hell, the cave at the lake Avernus (which Sibyl presided over as priestess of Hecate, as she did over the other as priestess of Apollo); and there prepares the necessary^h sacrifices, in obedienceⁱ to the Sibyl's commands.

^b Aen. vi. 74.

^c This is founded on what Helenus says, when he gives this advice. Aen. iii. 441

to 457.

^d Aen. vi. 78.

^e Ibid. 82.

^f Ibid. 204.

^g Ibid. 211.

^h Ibid. 232.

ⁱ Ibid. 236.

As the Scene changes at this place, the attendance of the priestess (Deiphobe) is here again necessary, to assist in performing the sacrifices; which she does from verse 243d, to the 254th. This done, and the time come for the descent (which I take to be immediately after midnight^k, or the first hour after midnight, which we, as well as the Romans, call morning); then the Sibyl appears, with dreadful solemnity, suitable to the occasion; and orders all to^l withdraw, as not being allowed to enter with Aeneas. Among those who are dismissed, I reckon not only the companions of Aeneas, but Deiphobe herself, and all who assisted at the sacrifices: as will appear more fully, by a parallel passage^m, which I shall produce, by and byⁿ, from Silius Italicus.

And here it must be observed, that as the Sibyl is now invested with power to conduct Aeneas to the shades, and return again, the Poet, on this occasion, first gives her the title of Goddess: "*Adventante Deâ*." The commentators suppose the Goddess here meant to be Hecate; and, indeed, it is impossible they should understand it of the Sibyl, as they take Deiphobe and the Sibyl to be one and the same person: but if it must be an infernal Deity, why do not they rather suppose Proserpina to be meant here? since the Golden Bough, the key to hell, belonged to her: unless they make Hecate and Proserpina to be one Goddess (which I cannot think they are, the contrary appearing plainly from many authorities that might be produced, and particularly because Virgil names them both^p separately within the compass of five verses, but just before this very passage); or if this was Hecate, what becomes of her? She must vanish again immediately; we hear nothing of her more through the whole voyage; Aeneas being left entirely to the conduct of the Sibyl. Since, then Hecate, nor any of the Infernal Deities appear personally, I rather believe that the Sibyl is intended by, "*Adventante Deâ*." Neither is this too great a title for her (especially in poetry); but very agreeable to Virgil's own account of her. When Helenus first mentions her to Aeneas, it is

^k Aen. vi. 153.

^l *Primi sub lumina solis et ortus.*

Aen. vi. 255.

^m Aen. vi. 258.

ⁿ See p. 452, 453. posthac.

^p Aen. vi. 258.

^q *Vocce vocans Hecaten, caeloque Erebo-
que potentem.*

*Supponunt alii cultros, tepidumque cruo-
rem*

*Suscipiunt pateris: ipse atri velleris agnam
Aeneas matri Eumenidum, magnaëque
sorori,*

*Ense ferit; sterilemque tibi, Proserpina,
vaccam:*

Tum Stygio regi, etc. Aen. vi. 252.

in such terms as seem to declare her more than mortal; and admonish him to worship her,

“ Adeas vatem; precibusque oracula poscas
 “ Ipsa canat, vocemque volens atque ora resolvat:
 “ Illa tibi Italiae populos, venturaque bella,
 “ Et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem,
 “ Expediet; curfusque dabit venerata secundos^a.”

According to this advice, when Aeneas addresses himself to her in her cell, he worships her with the title of Sanctissima; and when he vows temples to Phoebus and Diana, he promises little less to her:

“ Te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris:
 “ Hic ego namque tuas sortes, arcanaque fata
 “ Dicta meae genti ponam; lectosque sacrobo,
 “ Alma, viros^b.”

Palinurus, seeing Aeneas on the banks of the Stygian lake, concludes his guide could be no less a Goddess than his mother Venus:

“ Si qua via est, si quam tibi Diva Creatrix
 “ Ostendit (neque enim credo sine numine Divom
 “ Flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem);
 “ Da dextram misero, et tecum me tolle per undas^c.”

And, according to Ovid's account of this expedition, Aeneas himself thought his guide a Goddess^d; till, on their return from the shades, she undeceives him and^e relates her history. It is true, that history shews her not to be immortal; as she refused the bribe of immortality, offered her by Phoebus for her virginity: but as she had a lease of life (beyond all other mortals), for a thousand years; and after that lease expired, being to be immortalized by her predictions; she became by this little inferior to the lower class of Deities: and she was generally respected by the antients.

Let us next consider that, to prevent any mistake, Virgil has given the priestess and prophetess different names; which, one would think, should

^a Aen. iii. 460.

^b Aen vi. 74.

Numinis instar eris semper mihi.

^c Ibid. 370.

says Aeneas, Met. xiv. 124.

^d Seu Dea tu praesens, seu Diis gratissima (dixit),

^e Met. xiv. 130, etc.

be sufficient in this case, if there was no other distinction. For notwithstanding so many authors speak of the Sibyl; no body (as was observed before) calls her Deïphobe Glauci: nor indeed is she known by any other proper name, but that of Sibylla only; with the addition of some epithets, to distinguish her from other Sibyls; that is, other prophetesses called by her name.

What reason can there then be, to make Deïphobe the Sibyl? Virgil having so strongly distinguished them by name; by different titles, character, and employments: and particularly by such great honours, amounting almost to adoration, paid to the one and not the other.

Besides, all this may be further confirmed, by the practice of the Roman Poets that succeeded Virgil; and particularly, by that of Silius Italicus, who professes himself to be the constant imitator of Virgil: and we always find him in these cases observing the same method of distinguishing the principal from the inferior, and making one person introduce those who came to consult the oracle, and another deliver it.

Thus when Bostar and his companions, in his poem, go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to consult on Hannibal's enterprize, they are received and brought into the house by Arisbas, whom the Poet calls, *Hospes Sacerdos*². This priest conducts them to the holy fountain, and sacred groves, which he bids^a Bostar adore; and relates to them^b their miraculous origin. When he has finished this account, and they are in admiration of what they have heard, and what they see, the doors on a sudden fly open^c; a greater light shines round them, and discovers the superior priest or prophet, in his sacred vestments, standing within before the altar. Then Bostar makes his petitions to him^d, as he had been instructed to do; and then the prophet at the altar is inspired^e, and delivers the oracle^f. It is manifest here, that the person who delivers the oracle cannot be the same with the priest who conducted them.

Yet nearer to our purpose is the other instance I shall produce from Silius. The young Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, being at Puteoli when he received the news that the two Scipios, his father and uncle, were killed in Spain, is tempted by the place he is in (so near^g the Sibyl's cave), to try to obtain an interview with their ghosts, and learn from

¹ See, Lucan Pharf. v. 146.

² *Laeta fronte sacerdos*

Exceptos hospes testis inducit Arisbas.

De Bell. Pun. 2do lib. iii. 669.

^a Silius, iii. 677.

^b *Ib.* 678. to 692.

^c *Ib.* 693. to 696.

^d *Ib.* 697.

^e *Ib.* 698.

^f *Ib.* 701 to 713.

^g *Ib.* xiii. 397.

them.

them his own future destiny. Upon this, he goes to consult the neighbouring priests of Apollo at Cumae. The old Sibyl then had been long since dead; the name of the priests who resided there then was, Grynæa; ^h surnamed, as priests, Autonoë. He opens his mind to her, and entreats her to bring him to the sight ⁱ of his departed ancestors. She grants his ^k petition, promises to raise the ghosts of the ^l departed, and among the rest, that of ^m Sibylla, who may inform him of what he wants: and directs him as to the sacrifices that are necessary to be made, ⁿ in order to raise the ghosts. And though she herself was in possession of the cave, in consequence of the death of the Sibyl, yet she does not pretend to great power of prophecy; but tells Scipio, that his further enquiries should be answered by a greater prophetess, meaning the spirit of Sibylla herself.

“Caetera quae poscis majori vate canentur:
 “Namque tibi Elysiæ repetita oracula campo
 “Eliciam; veterisque dabo inter sacra Sibyllae
 “Cernere fatidicam Phoebei pectoris umbram p.”

When the sacrifices were now performing at the cave near the lake Avernus, and the ghosts arise, and among others that of Sibylla; then Autonoë cries out to Scipio, “that this was the true inspired priestess, “who was perfectly well acquainted with the secrets of Apollo; and that “it was time for her and his companions to retire.”

“Haec, haec, veri foecunda sacerdos!
 “Cui tantum patuit rerum, quantum ipse negarit
 “Plus novisse Deus. Me jam comitante tuorum
 “Tempus abire globo q.”

She must then evidently be supposed, from what she has just said, to depart with the companions of Scipio; as Deïphobe probably did with those of Aeneas, on the Sibyl's approaching him; and crying out, as she comes toward him:

“Procul, O, procul este, profani r!”

I have insisted the longer on this subject, because I think that without this distinction of Deïphobe from Sibylla (the superior priestess from the

^h Silius, xiii. 400.

ⁱ Ib. 403.

^k Ib. 404.

^l Ib. 408.

^m Ib. 412.

ⁿ Ib. 405 and 415.

^p Ib. 412.

^q Ib. 493.

^r Aen. vi. 258.

inferior),

inferior), the first part of Virgil's sixth Aeneid is not well to be understood; but though I have said so much in relation to it already, before I conclude, I must yet beg to add a word or two in regard to the time which is taken up by Aeneas and the Sibyl in the infernal regions. There is a great discord among the commentators upon Virgil as to this point. Ruæus, who is, in my opinion, the best of them, reckons that they were there one whole day, and part of two nights. This is in his note on the following passage:

“ Hæc vice fermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis
 “ Jam medium æthereo cursu trajecerat axem;
 “ Et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus.
 “ Sed comes admonuit breviterque affata Sibylla est:
 “ Nox ruit, Aenea^s,” etc.

in speaking of which, Ruæus, by a strange sort of construction, makes the Medium Auroræ^t, mid-day: but to have works of darkness, and which relate only to the Shades, transacted in day-time, seems to me such an absurdity, as Virgil could never have been guilty of.

If we consider the old Roman way of beginning their day, which we shall find, by Aulus Gellius^u, was just the same as we still use; that is, to reckon morning immediately after mid-night; then, I think, this whole affair is very clear and consistent; as will appear from considering the following particulars.

The sacrifices are performed, or at least begun, about mid-night:

“ Tum Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras,
 “ Et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,
 “ Pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
 “ Ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus,
 “ Sub pedibus mugire solum, et juga coepta moveri
 “ Sylvarum, visæque canes ululare per umbram,
 “ Adventante Deâ^x.”

Midnight was the proper time for this solemnity. So, when Dido is preparing her funeral pile, under colour of a sacrifice to the Infernal Deities, Virgil marks this time precisely:.

^s Aen. vi. 539.

^t See Ruæus's Note on Aen. vi. 535.

^u See his Noctes Atticae, lib. iii. cap. 2.

^x Aen. vi. 258.

“ Cum medio volvuntur fidera lapfu γ.”

Silius Italicus, giving an account of Scipio's ceremony (at the same place, and on the same occasion with that of Aeneas), tells us; that the priests orders the sacrifices to be made, “ sub lucem :”

“ Nec cunctata diu vates, mactare repostis
 “ Mox umbris, inquit, consueta piacula; nigras
 “ *Sub lucem* pecudes, reclusaeque abdere terrae
 “ Manantem jugulis spirantum caede cruorem ;
 “ Tunc populos tibi regna suos pallentia mittent ^z :”

which appears manifestly, by what follows, to mean immediately after midnight.

“ Vade, age ; et a medio cum se nox humida curfu
 “ Flexerit, ad fauces vicini castus Averni
 “ Duc praedicta sacris duro placamina Diti ;
 “ Mella simul tecum, et puri fer dona Lyaei ^a.”

Scipio prepares what is ordered, and goes to the place directed, just at midnight, for thus it follows :

“ Hoc placet monitu et promissae nomine Vatis
 “ Apparat occulto monstrata piacula coepto.
 “ Inde, ubi nox iussam procedens contigit horam
 “ Et spatia aequarunt tenebras transacta futuras,
 “ Confurgit stratis pergitque ad turbida portae
 “ Ostia Tartarae ^b.”

The priestess, who was waiting there for him as she had promised, immediately conducts him into the cave :

“ Tum quà se primùm ruptâ tellure recludit
 “ Invisum caelo specus, atque eructat acerbam
 “ Cocyti laxo fuspiciens ore paludem,
 “ Inducit juvenem : ferroque cavare refoffam
 “ Ocyus urget humum : atque arcanum murmur anhelans,
 “ Ordine mactari pecudes jubet ^c.”

^γ Aen. iv. 524.

^z Silius, xiii. 408.

^a Ib. 416.

^b Ib. 422.

^c Ib. 429.

From comparing these parallel passages, it may very well be concluded, that, "*Prima sub lumina solis et ortus*," in Virgil, means the same as "*sub lucem*," in Silius; morning, in the largest sense: that is, immediately after midnight.

And it plainly appears by a following passage in Silius, that this visit to the Shades was to be entirely finished before the break of day, or the actual appearance of light. For while Scipio is admiring the ghosts of the old heroes, such as Hector, Achilles, etc. the Sibyl admonishes him to hasten, for fear the "*lux alma*" (that gentle first appearance of the morning, which the Romans now call *Alba*) should overtake them, and call her away before they had finished their work:

"*Nam Virgo admonuit tempus cognoscere manes*
"*Femineos, ne cunctantem lux alma vocaret*^d."

From hence we may reasonably conclude, that by

"*Roseis Aurora quadrigis*
"*Jam medium aethereo cursu trajecerat axem*."

Virgil's Sibylla means, that half the time allotted them was past: that is, half the time between midnight and day. So that the whole course of Aurora was, from morning taken in the largest sense, to morning taken in the stricter sense. The same space of time might likewise be called night. So, "*Nox, ruit*," in what Sibyl says just after, is to be understood; "The night is almost gone; hastens away:" which might well be said by her, so long as it continued dark; notwithstanding the same time is, by Virgil himself, called Aurora: in like manner as with us the same time (to wit, from after midnight to day-break) is called indifferently, either Night or Morning.

^d Silius, xiii. 809.

^e Aen. vi. 539. It is true, that Virgil in another place (Aen. viii. 369), as Ruæus observes, uses "*nox ruit*," to signify, "the night hastens on;" but it must likewise

be observed, that Virgil there adds, "*Et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis*," as it were to explain it: for certainly that expression, "*Nox ruit*," by itself, may signify either, night comes on, or goes off, apace.

DISSERTATION THE THIRD;

UPON EIGHT VERSES IN

VIRGIL'S GEORGICS.

DISSERTATION THE THIRD:

Upon the following VERSES in

VIRGIL'S GEORGICS.

“ **P** L A N T I S ^a edurae coryli nascuntur, et ingens
 “ Fraixnus, Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae,
 “ Chaonique Patris glandes : etiam ardua palma.
 “ Nascitur, et casus abies visura marinos.
 “ Inferitur verò ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida,
 “ Et steriles platani malos gessere valentes,
 “ Castaneae fagos, ornusque incanuit albo
 “ Flore pyri, glandemque fues fregere sub ulmis.”

Georg. II. ver. 72.

Every one will allow, I am persuaded, that the eight foregoing verses, as they are commonly understood, are full of great difficulties, not to say, absurdities. I need not repeat all which has been said on this subject, as that would be giving a very unnecessary trouble ; but shall consider only Dr. Martyn's Remarks, and beg leave to make some observations.

In his first note on the four first verses, he tells us, that by Plantis Virgil means Suckers, and presently after adds, “ It must not be denied, that notwithstanding our Poet seems to mention the Oak, Palm, and Fir, as being propagated by Suckers, yet these trees are never known to produce any, nor were they ever propagated any other

^a Servius reads it “ et durae ;” and Dr. and Bodleian, and the greater part of the Martyn allows, that the King's, Cambridge, ancient Manuscripts have it so.

“way than by seeds.” This is no small objection, to be mistaken in three instances out of six: and, to say no worse, reflects on the Poet’s accuracy. And as the Doctor offers only one Solution, suggested by a friend, and which he himself questions whether the words will bear, he seems to give up this as a mistake.

Without disputing, whether what is objected be true in every article or not; pray, let me ask, what necessity there is for confining Virgil’s meaning to Suckers? And whether the Doctor has any authority from him for so doing? Suckers, as I take it, properly so called, are such shoots as spring from the root. These in Latin may certainly be called *Plantae*; but generally, I believe, with the addition of *Radicis* or *Ab Radice*, to ascertain their meaning. See *Plin. lib. XVII. c. x.* Virgil, speaking of these in the beginning of this book, does not so much as mention the word *Plantae*, but expresses himself very elegantly by “*Silva pullulans ab radice*,” ver. 17. Six verses after, he calls shoots, either from the root, or rather body of a tree (which may be another sort of Suckers), *Plantas*; but at the same time explains what he means, by adding,

“*Tenero abscindens de corpore matrum.*”

Again, ver. 80. he uses the word for slips or cions to be ingrafted.

“*Finditur in solidum cuneis via: deinde feraces*

“*Plantae immittuntur.*”

Here he does not determine, from what part these *Plantae* are to be taken; but by the epithet *Feraces* he cannot probably mean the root, because those were generally reckoned the most barren; and Virgil himself styles them *Steriles*, ver. 53. — Again, ver. 300, he applies the word *Plantas* to sprigs taken as far from the root as possible, viz. the top.

“*Neve flagella*

“*Summa pete, aut summa^b defringe ex arbore plantas.*

So that it is plain he uses the word indiscriminately for any shoots, sprigs, slips, or cuttings whatever, to be ingrafted, or planted.

The word is likewise used in the same sense as a *plant* with us, for young trees drawn out of woods or nurseries; which indeed I take to be

^b Or *Defringe*.

its principal signification, when used simply, without any additional word to determine its meaning. See Plin. ^c lib. XII. c. xvii. ^d lib. XVII. c. xi. and ^e xiii. And Columella. ^f lib. III. c. xv. ^g lib. V. c. vi. — Virgil himself too, some verses above, speaking of layers taking root, and being as it were nursed at home by the mother, calls these

“Viva suâ *plantaria* terrâ.” Ver. 27.

We find the word *Planta* still used in a larger sense. Columella, in a chapter where he treats of Olive-trees, tells us, as Virgil does here, that they are raised best from truncheons: and when he speaks of those truncheons, either set in a nursery, or removed thence into the olive-yard, he calls them *Plantas*; and several times in the same chapter uses indifferently the words *Arbusculae*, *Arbores*, and *Plantae*, as synonymous terms, lib. V. c. ix. Pliny too, speaking of trees which take deep root, mentions ^h a Fir, whose root had run above eight cubits deep in the ground, when it was taken up to be transplanted; and yet he calls this a plant. In short, *Planta* seems to be a general term for any vegetable, in whatever shape, or of whatever age, when set, or grafted.

The word thus explained, let us next consider, in what sense we must here understand it in Virgil. This, I think, will best appear by examining his plan, from the beginning of the book to this place.

After the Introduction, he begins with such trees as grow purely by nature, from ver. 10 to 21; from thence to ver. 34 he names six different ways of propagating, which are learned by art and experience. Then, after an apostrophe to husband-men to encourage them to improvement, and after invoking his patron, he proceeds ver. 47. to shew, in a very concise easy manner, how those artificial ways of managing trees, which he before touched on in general, may be applied to particulars; and that

^c Nec non et (Ladanum) fruticem esse dicunt in Carmania, et super Aegyptum per Ptolemaeos translatis *plantis*.

^d *Plantas* ex seminario transferre in aliud, priusquam suo loco ponantur, operose praecipit arbitror, licet translatione folia latiora fieri spondeant.

^e Propaginum duo genera. Ramo ab arbore depresso in scrobem quatuor pedum quoquo, et post biennium amputato flexu, plantaque

translatâ post trimatum, etc.

^f De seminario transferre *plantam* diligenter exactam et integram.

^g Cum *plantas* in aliud seminarium transferre volumus. — Collectae cum stirpibus plantae, etc.

^h Apud Auctores cerè invenitur *Abietis planta* cum transferretur octo cubitorum in altitudine, nec totam refectam, sed abruptam. Lib. xvi. c. 51.

all trees may be improved by art, which would run wild, if left to themselves.

Thus far he is very regular. But how the four verses in debate come in, as Dr. Martyn understands them, or what connection they can have with what goes before, is what I do not comprehend. If the several trees here named are supposed to grow from Suckers, purely by nature, unassisted by art; then the proper place to have mentioned them would have been above; where some of that sort are named; and this general conclusion drawn of them and such other natural growths:

“ Hos natura modos primum dedit: his genus omne

“ Sylvarum fruticumque viret, nemorumque sacrorum.”

Ver. 21.

Or if we suppose the trees here named to mean such as grow from Suckers improved, that is, planted out; then the proper place to have specified them would have been under that head, ver 53.

“ Nec non et sterilis quae,” etc.

which is particularly appropriated to that purpose. To bring them in in this place seems to me very irregular and incoherent: which I should be more surprized at in Virgil, than at his giving Suckers to trees which have none. Because this concerns him as a Poet, on which his character certainly depends, more than on being a Gardener. He is generally, I believe, very exact even in the most minute things; and I scarce imagine he should be mistaken in so many articles together as he is here charged with: yet, supposing him now and then to slip, or occasionally to differ from others in such matters, this would be of no great importance; but to be confused and perplexed in his method, touches him in a more tender point.

Since then there are such reasons for not admitting Dr. Martyn's interpretation of these four verses; I beg leave to offer another.

In my humble opinion, after the general conclusion about planting out

“ Scilicet omnibus est labor impendendus, et omnes

“ Cogendae in sulcum, ac multâ mercede domandae.”

and the short remark added, that some trees thrive best, not by the ordinary way of planting, but by layers and truncheons,

“ Sed

“Sed truncis oleae melius,” etc.

Virgil proceeds next to another sort of planting, still more difficult; and tells us, that not only young plants and truncheons may be removed, but even grown trees. This is methodical, and consistent with what preceded, the transition easy, and the climax just. We continue still in the plantation, but we are led into a part we had seen nothing of before, a grove of some considerable growth, newly planted. And therefore we may observe, all the epithets and decorations, used here to enliven the subject, are suited to trees of an advanced age.

“Plantis et durae coryli,” etc.

By this interpretation it must appear already, that the epithet *Ardua*, which is another difficulty with Dr. Martyn, becomes plain and easy: and indeed it was so far from embarrassing me, that it helped to explain what went before. We advance farther in the plantation, and are shewn, that even the Palm too (an Exotic) may be transplanted when tall, or in poetic language, be ⁱ *born a tree*; and so likewise the Fir, when grown fit for a mast.

We may very reasonably imagine, that in Virgil's time, that age of luxury, the great men of Rome transplanted tall trees from woods and nurseries, as is frequently done with us, into their walks and gardens. Maecenas, to whom this book is dedicated, had a garden, we know, on the Esquiline hill, celebrated by Horace and others: and it is not improbable, that in order to bring it sooner to perfection, this might be practised there, perhaps ^k just at the time Virgil was writing this *Georgic*. If so, how artfully does the Poet here insinuate, with his usual address, a compliment to his patron? I only hint this as a conjecture; but am the more inclined to believe, that something of the wilderness part of a garden is intended, by the Palm being placed among the others; which, though

ⁱ If any doubt about *nascuntur*, be pleased to consult Pliny, lib. xix. c. 7. *Nascuntur autem omnia, aut semine, aut avulsione.* And lib. xvii. c. 17. speaking of six different ways of propagating trees; he says figs grow by all, and yet to all these he uses the word *nasci*. In short, I think, without any forced metaphor, *nasci* may be said not only of seed or plant, when it first peeps out of the ground, but of any tree, or part thereof,

when it is transplanted; set, or grafted, in any form, and begins a new life.

^k Dr. Martyn observes, that in both Dr. Mead's MSS. instead of *etiam* it is *et jam ardua palma*. Now granting this passage to have any relation to Maecenas's garden just then making, and that transplanting tall Palms was then first attempted; it justifies this reading, and heightens the compliment.

a fruit-tree in its own country, yet is not improperly put here in the company of forest-trees, because it did not bear fruit, nor was counted a fruit-tree at that time in Italy: as Pliny informs us¹ lib. XIII. c. iv. and therefore could be planted only, as the others might, for beauty and ornament to gardens.

Whether Virgil had any such view or not, there can at least be no doubt, but that removing tall trees was practised among the Romans. We find by Pliny, that the common method of making their *Arbusta*, or Plantations for supporting vines, was by planting out Elms, when about five years old, or about twenty foot high: ^m lib. XVII. c. xi. And the fir mentioned above, which Pliny tells us had so deep a root, must certainly have been a tall tree, and yet, he says, was removed. As to the palm, though it did not arrive to such perfection in Italy, as to bear fruit, yet we findⁿ it was common there; and a tree which not only would bear removing, but thrive the better for it.

And to put this matter about removing tall trees beyond dispute, Virgil himself confirms it in another place, and makes his *Corycius Senex* put it in practice, *Georg. IV. 144. etc.*

“ Ille etiam feras in versum distulit ulmos,

“ Eduramque pyrum; et spinos jam pruna ferentes,

“ Jamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.”

It is true, most of the commentators and translators seem not to have rightly apprehended the meaning of this passage, as Dr. Martyn observes, and thereby have lost much of its spirit: but since he has rendered it justly, and given it its full force, I doubt not, but when he compares the expressions of both passages together, he will more easily agree to my interpretation; and will be surprized, as indeed I am, how it before escaped him.

Granting then the explanation here given to be supportable, it must, I believe, at the same time be allowed, that this is a proper conclusion of

¹ *Judaea verò incluta est vel magis palmis. Quorum natura nunc dicitur. Sunt quidem et in Europa, vulgòque Italia, sed steriles. Quamobrem jure dicentur externae. Nulla est in Italia sponte genita, nec in alia parte terrarum, nisi in calida: frugifera verò nusquam nisi in fervida.*

^m *In Arbustum quinquennes sub urbe transferunt, aut, ut quibusdam placet, quae*

vicinam pedum esse coeperunt.

ⁿ *Seruntur autem Palmae et trunco, duorum cubitorum longitudine, à cerebro ipso arboris, fissuris diviso atque defosso. Et ab radice avulsae, etc. Ergo Plantaria instituunt, anniculasque transferunt, et iterum bimas. Gaudent enim mutatione sedis. Plin. lib. xiii. sect. 8. edit. Harduin.*

what Virgil had to offer with regard to planting in general. As from ver. 22 to 23, where he speaks of the several artificial ways of managing trees, he begins with the most simple, and rises gradually to what requires more art and experience : so under this head of improving by planting out, he raises his subject by advancing by degrees to what is most difficult in transplanting. The force of which will further appear more fully, when we have examined the true intent of the four next verses immediately following.

- “ Inferitur verò ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida,
- “ Et steriles platani malos gèffere valentes,
- “ Castaneae fagos, ornusque incanuit albo
- “ Flore pyri, glandemque fues fregere sub ulm̄is.”

Dr. Martyn says on this place, that “ He believes there is no passage in all the Georgics, which has been more censured than this about grafting, it being a received opinion, that no graft will succeed, unless it be upon a stock which bears a fruit of the same kind. Hence, he says, this is looked upon as a *mere poetical rant*,” etc. He afterwards softens this hard expression by adding, “ that he will not determine, whether the present art falls short of that of the ancients, or whether our climate will not admit of the same advantages with the better air of Italy.” And then endeavours to strengthen what our Poet has said by the authority of Columella, whom he calls “ the best, the most experienced, and most judicious prose-writer on agriculture amongst the ancients,” to shew how any cion may be grafted on any stock : which he thinks sufficient to justify what the Poet has related.

But then again, on the other side of the question, he quotes the following observations of Mr. Miller. “ As to the different kind of trees which are mentioned by the Poet to be ingrafted on each other, I dare affirm it was never practised in any country : so that we must either suppose the trees, which now pass under the same appellation, to be different from those known at that time under such names; or that it is a licence taken by the Poet to embellish his poem.” As Dr. Martyn makes no direct answer to these criticisms, he leaves us still in the dark, and Virgil undefended, and in danger of being condemned. For such censures, or, to say the best we can, such feeble defences, from a person eminent for his knowledge of plants, must reasonably suppose the Poet’s cause to be very bad ; and may fix on him a charge, either of utter ignorance of what he was about, or at least of great negligence. And there-

fore I beg leave to offer some Remarks, which I hope may serve to illustrate him, and wipe off these aspersions.

As to the supposed misapplication of names, this cannot be pretended with regard to many of the trees here mentioned, most of them having never been disputed. And for the *licence* supposed to be “taken by the Poet to embellish his poem;” this is only the common subterfuge, when we do not understand a Poet’s meaning, a salvo for all difficulties.

If what Mr. Miller says is really true, that Virgil talks of ingrafting different kinds of trees, which never was done in any country; this, in my opinion, would be so far from being an “embellishment to his poem,” it would well deserve to be censured. But I cannot think he can be charged with such *poetical rants* in any part of his works, especially his Georgics. Dr. Martyn has remarked on this place in his 82d Note, “that the phrases are particularly elegant, and that the variety of expression our Poet has used in speaking of the different sorts of ingrafted trees, and the various epithets he bestows on them, render this passage exceedingly delightful.” I readily agree with him, that it seems impossible not to observe the beautiful manner in which he has described them: but if at the same time he gives instructions for doing what was absolutely impracticable, he must have been as negligent with regard to his subject, as he is delicate in his expressions. And can we suspect Virgil of such unpardonable carelessness, as not to have endeavoured to be better informed, as he easily might have been, of the most vulgar rules? In the beginning of the First Book, he solemnly invokes Augustus to assist him in taking pity on the ignorant husband-man:

“Ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestes.

“Ingredere;”

and in this Book, a few verses above, addresses in like manner his patron Maecenas,

“Tuque ades, inceptumque unà decurre laborem.”

We cannot doubt then, but that he had all the assistance his prince or patron, or their gardeners, could give him: and supposing himself utterly unacquainted with his art, he might easily have been better instructed by them; so as not to advance precepts directly contrary to experience, and which must be ridiculed by every common gardener. Nor
can

can it be imagined, that so many mistakes together, in so few lines, should pass unobserved in a poem, which is supposed to have lain long under correction. The only thing I can think can be pretended, is, that such mistakes might, in that age, be owing to want of opportunities of being better informed in an affair, of which the world might then be supposed to be ignorant, and to have never examined. But this cannot be pleaded. For Columella, who asserts, as Dr. Martyn observes, this general ingrafting, tells us, at the same time, that ° “ the ancients denied “ it, and determined this (with Mr. Miller), as a perpetual law, that “ those cions only could succeed, which were like in outer and inner “ bark, and fruit, to those trees on which they were ingrafted.” If then this was looked upon as a known and settled point among the ancients, we cannot easily conceive Virgil, and every body about him, so great strangers to the subject he was treating of, as to know nothing of such old maxims. It is more reasonable to suppose, that he was acquainted with the ancient rule, but that he had the authority of the virtuosi of his time, as Columella had after him, for the contrary practice, and well knew what he was about. And therefore not only gives one instance, which we will suppose for once might possibly happen through inadvertency, but names five different sorts of trees to be grafted on five others; and in every one goes contrary to the common rule: which cannot well be supposed to be done, but by design; as I hope to make appear.

Virgil had before spoken of grafting in the common method, from ver. 32 to 34.

“ Et saepe alterius ramos impune videmus

“ Vertere in alterius; mutataque insita mala

“ Ferre pyrum, et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna.”

As he here grafts only kernel fruit on kernel, and stone on stone, he shews plainly, that he understood what was the common method, and con-

° Sed cum antiqui negaverint posse omne genus furculorum in omnem arborem inferi, et illam quasi finitionem, quam nos paulò antè usi sumus, veluti quandam legem sanxerint, eos tantum furculos posse coalescere, qui sint cortice, ac libro, et fructu consimiles iis arboribus, quibus inferuntur; existimavimus er-

rorcm hujus opinionis discutiendum, tradendamque posteris rationem, quàm possit omne genus furculi omni generi arboris inferi, etc. De Arboribus, c. xxvii. The same is asserted, almost word for word, in the body of his Book, De Re Rustica, lib. v. cap. 11.

forms to it. Again, from ver. 49 to 51, under the articles of improvements, he observes, that chance plants, which are naturally wild, may be civilized by grafting, as crabs, flocs, or wild plums, etc.

“ Tamen haec quoque si quis

“ Inferat, aut scrobibus mandet mutata subactis,

“ Exuerint sylvestrem animum.”

Having thus sufficiently mentioned this practice, and there being no necessity to repeat it, as he endeavours to be as concise as possible ; he proceeds in the next place to tell us, that trees of different kinds may likewise be grafted on each other. And as he had before shewed, in the four preceding verses, what art could do in transplanting tall trees, he advances here to shew what may likewise be done by the help of art in grafting, viz. that any cion may be ingrafted on any stock.

But what shall we say then to Mr. Miller's assertion, “ That all these
“ sorts of trees have been tried on each other, not only in England, but
“ also in Italy ; and from all the different experiments which have been
“ made, it is found, that no trees of a different kind will take on each
“ other ?” Be that as it will ; yet, notwithstanding these modern trials, it by no means follows, and I think Mr. Miller is too bold, when he dares affirm, “ that it was never practised in any country.” Columella affirms, that it was practised in his time, and that without any such juggling, as Mr. Miller insinuates : why should we doubt then, that it was done, supposing the art to be now lost ?

This is likewise confirmed by Pliny, who speaking of several *bold or impudent* ways, as he calls them, of ingrafting, concludes with telling us, that this art was long since brought to the greatest degree of perfection ; and probably means about Virgil's time, because he refers to this very passage. — ‘ Pars haec vitae jampridem pervenit ad culmen, expertis
“ cuncta hominibus ; quippe cum Virgilius “ insitam nucibus arbutum, ma-
“ lis platanum, cerasis (he should have said quercubus) ulmum” dicat :
“ nec quicquam amplius excogitari potest. Nullum certè pomum novum
“ diu jam invenitur :’ lib. XV. c. xv. — Again, afterwards, when he sets down the different methods of ingrafting, he has this remarkable account of a tree loaded with different sorts of fruits. — “ Tot modis insitam,
“ arborem vidimus juxta Tiburtes Tulas, omni genere *pomorum onustam* ;
“ alio ramo nucibus, alio baccis, aliunde vite, ficis, pyris, punicis, malo-

Peculiaris impudentia est (prunorum) nucibus insitorum. Lib. xv. c. 13.

“ rumque

“rumque generibus.” It is true he adds, “Huic brevis fuit vita:” yet supposing it to live ever so short a time, this may serve to shew, in answer to Mr. Miller, that the thing was practicable. And even allowing that Pliny might sometimes be imposed upon, and give in too much to vulgar errors, we must observe, that in this place he says Vidimus. See lib. XVII. cap. xvi. His testimony is the more to be regarded, because he sometimes dissents from Virgil’s rules, as appears lib. XVII. sect. iii. not. 5. Harduin. And therefore, if these relating to ingrafting had been so notoriously false, as is pretended, it is probable he would have censured, instead of confirming them. — To these authorities from Columella and Pliny, we may add another, though of somewhat later date, Palladius; whose little poem De Inſitione almost wholly consists of this sort of ingrafting: and which, if false, must be looked upon as no better than one continued *rant* from the beginning to the end. But enough of this.

Amongst other delicacies of the Augustan age, planting and gardening was certainly much improved by those who, after the conclusion of the civil wars, had time and fortunes to retire, and indulge an easy luxurious life. Of this number was Cn. Matius, of whom Dr. Middleton, in his Life of Tully, gives an excellent character, for parts, learning, and virtue; and tells us, “that he lived in such favour and familiarity^a with Augustus, as to be distinguished by the title of *His Friend*, etc. This man, he says, first taught how to inoculate and propagate some of their most curious and foreign fruits, and introduced the way of cutting trees and groves into regular forms. On which subjects he published several books mentioned by later writers^r.”

This taste of the great men of that age in their retirement might probably induce Augustus and Maecenas to put Virgil on this task of writing the Georgics, and give birth to this excellent poem. And since Matius

^a See vol. iii. from p. 40 to 45.

^r Columella, lib. vi. cap. 12. and lib. v. cap. 10. And Pliny, lib. xii. cap. 2. Primus Cn. Matius ex equestri ordine, Divi Augusti amicus, invenit nemora tonsilia intra hos LXXX annos. Again, Pliny, lib. xv. cap. 14. mentions the same Matius as having given name to a new species of apples; and hints that this vanity of nam-

ing any new sort of fruit occasioned making so many experiments in grafting — “Reliqua cur pigcat nominatim indicare, cum conditoribus suis aeternam propagaverint memoriam, tanquam ob egregium aliquod in vita factum? Nisi fallor, apparebit ex eo ingenium inferendi: nihilque tam parvum esse, quod non gloriam parere possit. Ergo habent originem à Matio, etc.

was so dear to Augustus, it is very likely that the Favourite Poet, especially in this part of his work, would consult the Friend; who would not have suffered him to have made eight mistakes in as many lines.

Another objection, urged by Mr. Miller. and quoted by Dr. Martyn, against Virgil's doctrine of ingrafting is, that "there could no advantage arise from it to the practitioner; and it would be only a matter of curiosity to see the stock of one kind supporting a tree of a very different one." Allowing this to be true, and that these are only whims in grafting: yet supposing the thing practicable, as I think cannot be questioned after such authorities, this is sufficient to justify the Poet in taking so fair an opportunity to compliment his friends and patrons, and diversify his subject in an elegant manner, by shewing in these beautiful lines what might be done, though only out of curiosity. This I take to be his true design: and therefore, the trees he has named are not at random; but he has purposely chosen such instances, as do not any one of them come within the common rules of grafting.

Let us fancy ourselves walking with Virgil in the gardens of Maecenas, and that after taking a view of the several nurseries and plantations, and seeing many trees inoculated or grafted in the common methods, he leads us at last to a part destined purely to new experiments in that art. There he bids us observe several strange intermarriages between trees of different nations and no ways related. How agreeably must our curiosity then be gratified with seeing the extraordinary offsprings of these foreign alliances, whilst we are charmed with his elegant manner of shewing them, and his delicate expressions!

I submit to the Critics, whether the manner in which I have explained these Eight Verses do not remove all difficulties, give greater force to the subject, and more variety (which is one of the principal beauties in this poem), and at the same time make it more methodical and unembarrassed. In short, in this, as I take it, consists the whole life and spirit of this passage; which otherwise seems lost in confusion and absurdities, and made up only of fine words without truth or common sense.

DISSERTATION THE FOURTH;

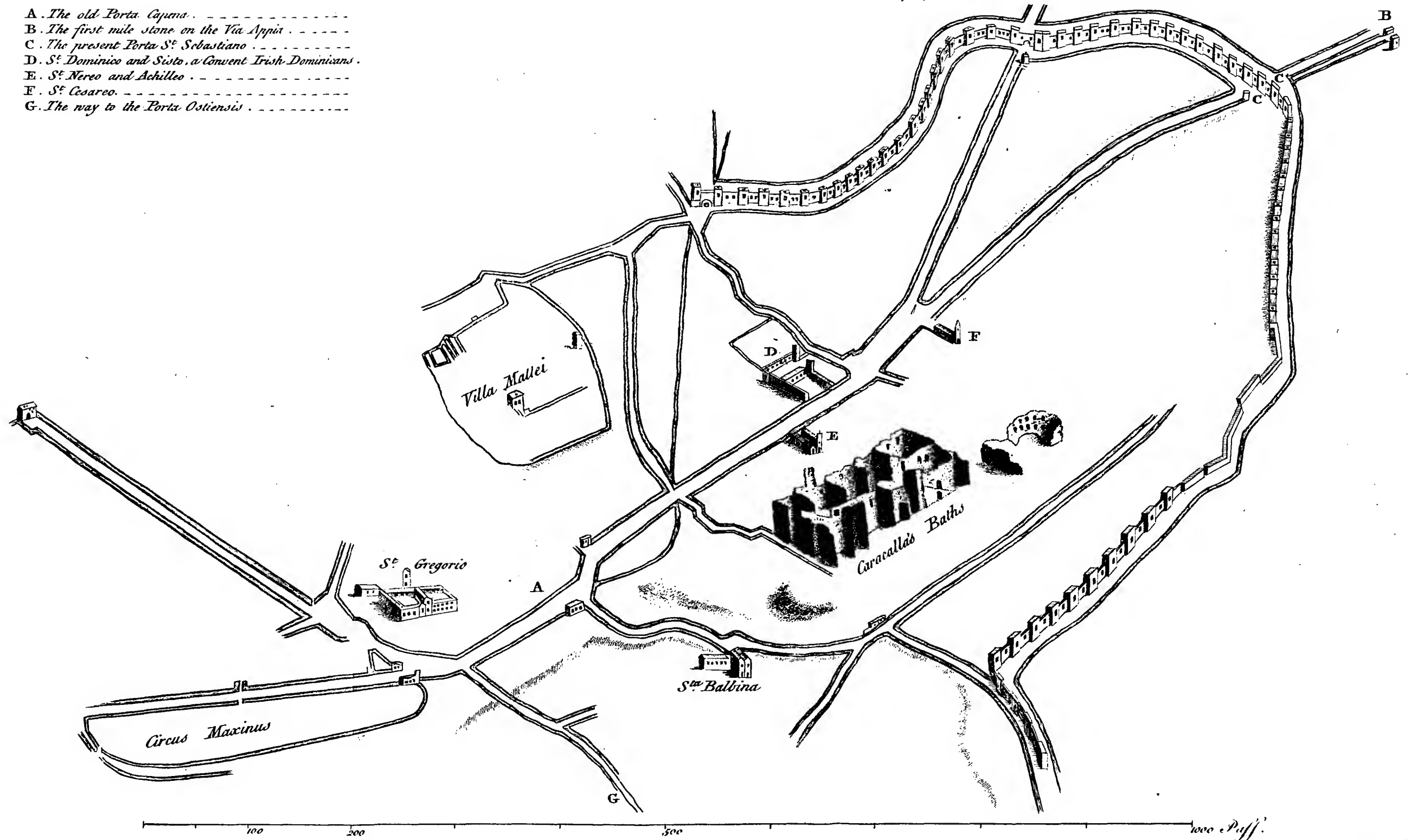
ON THE

FOUNTAIN of EGERIA and her GROTTA.

IN a LETTER to Mr. SPENCE.

This, to be prefixed to Dissertation the Fourth.

- A. The old Porta Capena
- B. The first mile stone on the Via Appia
- C. The present Porta S^t Sebastiano
- D. S^t Dominico and Sisto, a Convent Irish Dominicans
- E. S^t Nereo and Achilleo
- F. S^t Cesareo
- G. The way to the Porta Ostiensis



DISSERTATION THE FOURTH:

ON THE

FOUNTAIN of EGERIA,

AND

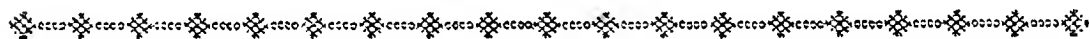
HER GROTT O.

In a LETTER to Mr. SPENCE.

THE agreeable day I once spent with you and some other friends at the Fountain of Egeria, as it is now generally called, made me so much in love with that celebrated nymph, that on my late return to Rome I soon went to make her another visit; and, during my stay there, I endeavoured to improve that acquaintance, and made some enquiry into her family, fortune, and circumstances. All which I now take the liberty to acquaint you with, not only as one of the company, but more particularly because she was a friend and favourite of the Muses as well as you. And as she is one of the ladies belonging to your province, you seemed, I thought, at the time we met, to be as much enamoured with her, as myself; but a flame kindled in Italy does not, you know, always last to England. Besides you have had so many Goddeffes to engage your attention here, that I may well suppose you could not spare much time to think of this Italian lady; whose family, which is very numerous, have been for some time, and are still, under your care; and as a common friend to them all, you would not, I am sure, suffer one to engross your affection. Give me leave then to discover to you my particular

icular attachment to this one of your nymphs among so many ; and I will be so free on my part, without any reserve or jealousy, to communicate to you all my thoughts concerning her. If I should happen to be too circumstantial in my account, you may impute this to over-fondness, or, if you please to call it dotage. Lovers, at my time of life, know not when to have done, when once they begin to talk of their mistresses. They are often, on such occasions, tiresome to their friends, and too apt to expose themselves.

But to be serious. You know there are great disputes about the situation of the Grove and Fountain of Egeria, and the place of her interview with Numa. Some supposing it to be at or near Aricia, about sixteen miles from Rome, on the Via Appia; others at or very near Rome, by the Porta Capena; and others at the place where we went to wait on her; which is about two miles without the present Porta S. Sebastiano, on a cross road between the Via Appia and Latina, now called Caffarelli, from the family to which it belongs. I have examined her title to these several places, which I shall lay before you in order. And though the Caffarelli is the favourite, I must postpone that to the other two, to which she has undoubtedly a prior claim. To begin then with Aricia.



S E C T I O N I.

Of the FOUNTAIN of EGERIA at ARICIA.

WHEN Virgil is reckoning up the forces which came to the assistance of Turnus, he says thus of Aricia :

- “ Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello
- “ Virbius : insignem quem mater Aricia misit,
- “ Eductum Egeriae lucis, humentia circum
- “ Littora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae.” Aen. VII. 761.

And

And again within few verses, after having related the story of Hippolytus, he adds ;

“ At Trivia Hippolytum fecretis alma recondit
“ Sedibus, et Nymphæ Egeriæ, nemoræque relegat.”

From these passages (was there no other authority), it is plain that her residence was at Aricia. And she was so far esteemed the principal nymph presiding over those woods, under the Goddess Diana ; that Valerius Flaccus, relating the story of Hypsipyle and Thoas, names Nemus Egeriæ (as Virgil has done before), as a synonymous term for Nemus Dianæ. Argonaut. lib. II. ver. 304.

“ Jam nemus Egeriæ, jam te ciet altus ab Albâ
“ Jupiter, et foli non mitis Aricia regi.”

And Statius, celebrating the cool retreat of Manlius Vopiscus at Tivoli, says, that his house had charms sufficient to tempt Diana to leave her Egeria ; looking on her as the chief nymph of those woods.

“ Hæc domus Egeriæ nemoralem abjungere Phœben,
“ Et Dryadum viduare choris ægentia possit
“ Tægeta.” Sylv. lib. I. carm. iii. ver. 76.

It seems too by these authors that in ancient times she was reckoned a nymph of the woods rather than water. And Plutarch, in his treatise (*περι της Ρωμ. τυχης*), speaking of the tradition of Numa’s conversing with the nymph Egeria, and being instructed by her how to govern his people, expressly calls her a Dryad ^a.

Let us next enquire into her claim to the fountains, and see at what time she became a water-nymph. The ancients are not perfectly agreed, whether she was one of the Muses, or only their friend and companion ; or whether she was wife (as Ovid often calls her), or rather a nymph, as dear as a wife to King Numa ^b. But in this, I think, they are all unanimous,

^a Την μὲν γὰρ Ἠγερίαν τινὰ Νυμφῶν μίαν Δρυά-
δαν, δαίμονα σοφὴν, ἐφ’ ἣν τ’ αὐτῇ ἐν συνουσίᾳ γε-
νομένην, παραπαιδαγωγεῖν, καὶ συσχεμαλίζειν τὴν
Πολίλειαν, ἰσως μυθωδέστερον ἐστὶ.

^b Νυμφὴν γὰρ τινὰ μυθολογεῖν Ἠγερίαν φασίαν

πρὸ αὐτῶν ἑκάστοτε, διδάσκουσιν τὴν βασιλικὴν σο-
φίαν. Ἄλλοι δὲ Νυμφὴν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Μουσῶν μίαν.
—Dionys. Hal. speaking of the reign of Nu-
ma, lib. ii.

that she was chief counsellor to that prince. Which fact is so universally allowed, that the custom of chusing ladies for prime ministers, and doing nothing without their direction, has from thence probably taken its rise; and been frequently imitated by other princes, especially in these latter days, since the world has been improving in wisdom. For what can they do better than follow the example of so wise a prince?

After the death of King Numa, this lady, whether his wife or mistress, was so disconsolate for the loss of him, that she immediately retired to her woods at Aricia, and there wept herself into a fountain. Thus Ovid relates the story:

“ Extinctum Latiaeque nurus, populusque patresque
 “ Deslere Numam. Nam conjux, urbe relicta,
 “ Vallis Aricinae densis latet abdita filvis,
 “ Sacraque Oresteae gemitu questuque Dianae
 “ Impedit. Ah quoties nymphae nemorisque lacusque
 “ Ne faceret monuere, et consolantia verba
 “ Dixerunt! Quoties flenti Theseius Heros
 “ Siste modum dixit!” etc. ——— Met. lib. XV.

After this Hippolytus relates his own story to comfort her; then the Poet adds;

“ Non tamen Egeriae luctus aliena levare
 “ Damna valent. Montisque jacens radicibus imis
 “ Liquitur in lacrymas, donec pietate dolentis
 “ Mota soror Phoebi gelidum de corpore fontem
 “ Fecit, et aeternas artus tenuavit in undas.” Lib. XV.

In conformity to this notion of her being at that time changed to a fountain, we may observe, that Virgil, in the abovementioned passages, speaks of her groves, “*humantia circum littora*,” he judiciously avoids naming her fountain, as he is speaking of times antecedent to this change.

From thence forward she presided both over the woods and springs of Aricia. Thus Ovid, relating the story of the origin of the feasts of the Salii, addresses himself to her as nymph of both.

“ Nympha mone, nemori stagnoque operata Dianae,
 “ Nympha, Numae conjux, ad tua festa veni.

“ Vallis

- “ Vallis Aricinae fylvâ praecinctus opacâ
 “ Est lacus, antiquâ relligione facer.
 “ Hic latet Hippolytus,” etc. — Fast. III. 261.

Presently after, speaking of the rivulet or fountain, he says ;

- “ Defluit inferto lapidosus murmure rivus,
 “ (Saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde^c bibi).
 “ Egeria est quae praebet aquas, Dea grata Camenis ;
 “ Illa Numae conjux, consiliumque fuit,” etc. Ver. 271.

From all these passages in the Poets it is very manifest that the woods and fountain of Egeria were at or near Aricia. The same is confirmed by Strabo, who, in his geography (lib. V.), gives us a short, but pretty clear and distinct description of this part of Italy, as we find it at present^d. Speaking of Aricia and Nemus Dianae (now Nemi), and its lake, he says the springs are very visible from whence the lake is supplied: one of which is called Egeria, being the name of the Nymph or Goddess of the place^e. I might have given you a description of this fountain, and perhaps a plan. But Hussars, Pandours, etc. were in possession of these springs and the country round them, the whole summer while I was at Rome, which prevented my going thither; for what would these successors of Goths and Vandals have said, if I had talked to them of Egeria and the Muses? Do you think they would have allowed of such a pass, or have suffered me to have made any innocent observations there? It is well, if they have not defiled this sacred fountain. However, I remember when I was formerly rambling about that country, I observed that

^c Most editions have Bibes; and so Aldus has it; but Bibi is certainly the true reading. It is very modest and expressive from the mouth of Ovid, and suits well his character, as scarce any one drank oftener than he did of the fountain of the Muses, though some deeper.

^d Μέλα δὲ τὸ Ἀλδαῖον Ἀρικήα ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππικῇ. Σταδίοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ρξ. Κοιλὴ δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τοπὸς, ἔχει δ' ὁμῶς ἐξομνην ἀκρὰν. Τὸ δὲ Ἀρήμεσιον ὁ καλεῖται νεμὸς, ἐκ τῶ ἐν ἀριστέρε μέρει τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀρικήας ἀναβαίνουσιν· εἰς τὴν δ' Ἀρμινὴν, τὸ ἱερόν [or as Cluver reads it, ἐστὶ δ' Ἀρμινῶν τὸ ἱερόν], τὸ δ' ἱερόν ἐν ἀλσεί. Περιέκει-

ται δὲ λίμνη πελαγίζουσα· κυκλῶ δ' ὄρεσι συνέχης ὄφρυς περιέκειται, κλίμα ὑψηλὴ, καὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολαμβάνουσα ἐν κοιλῇ τοπῷ καὶ βαθεῖ.

^e Τὰς μὲν ἐν πηγῇ ὄρεσιν ἐστὶν ἐξ ἧς ἡ λίμνη πληθεται· τούτων δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Ἠγερία καλεῖσθαι, Δαίμονιν τινὲς ἐπανυμνοῦσι. In most editions of Strabo it must be owned that it is Ἥγερια, not Ἠγερία, which the translators render, “lisque” “adest sacerdos nomen cum Genio quodam” “habens commune.” Supposing this to be the true reading, the priests meant must be Egeria: but Cluverius well remarks that this is certainly a corruption, and that it ought to be read Ἠγερία.

several

several large springs broke out on the side of the hill about Nemi, and that in such abundance as immediately to turn mills. I did not then take so much notice of them as I should have done, if I had imagined at that time that I should, in my old age, have fallen in love with your friend Egeria. But I find that Cluver, speaking of this fountain, makes the same remark. “Fontis hujus limpidissimi tam copiosae hodie sub Nemorensi oppido ex antro profluunt aquae, ut molas statim flumine suo convolvant.” Lib. III. c. iv.

You must have observed, without doubt, that whilst I am speaking of Egeria as Nymph of the woods and fountains of Aricia, I make her fountains rise by Nemi, which is at about three miles distance from Aricia, the lake of that name (otherwise called Speculum Dianae), lying between the two towns. But you will consider, that this lake being quite encompassed by hills, and having no visible outlet; the same waters, after having supplied the lake, break out again by subterraneous passages at the vale of Aricia; and therefore the fountains at both places might well be looked upon as one, and sacred to the same nymph. Besides though the fountain head is at Nemi, yet even that might properly take its name from Aricia, as the principal town; so we find the temple of Diana (which was likewise near Nemi) belonged, as Strabo tells us, to the Aricians. *Εστὶ δ' Ἀρικινῶν το ἱερὸν.*



S E C T I O N II.

Of the VALE of EGERIA; or, to speak more properly, of the FOUNTAIN and GROVE of the MUSES at ROME.

THE title of Egeria to the Vale of Aricia being thus settled, let us next consider her claim to the valley by the Porta Capena at Rome, there being good evidence in favour of her right to that too. How otherwise shall we account for what Juvenal says in his conference with Umbricius at the beginning of his third Satire?

“Dum

“ Dum tota domus rhedâ componitur unâ,
 “ Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam;
 “ Hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae.”

And presently after,

“ In vallem Egeriæ descendimus,” etc.

Cluverius in his *Italia Antiqua* has a long article on this subject; and to reconcile the subject, gives Egeria a Fountain and Grove, both at Aricia and Rome; and concludes that this was the occasion of the different opinions of authors, some making her interview with Numa at the former place, some at the latter. “Unde diversa opinio tradentium: “Quum alii apud Ariciam cum Egeriâ congressum Numam velint: “alii, apud Portam Capenam:” Cluver. lib. III. c. iv. He has abundance of quotations to this purpose, but, I think, very perplexed. He confounds her fountain and woods at Aricia with the valley where she is supposed to have had those conferences, whereas the antients distinguished them. It by no means appears by their accounts that those conferences were ever held at her own fountain, or in her own territories, as we may say, but at Rome. So that I look upon Aricia as her own estate and habitation, and Rome only as her residence, whilst she was counsellor to King Numa. And in this, I believe, all the antients universally agree, except Statius. He seems, indeed, in one passage to suppose Numa instructed by Egeria at Aricia.

“ Sic sacra Numæ ritusque colendos
 “ Mitis Aricino dictabat nympha sub antro.”

Sylv. lib. V. carm. iii.

But if in this he differs from all others, ought we not rather to look upon this as a mistake, or a careless expression in him, than oppose his single authority to every body else; especially considering that he seems to value himself more in this part of his works on writing fast than correctly^f?

^f See his preface to the first book of *Sylvæ*, where he says in excuse for their incorrectness, that they were written *Stylo remissiore*; and calls them, “*Libelli, qui subito calore, et quâdam festinandi voluptate fluxerant.*” And, again; “*Solam habent gratiam celeritatis. Nullum enim ex illis biduo longius tractum; quædam et singulis diebus effusa.*”

To set this matter in a clear light, let us examine the antient records. Livy, speaking of the reign of Numa, gives the following account of this affair: “Omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis sculis rudem efficacissimam, Deorum metum injiciendum ratus est. Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum Deâ Egeriâ congressus nocturnos esse. Ejus se moniti, quae acceptissima Diis essent, sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique Deorum praeficere.” Lib. i. sect. xix. And presently after, speaking of the place where they were supposed to meet, he describes it thus: “Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aquâ, quo se per saepe Numa, sine arbitris, velut ad congressum Deae inferebat,” etc. Dionysius Halicarnassensis writes much to the same purpose ^g. And Plutarch in his Numa says, That Egeria and the Muses went frequently to converse with him ^h. There is no place specified where they met, otherwise than in general, as above; but it appearing, by these accounts, that these conferences were held frequently, and at night, and without any attendance; and Aricia being fifteen or sixteen miles from Rome, and at that time far beyond the limits of Numa’s dominions, it cannot be imagined that these Historians mean, that Numa went so far to meet his Egeria; unless we suppose they intended to represent this as an affair of pure gallantry between a young prince and his mistress. It is more reasonable to believe they mean, that Egeria and the Muses came to Rome, his own residence, fifteen or sixteen miles being no great journey for Goddesses, though it would have been so for the old king. And we find it expressly said, that they went to him (*φοιταν προς αυτον*) and (*φοιτωσαι συνδιατρεχεισιν αυτη*). It is plain too from Ovid’s account abovementioned, that these conferences were at Rome; for he observes that on Numa’s death, Egeria quitted the city, and retired to her woods at Aricia.

“Nam conjux, urbe relicta,
“Vallis Aricinae densis latet abdita sylvis.”

Neither Ficcaroni nor any of the modern antiquaries assign any place in Rome, as I think of, for these famous interviews. And yet, I think,

^g Λογος δε πολλες υπερ αυτη και θαυμασας λεγουσιν, Ηγερια φοιταν προς αυτον εκαστοτε, etc. Plut. Numa. See likewise Valerius Max. lib. i. c. 2.

it will not be difficult, if not to mark the very spot, at least to come pretty near it.

In the fable of the Salii, Priests of Mars, and of the Ancile, which was pretended to be dropped from heaven (Ovid. Fast. III. 259.), Numa being terrified with extraordinary thunder and lightening, Egeria bids him not be frightened, and instructs him how to compel Faunus and Picus to discover to him the means of appeasing Jove.

- “ Cui Dea, nè nimium terrere, Piabile fulmen
- “ Est, ait ; et faevi flectitur ira Jovis.
- “ Sed poterunt ritum Picus Faunusque piandi
- “ Prodere, Romani numen uterque foli.
- “ Nec sine vi tradent. Adhibeto vincula captis :
- “ Atque ita, quâ possint erudit arte capi.” Ver. 289.

This scene is laid at the foot of the Aventin hill, where there was a grove and a grotto with a fountain in it, to which these two rural Gods used to retire.

- “ Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbrâ,
- “ Quo posses viso dicere, Numen inest.
- “ In medio gramen ; muscoque adoperta virenti
- “ Manabat faxo vena perennis aquae,” etc. Ver. 298.

When Numa, by the assistance of these two Deities, had obtained an interview with Jove, we find the God appears to him at the Aventin.

- “ Eliciunt caelo te, Jupiter ; unde minores
- “ Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.
- “ Constat Aventinae tremuisse cacumina sylvae ;
- “ Terraque subsedit pondere pressa Jovis.” Ver. 330.

And Livy tells us, that the altar dedicated to Jupiter, surnamed on this account, Elicius, was on the Aventin. “ Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Jovi Elicio aram in Aventino (Numa) dicavit.” Lib. I.

Now as Numa received his instructions for this project from Egeria, and was by her shewn the grotto, and the manner of binding these rural Deities, as above ; there can be no difficulty about ascertaining the place of this meeting, viz. under the Aventin hill. And there is great reason to believe that the same vale served for all their other conferences. For

though Livy does not mention the place, yet he describes the grove and fountain, where they used to meet, in the same manner exactly with Ovid. As appears by comparing his, "Lucus erat, quem medium ex "opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aquâ," with Ovid's, "Lucus Aventino suberat," etc.

The tradition of these conferences being held here, was sufficient reason to distinguish this vale sometimes by the name of Egeria, as we find it called by Juvenal, though neither the vale, fountain, or grove were dedicated to her, but to the Muses: nor had she any other interest therein, but as their friend and companion; and as this was the place of her conference with Numa. This is evident from the same passage in Livy, where, having named this grove and fountain, he adds; "Quo quia se "perfacpe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum Deae inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacrauit, quod earum ibi consilia cum conjuge suâ "Egeria essent." It is hinted too by Ovid that it was by their assistance she counselled Numa:

"Conjuge qui felix Nymphâ, ducibusque Camenis."

Met. XV. fab. xliv.

It is likewise confirmed by Plutarch, that the place where Egeria and the Muses used to converse with Numa, and the meadows round about it, were dedicated by him to the Musesⁱ. We find too by the same author, that this fountain was so near Rome, if not in it, that the Vestal virgins, whose habitation was in the middle of Rome, in the Forum Romanum, used to fetch water every day from thence for their lustrations, and other holy offices.

Having thus plainly shewn, from such good authorities, that the vale where Numa was supposed to meet his Egeria was not at Aricia, but at Rome, at the foot of the Aventin; there will be little difficulty in determining on which side of that hill it was; being assured by many authors that it was in the Porta Capena. So that we must next look for that gate.

Fabretti, in his treatise De Aquis et Aquaeductibus (§ 43 to 52), makes it plainly appear, that the old Porta Capena was near a mile within the

ⁱ Ηγερίας τε και των Μεσων αυτον πωθεσθαι χρεναι Μεσαι καθιερωσαι το χωριον εκεινο, και τις περι αυτο λειμνας, οπε τα πολλα φοιτωσαι συνδιατριβουσιν αυτω. Την δε πηγην η καταρχει το χωριον,

ιδωρ ιερον αποδειξαι ταις Εστιασι παρθενοις, οπως λαμβανηται καθ' ημεραν, αγγιζωσι και ραινωσι το Ανακτορον. Plutarch in Numa.

present Porta S. Sebastiano. I had once the curiosity to measure that ground, according to his instructions, from the farther corner of the Villa Cenci ^k, where the ^l first mile-stone on the Via Appia stood, and found it exactly one Roman mile from thence to the narrowest part of the vale between the Caelian and Aventin hills, which answers to this account. The view of the ground confirms his opinion; for as that spot lies just in the middle between two of the highest points of those hills, where they project most, and approach nearest each other; no place could be found so proper as that for building the wall cross the vale, in order to join those hills, and enclose them within the city.

The course of the Aqua Appia is a farther confirmation of Fabretti's opinion. For, according to the account given by Frontinus, that aqueduct passed by the Porta Capena, and from thence went on to the Porta Trigemina, which was on the other side of the Aventin hill, on the bank of the Tiber; and therefore must necessarily cross this vale between the Caelian and Aventin. And, as Frontinus observes, "this water, from its fountain head to the end of its course, which was above eleven miles, was carried all the way under ground, except by the Porta Capena; and there was carried on a ground-work wall, or on arches, no more than sixty paces in length ^m. This is a manifest proof that the gate stood in the narrow part of the vale which Fabretti assigns to it; every other part of that vale, both before and after, being much wider, and by no means agreeing to that measure. We may therefore very securely acquiesce in fixing the Porta Capena, where Fabretti does.

And as the Fountain of the Muses was certainly near that gate, and under the Aventin, that is, on the right hand going from Rome; what better place can we assign for it, and for their grove, than under Sancta Balbina; or between that and Caracalla's baths?

^k It is the first villa on the right hand, without Porta S. Sebastiano.

^l This stone, you know, is now at the Capitol, with the following remarkable distich inscribed on it:

QVAE. MENSURA VIARVM.
NVNC. CAPITOLINI. CVLMINIS. IN-
COLA. SVM.

Very proper verses to commemorate so stupid an act as the removing a mile stone out

of its place.

^m Ductus ejus (Aquae Appiae) habet longitudinem à capite usque ad Salinas (qui locus ad Portam Trigemina), passuum xi millium cxc. Subterraneo rivo passuum xi millium cxxx. Substructione, et supra terram opere arcuato proximè ad Portam Capenam passuum lx. Jul. Frontinus, De Aquaeduct. Romae.

This situation agrees very exactly with, and explains the third Satire of Juvenal, which has much puzzled commentators. Umbricius, just going to leave Rome, and retire to Cumae, whilst his family is getting ready, waits for them at the Porta Capena, where it is expressly said the night conferences were held between Numa and his nymph. Here meeting with Juvenal, they enter into conversation; and walking down to the Vale of Egeria, lament the miseries of Rome, which occasion his quitting it.

“ Dum tota domus rhedâ componitur unâ,
 “ Substitit ad veteres ” arcus, madidamque Capenam :
 “ Hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,
 “ In vallem Egeriae descendimus, et speluncas
 “ Diffimiles veris.”

When every thing was ready, and the chaise come to the place appointed, Umbricius tells his friend that he must be obliged to take leave of him; the muleteer having made signs to hasten him, by waving his whip. This puts an end to the Satire; and manifestly proves that the place where they conversed was very near the gate.

“ Sed jumenta vocant, et sol inclinât; eundum est.
 “ Nam mihi commotâ jamdudum mulio virgâ.
 “ Adnuit: ergo vale.”

We will not suppose that any part of this grove still flourishes, though once so sacred, and under the protection of the Muses. Nor is there any appearance at present either of their fountain or grott, as in those days. Yet there are, I think, some natural marks still remaining to ascertain their right to the place. Plutarch, in the passage above-cited, calls the fields near the Fountain of the Muses, *Δειμωνας*. The ground I am speak-

“ The *Veteres Arcus* here meant are those of the Aqua Appia beforementioned; and likewise the Anio Vetus. For both those aqueducts passed by the Porta Capena. The Appian ran on a groundsel wall (called by Frontinus, *Substruatio*) at the foot of the gate, which was afterwards carried on arches over the lower part of the vale. The Anio Vetus, as appears by Fabretti’s account, was carried over the top of the same gate. Both these aqueducts being very old, the former

made in the year of Rome 442, the latter in less than forty years after, may well be supposed, in Juvenal’s time, to be out of repair, and leaky. Thus Martial, who lived at the same time, is to be understood, when he says;

Capena grandi Porta quâ pluit guttâ.

Lib. iii. ep. 47.

And therefore Juvenal here calls that gate, Madidam.

ing

ing of deserves this character; lying at the foot of a hill full of springs, and is so very low, that we find there was a necessity of building arches over it for the Aqua Appia to pass, which was brought all the rest of the way under ground. The few inhabitants who live in this much deserted part (particularly an old man, who said he had lived there twenty-five years), informed me, that wherever they dig thereabouts they find excellent water at a few palms depth. You may remember too, perhaps, that when the antiquaries shew Caracalla's Baths, they take notice, that some of the lower grotts on that side, are always full of water. And in the next ground to those ruins I observed two semicircular tribunes joining to each other, and abutting against the hill, in one of which there is always so much water, that it is vulgarly called the *Peschiera*. In short, all that cliff abounds with springs; insomuch that in the year 1741 all the lands thereabouts were drowned, and in danger of becoming a morass. Whether occasioned by great rains, or that the Muses wept a flood of tears (for it began immediately upon your leaving us), I know not. But it is certain there was at that time a remarkable inundation at that place; which continued not only that year but the following, and caused much trouble and expence. The proprietors of the land being unable to bear the whole burthen, and it being apprehended that this water stagnating might not only ruin the land, but corrupt the air, which, in that part of the town, is not very good at the best, it concerned the publick to find a remedy. Upon examining therefore into this affair in order to cure it for the present, and prevent it for the future; it appeared, that partly by time, and partly by digging for materials, or hidden treasure amongst the ruins in that part, the old drains, which used to carry off the water, whenever the springs overflowed, were stopped up. And the land there being lower than the bed of the Aqua Marana or Crabra, which passes by the side of it, so that the water could not discharge itself into that channel, and no declivity for it to run off, there was a necessity, at great expence, to make a new drain, which was carried under the bed of the Aqua Marana, and discharges itself into the common shore by the mill of St. Gregorio, as marked in the plan. This new drain serves only to carry off the water on extraordinary floods or overflowings of those springs, there being no constant current. The ordinary vent for the Fountain of the Muses, which was "*perennis aqua*," is still concealed, and probably lies much deeper.

There

There is a large spring which breaks out about half a mile lower down the vale, just by the old Temple of Janus Quadrifrons (as it is called), and near the Church of St. George. It is a beautiful clear water, not unworthy of the Muses; and is esteemed so excellently good, that was it not at so great a distance from the now best inhabited parts of the city, it is thought it would be more in request than any fountain about Rome. It issues out in so great a stream that within few yards of its mouth, and immediately before it falls into the Cloaca Maxima, it serves to turn an over-shot wheel for a paper mill. Very proper business for the water of the Muses, was the paper made there as well employed in their service, as it would have been in times of their prosperity. The conduit which brings this water is undoubtedly an ancient work^o. And since the source is unknown, and can only be guessed at, why may we not venture to fancy this flowing from those veins at the foot of the Aventin, which formed the Fountain of the Muses? The distance is small; and in the same short vale. And though the spring hides its head, the waters may still find their way to this place by their old subterraneous canals. It may be too, that it was from hence the Vestal virgins fetched water every day for their use, as this was nearest to them.

But whether this was the outlet of that fountain or not, I think there can be no dispute but that the fountain head was at the foot of that craggy part of the Aventin, though now lost.

I was informed by an old gardner, who rents part of the ground under that hill, that during the inundation he observed the greatest quantity of water issuing out in a stream amidst the ruins adjoining to one of the abovenamed semicircular niches, or alcoves. In this spot, then, or very near it, we may reasonably fix the grotto where the Fountain of the Muses rose. Close to the grotto was the grove, through the middle of which the fountain passed. "*Lucus erat quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aquâ.*" And as some of the antients mention likewise the Temple of the Muses in this place, we must either suppose that the same grot was sometimes called a Temple; or, if a separate building,

^o Du Perac, in his Views of the Antiquities of Rome, published at Rome, 1575, speaks of this fountain as discovered under ground either in his time or before. Vicino à quel Tempio di Jano Quadrifronte vedesi ancor un Condotta d'acqua antico, che fu

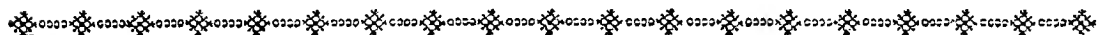
ritrovato sotto terra, dove per beneficio pubblico ivi si sono fatte bellissime fontane con un lavatore; e si chiama quella piazza la fontana de Santo Giorgio, per esser ivi la chiesa di questo Santo. See plate xii.

that it stood near it : all that low ground between the foot of the hill and the gate being certainly sacred to them, and the vale where they and Egeria were supposed to have their interviews with Numa.

You may never, perhaps, have been close to the foot of this hill, nor on any part of this sacred ground, as it is of pretty difficult access, being covered with briars instead of a grove ; but whenever in your walks about Rome you have passed near the place, I doubt not but you felt yourself touched with some inward impulse like the priests of Apollo.

“ *Afflatu est numine quando*
“ *Jam propiore Dei.*”

And we are very soon going to see the effects.



S E C T I O N III.

Of some other TEMPLES near the PORTA CAPENA.

IT is time for us now to return from the place from whence we set out, the Caffarelli ; but before we leave the Porta Capena, I beg you to stop a little, and observe some other Temples in that neighbourhood. As this was esteemed the principal gate of the city, which not only led to a great part of Italy, but received their victorious armies returning from Greece, Asia, and Africa, we may imagine such an entrance would be well adorned. Tully, boasting of the manner of his reception on his return to Rome after his exile, says ; “ *Cum venissem ad Portam Capenam gradus Templorum ab infimâ plebe completi erant, a quâ plausu maximo cùm esset mihi gratulatio significata,*” etc. Lib. IV. Epist. i. ad Atticum. And Livy, speaking of the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus, and the statues and pictures brought from thence to adorn Rome, says ; “ *Visebantur ab externis ad Portam Capenam dedicata à Marcello templa, propter excellentia ejus generis ornamenta :*” Liv. lib.

lib. XXV. c. xl. Among these Temples, besides that of the Muses, were those of Honour, and of Virtue, and that of Mars. The antient accounts or tables, which set down the several districts of old Rome, with the most remarkable places in each division, mention every one of these Temples, in the first Region, otherwise called *Regio Portae Capenae*, which is sufficient to shew they were all in the same quarter, and near the gate. In some of those tables we likewise find marked in the same quarter, *Vicus Camenarum*, and *Vicus Honoris, et Virtutis*; from whence we may conjecture that streets turned out from the great road by those Temples, which took their names from them. And though the Temples are utterly destroyed, the streets, perhaps, are still to be distinguished at this day; there being lanes, which now branch off at or very near the places, where, I suppose, those Temples stood ^P.

Besides these general marks there are other better authorities, which ascertain the situation of these Temples more exactly. Livy, speaking of the transactions of the year of Rome 547, mentions the dedication of the Temple of Virtue by the *Porta Capena*. “*Aedem Virtutis eo anno ad Portam Capenam M. Marcellus dedicavit, septimo decimo anno postquam à patre ejus primo consulatu vota in Galliâ ad Clastidium fuerat:*” Lib. XXIX. xi. That the Temple of Honour ^Q was close adjoining to the other, is evident from a remarkable religious scruple related by Livy, which prevented their being both worshiped under one and the same roof. Symmachus, in a compliment to Ausonius, on his being advanced to the consulship, observes very prettily the reason why their ancestors built these two Temples close adjoining to each other, and at the same time remarks that the way to them was by the Temple and Fountain of

^P See Sextus Rufus; Publius Victor; *Notitia della dignità dell’ uno e dell’ altro imperio*; *Basis Capitolina*; as they are quoted by Donatus, Nardini, etc.

^Q Marcellum aliae atque aliae objectae animo religiones tenebant. In quibus quod quum bello Gallico ad Clastidium aedem Honori et Virtuti vovisset, dedicatio ejus à pontificibus impediebatur: quod negabant unam cellam amplius quàm uni Deo rite de-

dicari, quia si de caelo tacta, aut prodigii aliquid in eâ factum esset, difficilis procuratio foret; quod utri Deo res divina fieret, sciri non posset. Neque enim duobus, nisi certis Deis, rite unâ hostiâ fieri. Ita addita Virtutis aedes, approperato opere; neque tamen ab ipso aedes eae dedicatae sunt. — The same story is related with some little variation by Valerius Maximus, lib. I. c. i.

the Muses ; this near^r situation signifying that an application to letters was often, in those days, the ready road to preferment.

We may likewise allow that the Temple of Mars might very properly be placed near Virtue and Honour, particularly the latter ; that soldiers, going to war, might be put in mind of Virtue and Honour at the same time they were paying their devotions to Mars ; as Daniel Barbaro observes in his notes on Vitruvius. “ M. Marcellus Templum Honori et “ Virtuti dedicavit, quod à Vespasiano postea restauratum fuit, ut in num- “ mis habetur. Erat hoc ad Portam Capenam, ut monerentur egredien- “ tes ad bellum, quod Virtutis medio ad Honorem pervenimus :” Lib. III. c. i. And, perhaps, it would not be amiss, if some ceremony like this was practised by soldiers in these days. But how came he so near the Muses ? Methinks they ought to have retired as far distant from him as possible : unless we suppose this intended to intimate to the soldiers that if they behaved well, the Muses would celebrate their praises. Whatever was the reason, we shall certainly find him their neighbour ; and though you may think him a strange guide, he will assist us in what we are looking for. Livy tells us expressly, that his Temple was without the Porta Capena^s. And Propertius means this temple, when he makes Arethusa say ;

“ Armaque^t cum tulero Portae vicina Capenae,
“ Subscribam salvo grata puella viro.”

Lib. IV. at the end of the third Elegy.

Ovid is still more particular, that it was without the gate, yet within sight of it, on the sight of the Via Appia, which began at that gate ; not quite close, but a little retired, and, as I take it, on the right hand of the road as one went from Rome.

^r Bene ac sapienter majores nostri, ut sunt alia aetatis illius, Aedes Honori atque Virtuti gemellas junctim locarunt, commenti, quod in te vidimus, ibi esse praemia Honori ubi sunt merita Virtutis. To which is immediately added : Sed enim praeterea (or as some read it) propter eas (id est prope Honori aedes et Virtutis), etiam Camenarum religio et sacri fontis advertitur, quia iter ad capeffendos magistratus saepe litteris pro-

movetur. Lib. i. Epist. 14.

^s Gallicum bellum Popillio extra ordinem datum. Is impigre exercitu scripto, quum omnes *extra Portam Capenam ad Martis aedem* convenire armatos juniores jussisset, etc. Liv. lib. vii. § 23.

^t It being customary in all probability to offer vows for the safety of soldiers in this temple.

“ Lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicit extra
 “ Appositum ^u dextrae Porta Capena viae.”

Fast. VI. 192.

You may remember, perhaps, that in going to Porta S. Sebastiano, after having passed the flat by S. Dominico and Sisto, the ground begins to rise, and the road lies in a deep hollow, having very high ground on each side. This road through the hill was sunk thus, in order to make it more easy and level in the time of the Republic, as appears by two inscriptions * set up in memory thereof, quoted by Gruter, Cart. CLII. N^o vi. et vii. And the hill was called Clivus Martis from the temple, which stood at the foot of it. I know your old friend Nardini and other antiquaries, mistaking the situation of the old Porta Capena, place the Temple of Mars beyond the hill at a greater distance from Rome, or else suppose it to stand on the top of hill, to which it gave name. But this could not be beyond the hill, because then it would not have been in view of the gate, which, it is evident, was in a low situation, and therefore must be between the foot of the hill and the old Porta Capena. Nor could it be upon the hill, because Tully, speaking of a flood at Rome, mentions particularly the Via Appia being under water about the Temple of Mars, and from thence to the Piscina Publica, which was within the Porta Capena. “ Romae, et maximè Appiâ ad Martis, mira proluviæ :
 “ Crassipedis ^y ambulatio oblata, Horti, tabernac plurimæ ; magna vis
 “ usque ad ^z Piscinam publicam.” Cicero ad Quintum fratrem, lib. III. Epist. vii.

* Many editions have Rectæ, instead of Dextrae ; but Fabretti, in the abovementioned treatise, prefers Dextrae. Be it which it will, it is not material. For as the Via Latina branched off from the Via Appia a little without the gate, and inclined to the left ; and the Via Appia, on the side of which this temple stood, continued straight on, this latter might properly be called, with respect to the other road, either Recta or Dextra.

* N. B. These inscriptions were probably set up at the two extremities of the road.

^y This Crassipes was son-in-law to Tully.

^z The Piscina Publica was near the Porta Capena, and within it between that and the

Circus Maximus. Livy, speaking of the time when the Consuls went into the field against Hannibal, says ; “ Consules edixerunt, “ quoties in senatum vocassent, uti senatores, “ quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret, ad Portam Capenam convenirent. “ Praetores, quorum jurisdictio erat, Tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt : eo “ vadimonia feri jussērunt ; ibique eo anno “ jus dictum est.” By this it appears that this Piscina was near the Porta Capena, and the other end of it was as certainly near the Circus Maximus, as is plain from Ammianus Marcellinus, who, speaking of the great obelisk brought to Rome by Constantius, says ; “ Obeliscus per Ostiensem Portam Piscinam-

According

According to these accounts we may well suppose the Temple of Mars to have been near the spot where is now the church of St. Nereo et Achilleo, or between that and St. Cefareo, pretty nearly over against the Convent of St. Dominico and Sisto. This does not exactly agree with what Martinelli observes from the Acts of St. Sisto and his companions, that they were beheaded “ante Templum in clivo Martis,” which seems to intimate that the Temple of Mars was on the slope of the hill; but to which, perhaps, you may give as much credit as, to those Acts, since we have the authority of Tully, that it stood in the bottom, we may reasonably conclude that, if they were beheaded on the hill of Mars, it was on the first beginning of the ascent, and so within sight of the Temple. And, I think, it is not improbable that the place chosen for the execution might be the point of the wedge between where the two roads divide, that being rising ground, and much exposed to view, and therefore very proper on such an occasion, supposing the same cruel curiosity for such sights in those days as now. Besides the situation of the convent on the flat, or on the slope of the hill very near the foot, is an argument in favour of it. And it is probable that the first occasion of founding the convent, which is very ancient, in that place, was from the tradition of those saints being martyred there. This is now in the possession of Irish Dominicans, and there is great reason to believe (such are the strange revolutions of the world) that it is the very spot or near it, where was once the seat of Virtue and Honour. Do not be surpris’d at what I say, nor imagine that I infer this purely from those friars being settled there, as if I thought Virtue and Honour were their proper inheritance. This would be paying them too great a compliment: and might offend one of those Virtues, their Modesty, and therefore I shall not urge it: but there are other reasons which may incline us to believe that this was the seat of those temples.

Dionysius ^a mentioning the pompous cavalcade which was wont to be made by the Roman Knights on the fifteenth of July, in honour of Castor and Pollux, makes it begin from the Temple of Mars. Aurelius Victor,

“que publicam Circo illatus est Maximo.” This Piscina was probably a large thing as it gave name to one of the regions (viz. the twelfth). Festus gives the following account of it: “Piscinae publicae; hodieque nomen
“manet, ipsa non extat. Ad quam et nata-

“tum et exercitationis aliqui causâ veniebat
“populus.”

^a Ἀρξόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ ἱερῆ τινος Ἀρεως ἐξῆλ τῆς πόλεως ἰδρυμένη. Dionys. Hal. Hist. lib. vi. c. 13.

or whoever is the author of the treatise *De Viris Illustribus*, makes the same begin from the Temple of Honour^b. So that it is probable they were directly opposite one to the other. The Temple of Mars on the right hand of the Via Appia, going from Rome; those of Honour and Virtue, on the left. And as this was probably a spacious opening, where the two great roads, Appia and Latina, divided, it was a proper place for drawing up and ranging these cavaliers for the procession; which used, on those occasions, as Dionysius informs us, to be very grand^c.

The situation of these Temples thus settled, we cannot be at a loss for that of the Muses; it plainly appearing, by the abovementioned passage from Symmachus, that it must be between them and the gate, being, as he says, in the way leading to Honour and Virtue. So that, I think, we may fairly conclude that it was very near, if not the nearest to the gate, and it must be on the right hand, or on the Aventin side; having already shewn, that the Grove and Fountain was at the foot of the Aventin: and the little valley between them we may well allot for the place where Numa was supposed to meet his Egeria. To this situation of the Camenae Martial alludes, when he merrily expostulates with a lazy idle friend, who had been clamorous for his book before it was published; and, when he had it in his possession, was tired and began to yawn at his first setting out. On which occasion he says;

“Lassus tam citò deficis, viator?”

“Et cum currere debeas^d Bovillas,

“Interjungere quaeris ad Camaenas.” Lib. II. Ep. v.

If you had not much more patience than Martial's friend, you must have been tired in rambling where I have led you. All I can say in excuse is, that though there is no satisfaction in searching among ruins purely because they are antique, where there is neither authority to determine what they were, nor beauty in the ruins themselves; yet when the situation of places answers descriptions of the antients, or helps to illustrate any passages, as, I think, this does, there is then a secret pleasure in

^b See Article xxxii. under the name Q. Fabius Rullianus. Hic primus instituit, uti Equites Romani Idibus Quintilibus ab aede Honoris albis equis insidentes in Capitolium transirent.

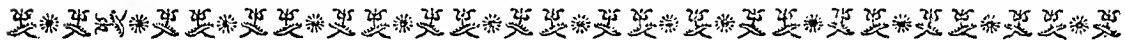
^c Άνδρες εστιν οτε και πελαιοισχυλοι φεροντες οσα

παρα των ηγεμονων αριθεια ελαβον εν ταις μαχαις, καλη και αξια τε μεγεθος της ηγεμονιας οφεις.

^d Bouvillac was a town about ten miles from Rome on the Via Appia; the Camenae, I suppose, just without the gate where that road began.

examining them, even though there is not so much as an old stone remaining to amuse one. And if any, what place can require our attention more than this we have been looking at? It was once the seat of the Muses, and as you have had the honour to have them committed to your care, and executed that trust with great applause, and are still very laudably employed in their service, in that work in which you are now engaged; I am persuaded you will not be displeased at an attempt to vindicate their right to a territory, where they formerly flourished, though they have been long since utterly dispossessed of it. If ever you return again to Rome, I flatter myself you will have the curiosity to examine the place, in defiance of briars and thorns which surround it; and will look upon it with respect in the midst of its desolation.

Let us now at last go and finish this enquiry at the only place allowed by the modern Romans as sacred to Egeria and the Muses, the Caffarelli.



S E C T I O N IV.

Of the FOUNTAIN of EGERIA at the CAFFARELLI.

CLUVERIUS takes not the least notice of this, which, I think, we have reason to resent as a great neglect in him, who is generally very particular in his account of places in the neighbourhood of Rome: but I have often observed, that though his book is full of quotations from the Poets, yet he seems often not so well acquainted with what belongs to the Muses as might be wished. Other modern writers^e, whom I have consulted on the occasion, not only mention this as the only Fountain of Egeria, but as the vale of her conference with Numa; and as such all the antiquaries now shew it to travellers. Indeed this is so retired a vale as a modern Roman may think very proper to make an assignation with a lady. But how inconsistent this is with the account given by the antients of Numa's interviews, and how ill this distance from

^e See Nardini, lib. iii. c. 3.

the Porta Capena suits with their accounts, and particularly with that passage of Juvenal, we have already seen. As for her fountain, it is likewise manifest, that the principal was at Aricia; and some of these authors finding it necessary to allow that she was a nymph of the woods of Aricia, make those woods reach (by a bold stretch) from thence quite to Rome, and so ^f conclude that this fountain, being then within those dominions, might therefore be poetically called a Fountain of Aricia, though at least a dozen miles from it. As great a regard as I have for the nymph, I cannot agree with them to take such poetical licences and give her such extensive territories. However, not to lose our favourite place, I hope to make it appear that she and the Muses have some right to this fountain too, though perhaps not so antient as to the others. Flaminio Vacca, in his *Memorie di varie Antichità*, written 1594, speaking of this fountain, mentions the Romans going in the summer to recreate themselves there, as they still continue to do every festival in May; and says, that there was an inscription on the pavement, shewing that this was the Fountain of Egeria. His words are, “Nel pavimento d’essa
 “ fonte si legge in un epitaffio esser quella la fonte d’Egeria dedicata alle
 “ Ninfe.” Then he relates, that the Poets feigned that Egeria was a nymph of Diana, who, being desperately in love with her brother who was gone from her, and writing to him to return, wept so plentifully whilst she was writing, that Diana, moved with compassion, turned her into a fountain. And then adds thus, “E questa, dice l’epitaffio, esser la medesima fonte in cui fu convertita.” If the fable was thus related at large in the inscription, it is plain, that whoever put it there was little acquainted with the story of Egeria, but confounds one fable with another. If that part is added by Flaminio, such a mistake would not be at all surprizing in him, who, though esteemed a man of credit and very exact, yet was only a mason. However, though no great clerk, yet he was esteemed an honest man; this suffices for our purpose. If the matter of fact is true, that there was such an inscription, and that antient, this shews, that there was an old tradition in favour of Egeria’s right, that this is her fountain and dedicated to the nymphs. But this is not all. The remains of the building likewise plainly shew it to have been a temple, there being a large tribune fronting the entrance, and several other niches still remaining entire on each side: and the fountains break-

^f See Eschinardi de Agro Romano; and Mercurio errante.

ing forth in great abundance, in all parts of it, are an argument that it belonged to nymphs, as that inscription declared ; and if so, supposing those to be either Nāids or Muses, Egeria ought to have her share with them, as a principal nymph amongst the former, and a friend to the latter. There is still another reason which favours the Muses claim. Most of the antiquaries, particularly Fabretti, who is more to be depended upon than the rest, tells us in his treatise, *De Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, that all this district (which was very considerable, having a Circus and several Temples, many of which are still remaining, and which, as he observes, had its own aqueduct branched off from the Aqua Claudia), was called Pagus Camenarum ; which name probably was given it from this fountain. When it was first consecrated to this purpose, we have no certain account, I believe ; but it is, indisputably, a very ancient work ; as appears by the Opus Reticulatum still remaining entire in many parts of it. And since we must be left to conjectures, where there is no certainty to determine, I will suppose it to be about the reign of Domitian. We find by Juvenal in the third Satyr that their Temple at the Porta Capena, and every tree in their grove, was at that time given up to be prophaned by the Jews.

“ Nunc sacri fontis nenus, et delubra locantur
 “ Judaeis, quorum cophinus foenumque supellex :
 “ Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
 “ Arbor, et ejectis mendicat fylva Camenis.” Ver. 16.

It seems, that the fountain too was then destroyed as to its natural simplicity ; and that the Emperor, who was very magnificent in his building, raised some noble structure over it ; and converted it to his own use.

“ In vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas.
 “ Dissimiles veris. Quanto praestantius effret
 “ Numen aquae, viridi si margine cluderet undas
 “ Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum ?” Ver. 20.

It is probable that this structure was not in honour of the Muses, but appropriated to his own use. Let us suppose then, that when Egeria and the Muses were thus disturbed and dislodged from their old habitation, they retired hither ; and that some generous patron out of regard to the distressed nymphs, and just indignation for the indignities offered them, consecrated.

consecrated this Temple to them. To this, perhaps, as well as to the resentment shewn by Poets, Sulpitia alludes, in that little satire, where she represents the state of Rome in the time of Domitian, when, by public edicts, he banished all philosophers from the city; and means that this honour done to them by the people, as well as this resentment of the Poets, would brand him with perpetual infamy. She enquires of the Muses if they were to go too, upon which Calliope comforts her with this answer;

- “ Pone metus aequos, cultrix mea; summa tyranno
 “ Haec instant odia, et nostro periturus honore est.
 “ Nam laureta Numae, fontesque habitamus eosdem,
 “ Et comite Egeriâ ridemus inania coepta.
 “ Vive, vale; manet hunc pulchrum sua fama dolorem:
 “ Musarum spoudet chorus, et Romanus Apollo.”

It is not unlikely, that some near resemblance between this and their former habitation might induce them to settle here; this being a natural grotto as well as the other, at the foot of a hill pouring out several veins of water, which the generosity of their protectors beautified according to the luxurious taste of that age; in the manner we may guess it was done, by the fragments of pillars and scattered capitals which still remain there. At the upper end of the grotto, in the principal nich or tribune, lies the figure of a man reposed; on each side of the Temple are five other niches, viz. three in the inner part on each side, and two on each side of the vestibule; from many of which are fountains of water still flowing; formerly, perhaps, from all, there being sufficient quantity to be conducted in pipes to every nich. Let us suppose then that this figure represents Numa, and that Egeria and the Muses are weeping round him.

As the nearness to the city exposed Egeria and the Muses to these inconveniences, they were in the right to retire to a greater distance; and what place could better suit the Muses than this, a quite solitary vale, and therefore in less danger from the ravages of a tyrant, who spared neither Gods nor men, who stood in his way?

This retired situation tempted us to make a party to pay them a visit; and that we might view them with more respect than is commonly shewn to other visitors, we took provision with us (knowing that the poor Muses had nothing but water to give us), and resolved to spend the day with them.

them. After we had spent the day in examining at our leisure this temple, and some others in that neighbourhood, and had pretty well satisfied our first curiosity, we adjourned to a small cottage standing on an eminence above the fountain, where (though a private house) we had got leave to be under shelter, whilst we eat the provision we carried with us; this care too being very necessary, as we knew the Muses are poor, and had nothing to give us but water. You cannot, I am sure, forget how delightfully this little cottage is situated; having on one side an ancient temple, dedicated to some unknown God, the front of which is adorned with four beautiful Corinthian columns; and on the other side is the little vale of the Almo (the Almo of Cybele), into which the fountain of the Muses discharges itself. Directly fronting our cottage, at about the distance of one mile or little more, we had a long range of beautiful and lofty arches of the Claudian Aqueduct, and the fields between us and them interspersed with ruins of temples and sepulchres, which our gentlemen would be glad at great expence to transplant to England to terminate their vistas, as much as they disregard them in Italy. Our view was bounded by the Sabine hills, the tops of which were still covered with snow, whilst we enjoyed a warm sunshine. All this, and much more than I have mentioned, we had in view (for I give you only a small sketch of things); with which our eyes were feasted, and our fancy pleased, as we sat at table; and this charming prospect gave a relish to our wine, a small quantity of Burgundy and Champagne; for we provided a little of that too, that nothing might be wanting to make the day pass agreeably. As good as our liquor was, we left it, and took a walk after dinner, more nearly to examine those temples and sepulchres we had seen at a distance dispersed over the fields; some of which we found very beautiful. Having finished our walk, which gave a new relish to the wine we left, and taken a review of our charming prospect, Egeria and the Muses, we returned home all very well pleased with our day's amusement. We should be ungrateful to our hosts, who very courteously offered to supply us, if there had been occasion, with what their cottage afforded, which indeed would have been very little. However, they fetched water from the fountain beneath, and attended us with great alacrity: and if they had nothing else to give, they had cheerful countenances:

“ Super omnia vultus

“ Accessere boni; nec iners pauperum vulgus.”

CANT. 1. 11. 12. 13.

As they had never entertained strangers before, they seemed pleased with their guests, as we were with their honest simplicity and innocence. Though very poor, they were still chearful, and (whether inspired by the neighbourhood of the Muses, or with a glass of such wine), not without wit, which contributed much to our mirth. And as we must look on them as servants belonging to the family of Egeria, I hope it will be no affront to their mistress to say with Martial in an Epigram to the abovementioned Sulpitia ;

“ Tales Egeriae jocos fuisse

“ Udo crediderim Numae sub antro.” Lib. X. Ep. xxxv.

I have now laid before you a particular survey of all the fountains and other their dependencies, which belonged to the Muses and Egeria, with their respective territories. Their respective interests to the two former, at Aricia and Porta Capena, are very clear. And supposing we have not as full evidence from antiquity of their joint claim to the last place as to the other two, yet it is certain they are now in possession, and have been so for many years, which I know you will allow to be a good title; and since none of the Deities can pretend to a better, it is reasonable, I think, they should continue their possession, and that the people who have had their Virgil and Horace, should, amongst so many other temples, have one to shew dedicated to the Muses and their companion Egeria. May the Romans then continue to rejoice there every month of May! And what think you of recommending this place to the care of your friend the President of the Arcadians, and advise now and then to hold an Arcadia there? Though it is much in ruin in comparison of what it was in its ancient glory, there are still some traces of its former beauty left. And, therefore, ruinous as it is, methinks they cannot well chuse a better place than this is, or have a more proper emblem to represent the present state of their Muses.

DISSERTATION THE FIFTH;
ON THE
TOMB OF VIRGIL.

DISSERTATION V.

ON THE

TOMB of VIRGIL.

VIRGIL'S Tomb used to be reckoned one of the principal curiosities in the neighbourhood of Naples, and as such has been always recommended to travellers by the voyage writers: but of late years I have observed many young gentlemen very indifferent whether they went to see it or not. When I asked them the reason, I found this indifference not owing to any want of respect in my countrymen to the memory of Virgil, but to their being fully persuaded, from a passage in Mr. Addison's Travels, that every body have hitherto been imposed upon: and that whosoever tomb this is, it is undoubtedly not Virgil's. His words are as follow: "It is certain this Poet was buried at Naples; but I think it is almost as certain his Tomb stood on the other side of the town towards Vesuvio."

Had this come from a person of a less character, or from one not so particularly favoured by the Muses, it might have had little weight; but it cannot be supposed that such an one as Mr. Addison, one of Virgil's own sons, would have presumed to have disturbed the Tomb, if he had not been very sure that his father's ashes did not lye there. This thought gives a sanction to his remark, and his manner of expressing himself, that is, giving us his bare word for it, is of greater force than any thing he could

could have said: for now, though he softens it with an “almost,” we are to suppose him very sure of what he asserts, though he conceals his reasons, and must believe him implicitly: whereas, had he given his reasons, the world would then have been at liberty to judge of the weight of them. I wish, for the satisfaction of the curious, that he had done so: however, since he has not, and as this is an affair which certainly admits of dispute, I beg leave to examine what authority he may have had from other authors for this assertion.

The only person I have met with on this occasion is Cluverius; who, in order to settle the situation of Virgil’s Sepulchre, quotes a passage from Statius: where that Poet, speaking of himself to Marcellus, says;

“ En egomet, fomnum et geniale secutus
 “ Littus, ubi Aufonio se condidit hospita portu
 “ Parthenope, tenues ignavo pollice chordas
 “ Pulso; Maroneique sedens in margine templi
 “ Sumo animum, et magni tumulis accanto magistri.”

Lib. IV. Sylv. iv. ver. 55.

And again, toward the conclusion of the same Epistle;

“ Haec ego Chalcidicis ad te, Macelle, sonabam
 “ Litoribus, fractas ubi Vesbicus erigit iras,
 “ Aemula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis.” Ibid. ver. 80.

From whence Cluver gravely concludes, that Virgil’s Tomb was at St. Giovanni Teduccio. “ En ut disertè testatur sub Vesbio, five Vesuvio,” etc. See Cluver.

[1.] I much doubt of the justness of this reasoning, but am not surprised at Cluver’s making such a conclusion; it being very evident, from many passages in his works, that he had little notion of poetical expressions; and that he read a Poet as he would a Gazette: but I wonder at Mr. Addison’s following him. I can only say that Mr. Addison’s Travels, though very ingenious, yet are generally allowed to be in some places uncorrect. He wrote them in haste; and, if I may venture to say so, it is probable, that being informed by some body that Cluver had fixed Virgil’s Tomb on that side of Naples towards Vesuvio, he took his word for it without reading Cluver himself, or examining what foundation he
 went

went upon; for if he had consulted Statius, I am persuaded he would have been of a different opinion.

[2.] Cluver, in his honest matter of fact way, supposes that Statius was actually sitting on the edge of Virgil's Tomb, at the foot of Mount Vesuvio, when he wrote this Epistle to Marcellus; and though it was an odd place for a man to write from, whilst the mountain was flaming, yet he ought, with equal reason, to suppose that there was actually an eruption at that time. Mr. Addison, who is better acquainted with the poetic stile, would, I am persuaded, allow that a Poet (especially one whose character it is, not always to confine himself to the strictest bounds), may well be supposed to say all that Statius here does, though he wrote from his chamber in the heart of the city; and though the mountain was as quiet as it usually is, not flowing but only smoking; as is well observed by Pellegrino and others.

Allowing that this passage determines no more about this Monument than that it was near Naples, let us next enquire what grounds there are for the common received opinion.

Donatus (if any credit is to be given to him), positively tells us in his life of Virgil, that he was buried on the road to Puteoli. "*Voluit sua ossa Augustus Neapolim transferri, ubi diu vixerat. — Translata igitur jussu Augusti ejus ossa Neapolim fuere; sepultaque viâ Puteolanâ, intra lapidem secundum.*"

If the Life of Virgil by Donatus should not have sufficient credit, yet there are many other arguments which favour this part of the account. St. Jerom confirms this article; "*Virgilius Brundusii moritur. Sentio, Saturnino et Lucretio Cinna Coff. Ossa ejus Neapolim translata in secundo ab urbe Milliario sepeliuntur; titulo istiusmodi superscripto, quem moriens ipse dictaverat.*"

" Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
" Parthenope. Cecini Pascua, Rura, Duces ^a."

Though he does not say on what road, yet if we consider that the greatest roads were commonly chosen for the monuments of the dead (as the Via Appia, the greatest of all, witnesses the most of any to this day); and that the Via Puteolana was the most frequented about Naples, as

^a Divus Hieronymus in Eusebii chronicon. Lib. ii.

leading not only to Putcoli, but to Baiæ and Cumæ, and thence to Rome; we may reasonably conclude that this road, as being the most public, would be allotted for the monument of so great a man, preferably to that by mount Vesuvio or any other about Naples. There would be some propriety also in Virgil's being buried by that very road, which leads directly towards Misenum, the lake Avernus, and the Sibyl's Grotto; the very spot of ground which he had chosen for the scene of one of the most beautiful books of his *Aeneid*. And there was another propriety, though not so obvious to us now as the former; which was, that, as we are assured by Dio, Pollio had a Villa at Paufilypo, which he left as a legacy to Augustus: and since it was by that Emperor's own order that Virgil's bones were brought to Naples, what place can be assigned so proper for his monument? Perhaps he was buried in Augustus's own land; if not, at least on some spot on the public road, as near as could be to his villa.

There being so much reason then to believe that Virgil was buried on this road, let us next enquire how the distance answers. This is said both by Donatus and St. Jerom to be within ^b two miles of Naples; with which the distance of the Tomb, now shewn as Virgil's, agrees very well. From the mouth of the Grotta Panfilypo, under that Tomb, to the Porta di Chiaia, according to the measure taken for me by Signor Angelo, it amounts to 6900 feet, in English measure; and from the Porta di Chiaia, to the Stufa di St. Giorgio beyond the church of San Giacomo to 3100 more: in all 10000 feet, or 2000 passus; that is, two miles old Roman measure, allowing only for the difference between the English and the old Roman foot, for which we must deduct about 300 feet (or a little more) in two miles. On the other side, we must allow for the several turnings in taking the measure at present; as for instance, between the mouth of the Grotta and La Madonna piede di Grotta, from the Chiaia to the Porta di Chiaia, and from the Porta di Chiaia to the Lago di Castello; which, probably, all together make the difference of several hundred feet: and if it could be measured in a strait line, would perhaps reach to Santa Maria Nova, near which is supposed to have been one of the gates of the old city.

I beg leave to bring one argument more, that I have not found urged by any author, in favour of this Monument. Seneca, in his fifty-seventh

^b *Intra lapidem secundum. Donatus. — In secundo ab urbe milliario. Div. Hieron.*

Epistle, where he describes his passing through that obscure and troublesome road, cut for near half a mile, under mount Pausilypo, in his way from Baiae to Naples, owns, as far as a Stoic would care to own, that he was in a very great fright; but as soon as he was got into the daylight and the open air again, he recovers his spirits, and seems to have wondered at his former pusillanimity. “Ad primum conspectum redditae lucis (says he), alacritas incogitata rediit et injussa. Illud deinde mecum loqui coepi, quam ineptè quaedam magis ac minus timeremus, cum omnium idem finis esset. Quid enim interest, utrum super aliquem vigiliarium ruat, an mons? Nil invenies: erunt tamen qui hanc ruinam magis timeant, quamvis utraque mortifera aequè sit.” *Vigiliarium* here has been generally understood of a watch-tower, and the word has found its way into our Dictionaries under that acceptation; without any other authority than this single passage from Seneca, and that with the proviso of “Si sana est lectio.” I have long been inclined to think that it might originally have been written, *Virgiliarium*, or rather *Virgilianum*; and be meant of Virgil’s Tomb, which you see on an eminence on the side of the rock; as soon as ever you come out of the Grotta of Pausilypo, in going from Baiae to Naples.

There are few monuments to which the antients paid so great a regard as to Virgil’s. We find Statius, in the abovementioned passage, speaks of his Sepulchre as a temple;

“ Maroneique sedens in margine templi

“ Sumo animum, et magni tumulis accanto magistri.”

And Pliny, in his Epistles, speaking of the villas of Silius Italicus in Campania, says; “Multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum; quas non habebat modò, verum etiam venerabatur. Virgili ante omnes; cujus natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat: Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum ejus adire ut templum solebat.” Lib. III. Epist. vii. Martial also mentions the particular regard Silius paid to this Monument, in two of his Epigrams.

“ Silius haec magni celebrat monumenta Maronis,

“ Jugera facundi qui Ciceronis haber.

“ Heredem dominumque sui, tumulive, Larisve,

“ Non alium mallet, nec Maro, nec Cicero.”

Lib. XI. Epig. xlviii.

- “ Jam prope defueta cineres et sancta Maronis
 “ Nomina qui coleret, pauper, et unus, erat :
 “ Silius Arpino tandem succurrit agello ;
 “ Silius et vatem, non minor ipse, tulit.” Ib. Ep. xlix.

This respect paid to Virgil's Tomb at that time, and the honour paid by the Neapolitans to his memory in the barbarous ages following, as appears by their imputing to him all the great works that were ever among them, as their Aqueducts, the Grotta, the Brazen Horse, and many others, might well preserve among them a constant tradition, even in the time of their greatest barbarity, where his sepulchre was; and when learning again flourished we find the first writers speaking of it.

Petrarch describes this sepulchre, just as it is, on an eminence at the end of the Grotta, as he went from Puzzuolo to Naples; nor does he mention it as only reported or surmised, but speaks of it as a thing constantly taken for granted by the Neapolitans: for he supposes its nearness to the mouth of the Grotta might occasion that ridiculous story, which prevailed among them, of his having made the Grotta. — “ Sub finem
 “ fusci tramiſis, ubi primum videre caelum incipit, in aggere edito, ipsius
 “ Virgilii busta viſuntur, pervetusti operis; unde haec forſan ab illo per-
 “ forati montis fluxit opinio.” Itinerar.

It is known too that Sannazarius looked upon this tomb as undoubtedly Virgil's, and desired to lie, as he had lived, near it: and Bembo's chief thought in his Epitaph turns wholly on this:

- “ Da sacro cineri flores: hinc ille Maroni
 “ Sincerus musa proximus, ut tumulo.”

Capacio, in his History of Naples, gives the following account of Virgil's Tomb. “ Lateritia structura est, in cujus medio novem columnas
 “ urnam sustinentes fuisse tradidit Alfonsus Heredia Arianensium Epif-
 “ copus; qui bonas litteras vivens coluit: urnam marmoream, cum disti-
 “ cho quod a Donato recolitur.

- “ Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
 “ Parthenope; Cecini Pascua, Rura, Duces.

“ Vidisse illud opus scribit Petrus e Stephano, qui abhinc annos xL librum
 “ de Neapolitanis templis edidit.” Cap. Hist. Neap. lib. II. cap. ii.

The

The Monument itself is about sixteen feet square, built of small square stones, “opus reticulatum,” and plastered over. The entrance was to the road above the Grotta, but as that is now on the precipice since the sinking of the Grotta, and no entering that way, the opening is made on the opposite side by breaking through the wall. There is a nich on each side of the old door, and three niches to each of the other three sides; all which are still remaining, except the middle one opposite to the old door, which must necessarily be broke down to make the present entrance. It stands on the edge of a precipice, on the left hand as we enter the Grotta of Pausilypo from Naples; and is now about seventy feet, English meaasure, above the road.

Though the Neapolitans pretend still to value themselves on Virgil’s having lived much with them, and on having his sepulchre, they are not ashamed to see it lie in so ruinous a condition as it does; and, perhaps, it is owing to its situation more than to their honour or respect, that any part of it is still remaining. The sinking of the entrance of the Grotta has secured it on that side; there is no getting up to it without going a great way, at least half a mile, about: and though they have not the spirit to repair it, they are not quite so barbarous as to go so far out of the way on purpose to destroy it.

One remark made on Virgil’s Tomb is, that the Laurel always flourishes there; and it is observed by some writers (I do not know whether true or not), that that sort of Laurel will not grow any where else thereabouts, though endeavours have been used to propagate it. Travellers often pluck small sprigs or leaves of it to carry as presents to their friends out of regard to Virgil. Who could imagine that Mr. Addison, who so well deserved to be crowned with it, should have endeavoured to destroy and pluck it up by the roots?

However, though it cannot be demonstrated that this Tomb, which is called Virgil’s, was really his; yet since there is tradition in its favour, and many good arguments to prove that it was here or hereabouts, and since there is no other sepulchre near it, or any other place is assigned with so much probability as this, let it still enjoy its usual honours. It has been always thought barbarous to disturb the ashes of the meanest of mortals. Let Virgil’s rest in peace; and let travellers still have the satisfaction of imagining, at least, that they have paid their respects to his sacred Tomb.

T W O

V O C A B U L A R I E S :

I. F O R W O R D S ,

II. F O R P L A C E S .

V O C A B U L A R Y I.†

F O R W O R D S.

ACANTHUS. See the note upon it in Burman's Ovid. Met. XII. ver. 701. This plant was in great esteem among the Romans, as appears by their engraving it on their cups, etc. Quaer. If not the plant which we see sometimes carved on the Torus of pillars and on vases: much used likewise in gardens? Pliny, speaking of the garden of his Tuscan house, mentions "Acanthus in plano mollis, et, pene dixerim, liquidus:" and again afterwards; "Acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuosus." Columella, in his poem on gardening, speaking of the Cinara or Artichoke, says;

" Haec modo purpureo furgit glomerata corymbo
 " Myrtiolo modo crine viret, deflexaque collo
 " Nunc adoperta manet, nunc pinea vertice pungit.
 " Nunc similis calatho, spinisque minantibus horret.
 " Pallida nonnunquam tortos imitatur Acanthos.

ACERRA and Lanx were both used for the Thura in sacrifices, the former signifying a small dish or plate, the latter a large one, as is expressly said by Ovid:

† These two Vocabularies are only the beginnings of a design which Mr. Holdsworth would probably have carried much further; had he enjoyed better health, and had his life been spared longer to his friends, and the world. These imperfect pieces are followed by his Miscellanea: a work as complete, as the others are imperfect.

" Nicc

“ Nec quae de parvâ pauper Diis libat acerrâ

“ Thura minus, grandi quam data lance valent.”

De Ponto, lib. IV. El. viii.

ACTIONES. Pleadings, in which the Romans used much gesture and action, as all the Italians do at present in their pleadings and orations. See the difference between pleading and reciting described by Pliny, lib. II. Epist. xix.

ADOREUM. Vid. **FAR.**

AESCHILUS. There is a species of oak in Spain that bears a sweet acorn, which the people eat as commonly as chestnuts. *Quaer.* If not the Aeschilus? and how called there?

AGGER signifies a rampart or strong fence of earth; therefore Virgil, speaking of Caesar's passing the Alps, calls them Aggeres Alpino, those mountains being as a fence or wall to Italy. So Tully, in Orat. in L. Pisonem, calls them Alpium Vallum; and, Philippicâ 5tâ, Alpium Murum. “ Ejus furorem ne Alpium quidem muro prohibere possemus.”

AMELLUS. Columella calls it Frutex, lib. IX. c. iv. where, treating “ de passionibus apum,” after having enumerated several plants, he says; “ Mille praeterea femina vel crudo cespite virentia, vel subacta “ fulco flores amicissimos apibus creant, ut sunt in irriguo solo frutices “ Amelli,” etc. Yet Frutex is used by him for very small plants; for in the next chapter he calls Thymus Frutex. “ Amelli frutex luteus, “ purpureus flos.” Columella, lib. IX. c. xiii.

AMERINA. Vid. **SALIX.**

AMINEAE. See **VITES.**

AMURCA. “ Ex oleâ fructus duplex; oleum quod omnibus notum; et “ Amurca; cujus utilitatem quod ignorant plerique, licet videre è tor- “ culis oleariis fluere in agros, et non solum denigrare terram, sed mul- “ titudine facere sterilem; cum is humor modicus cum ad multas res tum “ ad agriculturam pertineat vehementer, quod circum arborum radices “ infundi solet, maxime ad oleam, et ubicunque in agro herba nocet.”

Varro

Varro lib. I. c. lv. Varro has likewise two chapters in the same book; the one, "De Amurcâ condendâ;" the other, "De Amurcâ tuendâ et promendâ." Vid. cap. lxi. and lxiv.

ANTES. Columella uses this word, lib. X. "Humidaque Andrachne
" fitientes protegit antes."

APIASTRUM. "Alii μελιφυλλον, alii μελισσοφυλλον, quidam μελινον appel-
" lant." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

APENNINUS.

"Apenninicolae bellator filius Auni." Aen. XI. ver. 700.

The limits of the Alpes and Apennines were not ascertained by the ancients, nor are they to this day; and therefore the Ligures, who possessed that ridge of mountains from the Var to the Macra, were by some authors called Alpini, by others Apennini. "Vulgo tamen pro Apennino
" habitum fuisse, ut etiam nunc habetur, quicquid montium ad Varum
" usque flumen protenditur;" as Cluver observes, Ital. Ant. lib. I. c. xxxi. Silius, lib. I. makes (I do not know by what authority) the country of Aunus to be on the lake afterwards called Thrasymenus.

"Quae vada Faunigenae regnata antiquitus Auno,
" Nunc, volvente die, Thrasymeni nomina fervant."

N. B. Part of the Ligures were called Ingauni, and their city Albingaunum, now Albanga. See Strab. lib. IV.

ARATRUM. In the kingdom of Naples they sometimes call all the wood of the plough, from the point of the handle to the share, Ventale, by corruption, from Dentale; but, properly, it is that part only to which the share is fixed.

The share is called Gomere, and is made with two corners jutting out, and rising in the middle, with a back called Schiena.

The plough used in seed-time is made with two ears, or side boards, called Orecchie, which are necessary to turn the earth over the seed when sown.

ARBUSTUM. Used commonly for a plantation of any trees ; as for example, such as are to support vines. See Columella, lib. V. c. De Ulmariis.

ARBUTUM.

“ Post hinc digressus jubeo frondentia capris
 “ Arbuta sufficere.” Virg. Georg. III.

By this passage it appears to be an evergreen, for Virgil is speaking of the care to be taken of the goats in the winter.

ARBUTUS. “ Arbutus five unedo fructum fert difficilem concoctioni,
 “ et stomacho inutilem.” Plin. lib. XXIII. c. viii.

“ Aliud corpus est terrestribus fragis, aliud congeneri eorum unedi,
 “ quod solum pomum simile fructui terrae gignitur. Arbor ipsa
 “ fruticosa ; fructus anno maturefcit ; pariterque floret subnascens, et
 “ prior coquitur. Mas fit an femina sterilis inter autores non constat.
 “ Pomum inhonorem, ut cui nomen ex argumento sit, unum tantum
 “ edendi. Duobus tamen hoc nominibus appellant Graeci, Comarum
 “ et Memecylon. Ex quo apparet totidem esse genera et apud nos.
 “ Alio nomine Arbutus vocatur. Juba autor est quinquagenum cubitorum
 “ altitudine in Arabia esse eas.” Plin. lib. XV. c. xxiv. This Unedo is what we call the winter strawberry. At Naples it is called Sorvo Pilofo. Quaer. If the other sort, called by Pliny Arbutus, is not what the Italians call Legno Santo ? Virgil gives the Arbutus the epithet Horrida, and makes hurdles of it, Arbuteae Crates. And again ;

“ Crates et molle feretrum
 “ Arbuteis texunt virgis.” Aen. XI. 65.

Georg. II. 69. he engraffs the nut upon it.
 Eclog. III. 82.

“ Dulce satis humor depulsis arbutus hoedis.”

This passage the commentators explain to be meant by its shade : but I think it ought rather to be understood by its brouze ; and, if so, the Arbutus cannot mean here the winter Strawberry. Again, Eclog. VII. Virgil speaks of the “ rara umbra Arbuti,” which cannot be understood

flood of the winter Strawberry. Again, Georg. III. 300, Virgil speaks of the Arbuta as brouze for goats ;

“ Jubeo frondentia capris

“ Arbuta sufficere.”

Quaer. If Arbuta therefore may not rather signify in general, Sylvestria poma, or any sort of wild winter fruits except acorns ? Virgil in several places seems to use it in that sense, as ;

“ Cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacra

“ Deficerent fylvae.” Georg. I. ver. 148.

Again ;

“ Glande fues laeti redeunt : dant arbuta fylvae.” G. II. 520.

Again, speaking of the bees ;

“ Pascuntur et arbuta passim.” Georg. IV. 181.

Ovid speaks of the Goddesses Carne touching the doors of a house
“ Arbuteâ fronde.”

“ Protinus arbuteâ postes ter in ordine tangit

“ Fronde, ter arbuteâ limina fronde notat.”

Fast. lib. VI. ver. 155.

“ Arbuta Paeniceo matura colore.” Lucret. lib. V. ver. 939.

“ Pomoque onerata rubenti

“ Arbutus.” Ovid. Met. lib. X. ver. 101.

“ Arbuteos foetus montanaque fraga legebant.”

Lib. I. ver. 104. speaking of the Golden Age.

Again, speaking of Io, he says ;

“ Frondibus arbuteis et amarâ pascitur herbâ.” Lib. I. ver. 632.

Again ;

“ Nec tibi castaneae, me conjuge, nec tibi deerunt

“ Arbutei foetus, omnis tibi serviet arbor.”

Lib. XIII. ver. 820.

Again ;

“ Tegit arbutus herbam,

“ Ros maris, et lauri, nigraque myrtus olent.”

Art. Amat. lib. III. ver. 689.

where he plainly speaks of it as a shrub.

“Impune tutum per nemus Arbutos

“Quaerunt latentes.” Hor. lib. Od. xvii.

Notwithstanding the *Arbutus* and *Arbutum* are so frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, that it seems to have been as common as any plant in the country, it must be observed that Pliny, who gives a description of every tree and shrub not only in Italy, but in all other known parts of the world; makes no mention of this, except accidentally as another name for the *Unedo*; and therefore it is reasonable to believe that this was not the name of any particular species of trees (unless as it was sometimes used synonymously for the *Unedo*) but a general name for winter shrubs, and *Arbutum* for berries.

ARVUM. “Arvum dicitur quod aratum necdum fatum est.” Var. De Re Rust. lib. I. c. 29.

ASILUS. Otherwise called *Tabanus*. See Pliny, lib. II. c. xxviii. It is now called in Italy *Tavano*.

BIBERE. See **GEMMA**.

BURA. “Saepe fracta bura relinquunt vomeres in arvo.” Var. lib. I. c. xix.

CAPER. “Hircus castratus.” See Martial, lib. III. Ep. xxiv.

CARDUUS. “Carduorum sylvestrium genera sunt duo: unum fruticosius à terrâ statim; alterum unicaule, crassius. Utrique folia pauca, spinosa, muricatis cacuminibus. Sed alter florem purpureum mittit inter medios aculeos, celeriter canescentem, et abeuntem cum aurâ. “*Scolymon Graeci vocant.*” Plin. lib. XX. c. xxiii.

CARPINO is a common tree among the mountains; it has a long leaf jagged like a saw, but not deep, the wood of a darkish colour, the bark very smooth. Quaer. If not Hornbeam?

CASIA. Pliny describes it in the same chapter with Cinnamon, and therefore it may be thought to belong to the same class; and is commonly

monly rendered by interpreters Cinnamon ; but, perhaps, improperly. Pliny says it is a Frutex as well as the Cinnamon, and that it came from the same country ; but with this difference, that Cinnamon grew on the plains, Casia on the mountains. And that whereas the bark of the Cinnamon tree was most valued, on the contrary in the Casia the bark was taken off, and the only valuable part was a thin skin. See Pliny, lib. XII. c. xix. It is this sort of spice Virgil undoubtedly means, when he says ;

“ Nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi.” Geor. II. 466.

The Casia mentioned by Virgil in other places, particularly G. II. 213. was some common sweet herb in Italy, as is well observed by Dr. Martyn. See his note on that place.

CEDRUS. Columella, speaking of forest trees coveted by bees, mentions the Odorata cedrus as an Italian tree. “ Commodissime faciunt etiam terebinthus, nec dissimilis huic lentiscus et odorata cedrus.” Lib. IX. c. iv.

CERRO is a sort of oak very common in the mountains of Tuscany ; it is different from the Quercia, and esteemed a much harder and firmer wood.

CICHORION. See **INTUBUM**.

CILICIUM. Hair cloth, or coarse cloth made of goats hair. See Col. lib. XII. cap. xlv.

“ **CLIBANUS**, est, cujus imum fummo patentius est.” See Columella, lib. V. c. x.

COCALI. See **FOLACE**.

CORYLUS. Pliny, reckoning up the proper ligatures for vines, mentions among the rest, Intorta corylus, lib. XVI. c. xxxvii. It is commonly rendered the Hazle. Quaer. If properly? I do not find that Pliny ever mentions it in the class of nuts. Speaking “ De Arborum naturâ per situs,” having mentioned several trees which love the mountains, he then says ; “ Descendunt etiam in plana, Cornus, Corylus,”

“lus, Quercus, Ornus, Acer, Fraxinus, Fagus, Carpinus,” lib. XVI. c. xviii. where it seems, by the company he puts the Corylus in, that he esteems it a mountain tree, but such as will grow in the plain likewise. In the same chapter Pliny says; “Spina nuptiarum facibus aut spicatissima, quoniam inde fecerint pastores qui rapuerunt Sabinas; ut autor est Massurius. Nunc facibus carpinus et corylus familiarissimae.” The Carpinus is a sort of Acer, as appears from Pliny, cap. x. of the same Book. Quaer. If it is not on the account of using the Corylus for Faces at nuptials that Virgil says;

“Hic corylis mixtas inter confedimus ulmos.” Ecl. V.

And, again, in the same Eclogue;

“Vos, coryli, testes et flumina nymphis.”

And Ecl. VII. 63.

“Phyllis amat corylos.”

Ecl. I. Virgil gives the epithet *Densas* to the Coryli.

Georg. II. Virgil mentions the corylus twice, ver. 65.

“Plantis edurae coryli nascuntur.”

where observe that he ranks it among mountain trees. And ver. 299.

“Neve inter vites corylum fere.”

When Ovid reckons up the several trees which came to listen to Orpheus, he distinguishes the corylus by the epithet *Fragilis*.

“Et coryli fragiles.” Met. lib. X. 93.

COTHURNUS. As the *Soccus*, which the comedians wore, was a slipper without heels, like that of the Turks, so the *Cothurnus*, worn by the tragedians, was probably raised on a very high heel, in order to give the actors a more grand and lofty air. See Plin. lib. IX. Epist. vii. where, speaking of two of his villas, one on the top of the hill, the other at the bottom; he observes, that he used to call the former *Tragoediam*, the latter *Comoediam*. “*Illam, quod quasi cothurnis, hanc quod quasi socculis sustinetur.*”

CULMUS.

CULMUS. Varro uses this word, lib. I. De Re Rust. c. xlviii. "Quod
"est in infimâ spicâ ad culmum stramenti summum."

CURCULIO. Columella often mentions this creature as devouring both
corn and legumes; and always by the name Curculio. Varro always
writes it thus when he means the worm that eats corn: but he men-
tions Gurgulionem in another sense, speaking of the "Hircus cervice
"et collo brevi, gurgulione longiore." Lib. II. De Re Rust. c. iii.

CYTISUS. Pliny describes the Cytisus in this manner. "Canus aspectu,
"breviterque si quis exprimere similitudinem velit, angustioris trifolii
"frutex:" Lib. XIII. c. xxiv. And, speaking of the different sorts of
trees he says; "Plura folia eodem pediculo exeuntia malis pirisque.
"Ramulosa ulmo et cytiso:" Lib. XVI. c. xxiv. Again, treating
De Materiis Arborum, he says; "Nigricans color cytiso, quae proxime
"accedere ebum videtur:" Lib. XVI. c. xl. He must mean the
wood of it, having described it "canus aspectu" with respect to its
leaves. As to its uses and advantages and culture, Pliny says of it;
"Frutex est cytisus ab Aristomacho Atheniensi miris laudibus praedi-
"catus pabulo ovium, aridus vero etiam suum. Utilitas, quae ervo,
"sed ocyor satietas, perquam modico pinguescente quadrupede, ita ut
"jumenta hordeum spernant. Non ex alio pabulo lactis major copia
"aut melior, super omnia pecorum medicina à morbis omni usu prae-
"stante. Quin et nutricibus in defectu lactis aridum, atque in aquâ
"decoctum, potui cum vino dari jubet; firmiores celsioresque infantes
"fore. Viridem etiam gallinis, aut si aruerit, madefactum. Apes quo-
"que nunquam defore cytisi pabulo contingente promittunt Democri-
"tus et Aristomachus. Nec aliud minoris impendii est. Seritur cum
"hordeo, aut vere semine ut porrum, vel caule autumnò ante brumam.
"Si semine, madidum, et si desint imbres, satum spargitur. Plantae cu-
"bitales seruntur scrobe pedali. Seritur post aequinoctia tenero frutice.
"Perficitur triennio. Demetitur verno aequinoctio cum florere desit vel
"pueri vel anâs vilissimâ operâ. Datur animalibus post biquum sem-
"per: hieme vero quod inaruit madidum. Satiant equos denae librae,
"et portione minora animalia: obiterque inter ordines allium et cepe
"feri fertile est. Non aestuum, non frigorum, non grandinum aut nivis
"injuriam expavescit. Adjicit Hyginus, ne hostium quidem, propter
"nullam

“nullam gratiam ligni.” Lib. XIII. c. xxiv. Pliny, referring to this chapter, says; “De Cytiso, cui et ipsi principatus datur in pabulis, affatim disimus inter frutices:” Lib. XVIII. c. xvi. As to the country or climate natural to it Pliny says; “Inventus hic frutex in Cythno insulâ, inde translatus est in omnes Cycladas: mox in urbes Graecas, magno casei proventu, propter quod maxime miror rarum esse in Italiâ:” Lib. XIII. c. xxiv. “Cytisum feritur in terrâ bene subactâ tanquam semen brassicae; inde differtur, et in sesquipedem ponitur: aut etiam de cytiso duriori virgulae deplantantur, et ita pangitur in ferendo:” Varro, De Re Rust. lib. I. c. xliii. In the same book, c. xxiii. he places Cytisum amongst such things, “Quae feruntur ad pabulum.”

Columella mentions two sorts of it. “Est enim,” says he, “sativa et altera suae spontis:” De Re Rust. lib. IX. c. iv. In the same place, having mentioned the Frutices Exigui, he speaks of the Cytisus as “Surculus majoris incrementi.” Varro says of it, lib. III. c. xvi. “Ab aequinoctio verno florere incipit, et permanet ad alterum aequinoctium autumnii.” Columella, having mentioned the chief sorts of Pabula, adds, “Caetera neque enumerare ac minus ferere dignamur: excepta tamen cytiso, de quâ dicemus in iis libris quos de generibus fusciorum conscripsimus.” Lib. II. c. xi.

N. B. There is a treatise lately published in England to prove that the Cytisus is the Medicago or Cytisus Maranthae, not the bastard Sena as asserted by another author.

Columella has an entire chapter on this shrub at the end of his fifth book, where he says; “Cytisum in agro esse quam plurimum maximè referet, quod gallinis, apibus, capris, bubus quoque et omni generi pecudum utilissimus est: quod ex eo cito pinguescit, et lactis plurimum praebet ovibus: tum etiam quod octo mensibus viridi eo pabulo uti, et postea arido possis. Praeterea in quolibet agro quamvis macerrimo, celeriter comprehendit. Omnem injuriam sine noxâ patitur. Satio autem cytisi vel autumnio circa idus Octobris, vel vere fieri potest. Plantas vere disponito, ita ut inter se quoquoersus quatuor pedum spatia distent. Si semen non habueris, cacumina cytisorum vere deponito. Post triennium deinde caedito, et pecori praebeto. Potest etiam ante Septembrem satis commodè ramis cytisus feri, quoniam facile comprehendit, et injuriam sustinet. Aridum si dabis, parcius
“ praebeto,

"præbeto, quoniam vires majores habet, priusque aquâ macerato, et
 "exemptum paleis permisceto. Cytisum cûm aridum facere voles,
 "circa mensem Septembrem, ubi semen ejus grandescere incipiet, cae-
 "dito, paucisque horis, dum flaccescat, in sole habeto : deinde in umbrâ
 "exsiccat, et ita condito." And in the same chapter ; "Mulieres, si
 "lactis inopiâ premuntur, cytisum aridum in aquam macerari oportet,
 "et cûm totâ nocte permaduerit, postero die expressi succi ternas
 "heminas permisceri modico vino, atque ita potandum dari. Sic et
 "ipse valebunt, et pueri abundantia lactis confirmabuntur." And in
 the book De Arboribus, placed at the end of Columella's works, and
 commonly ascribed to him, the chapter De cityso is repeated almost
 word for word, chap. xxviii. with this addition ; "cytisum, quem Graeci
 "aut ζεας, aut καρυσιν, aut τευφερην vocant."

Columella asserts, that the cytisus will flourish in any country, and
 directs giving it to poultry. "Jejunis gallinis cytisi folia seminaque
 "maximè probantur ; et sunt huic generi gratissima. Neque est ulla
 "regio in quâ non possit hujus arbusculae copia esse vel maxima :"
 Lib. VIII. c. iv. And in the next chapter he says ; "Gallinis optimè
 "præbetur ad satietatem ordeum semicoctum : nam et majus facit ovo-
 "rum incrementum, et frequentiores partus. Sed is cibus quasi condiendus
 "est interjectis cytisi foliis, ac semine ejusdem : quae utraque maximè
 "putantur augere foecunditatem avium. Si cytissus non fuerit, viciae
 "aut milii aliquid admiscendum erit."

Quaer. If Cytissus is not the Giurgiulea of Calabria which Sig.
 Biagio del Pozzo tells me serve "per accrescere il latte nelle donne."

There is a trefoil evergreen Frutex on the hills near Puzzolo, which
 the peasants say the goats prefer to any other plant. They call it
 Spallatroni.

DEFRUTUM. It manifestly appears by Columella that he means by
 Defrutum, new unfermented wine gently boiled down till a fourth or
 third part or more was consumed, and then being mixed with several
 ingredients, which he mentions, was set apart for a year to be put into
 Muscadel or sweet wines as occasion required, either to preserve them
 to a great age, or to cure them when going to turn or grow sour.
 See Col. XII. c. xix. xx. xxi. Palladius distinguishes this into three
 sorts, to which he gives different names, according as it is more or less
 boiled down. The first sort he calls simply Defrutum ; the second

Caraenum, when one third is consumed ; the third Sapa, when two thirds are consumed. See Palladii October, tit. xviii. Columella likewise makes Defrutum and Sapa to differ according to the degrees of boiling ; for he says, lib. XII. c. xix. “ Quidam partem quartam
 “ ejus musti, quod in vasa plumbea conjecerunt, nonnulli tertiam deco-
 “ quunt. Nec dubium, quin ad dimidiam si quis excoxerit, meliorem
 “ sapam facturum sit, eoque usibus utiliore, adeo quidem, ut etiam
 “ vice defruti, sapa, mustum, quod est ex veteribus vineis, condire
 “ possit.” By which he seems to mean that Sapa was thicker than Defrutum, or Defrutum boiled to a sort of syrup. “ Igni multo
 “ pingue,” as Virgil expresses it, Georg. IV. Yet Columella often
 uses Defrutum and Sapa indifferently as synonymous terms : but strictly
 speaking they are different. The Sapa is still used in Italy, and is
 usually boiled down to a third till it becomes a sort of syrup, and then
 is bottled and kept to be put into sallads and some sort of sauces. At
 Naples it is called Musto Cotto, but in Tuscany it retains the old name,
 Sapa ; and there, as formerly, they mix spices and other ingredients
 with it.

DEPOSITUS. A funeral term signifying laid out : so Ovid uses it ;

“ Jam propè depositus, certè jam frigidus, aeger.”

De Pont. lib. II. Ep. ii.

ELIX. A water table or furrow for draining off the water. So Columella. “ Quamvis tempestivè sementis confecta erit, cavebitur tamen
 “ ut patentes liras, crebrosque fulcos aquarios, quos nonnulli elices
 “ vocant, faciamus :” Lib. II. c. viii. Speaking of works to be done
 at the latter end of October he says ; “ Eodem tempore fossas rivosque
 “ purgare et elices fulcosque aquarios, convenit facere :” Lib. XI. c. ii.
 Virgil expresses himself very properly :

“ Ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam

“ Elicit.”

Columella likewise uses the word Elicitur, speaking of watered meadows. See RIGUUS.

“ FINITIMI.

FINITIMI. Propinqui, Vicini. "Effe aliquam in terris gentem, quae
 "fuâ impensâ, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum;
 "nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquaâ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris
 "continenti juncâs praestet: maria trajiciat; ne quod toto orbe terra-
 "rum injustum imperium sit: et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sit."
 Liv. lib. XXXIII. § xxxiii. See likewise distinction made between them,
 in Tully, pro Syllâ, § xx. and 11th Philip. § xiii. and Orator, § xxxii.

FISCILLA. See **FISCINA.**

FISCINA. Columella orders, amongst other things, "quae praeparanda
 "sint vindemiae, fiscillas texendas et picandas:" Lib. XII. c. xviii.
 And, speaking of work proper for winter evenings, he says; "Si
 "palmae sportive foecunda est regio, fiscinae sporto fieri debent; seu
 "virgultorum, corbes ex vimine:" Lib. XI. c. ii. By which it seems
 that he does not make his "fiscina ex virgulto," though Varro does.
 See De Re Rust. Lib. I. c. xxii. and lib. II. c. ii. The basket now made
 use of by the Neapolitans to gather grapes in and carry them out of the
 vineyard is still called Fiscina. It is made of willows. They likewise
 call Fiscella a little basket used to bring curds or Ricotta in, made of
 Juncus, which Varro likewise mentions, lib. II. c. iii. "Fiscella è
 "junco."

FOCUS. Though usually taken for fire, signifies properly a hearth, or
 fire place. So Martial:

"Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus." Lib. XI. Ep. lvii.

FOLACE. Still esteemed foretellers of bad weather, when they cry as
 they fly towards the shore; as likewise the Cocali or sea gulls. Folace
 in Italy in the winter only, Cocali always.

GAESA. Javelins, and properly such as were used by the Gauls, and
 therefore Virgil arms his Gauls with them:

"Duo quisque Alpina coruscant
 "Gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis."

Aen. lib. VIII. ver. 661.

From these Gaefa those people who live towards the head of the Rhone, and among the Alpes (now the Valetians country), and were always ready for war, and fought for pay, as the Swiss do at present, were called Gaefati. See Polyb. lib. II. τα μεγαλα των εθνων, τοτε Ισσυρων και Βοιων συμφρονησαντα διεπεμποντο προς τας κατα τας Αλπεις και του Ροδανου ποταμου κατοικεντας Γαλατας, προσαγορευομενους δε δια μισθου στρατευειν Γαισατες. Again, afterwards; "Galli Gaefati, superatis Alpibus, ad Padum venerunt." Again, "Galli Alpini, quos vocant Gaefates, in postrema acie statuunt." Plutarch likewise, in the life of Claudius Marcellus, mentions 30,000 Gaefatae coming into Italy to the assistance of the Insubres. And Orosius, lib. IV. c. xiii. "Post haec Claudius Consul Gaefatorum xxx millia delevit." And Polybius relates the same of those 30,000 Gaefatae. See an account of the arms of the Franks in Agathias, lib. I.

GELONUS.

"Pictosque Gelonos." Georg. II. 115.

"Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus."

Claudian in Rufin.

Quaer. If the custom still practised by the Turks of marking themselves be not derived from those people?

GEMMA Bibere. Georg. II. 506. Pliny speaks of this extravagance of the Romans in having their drinking cups and other vessels set with precious stones; and tells us that this luxury was introduced by Pompey after his conquest of the pirates, Pontus, and Asia: Lib. XXXVII. c. ii. Martial alludes to the same custom:

"Et virides picto gemmas numeravit in auro."

Lib. IX. Ep. lx.

And more expressly, Lib. XIV. Ep. 109. entitled Calices Gemmati.

"Gemmatum Scythicis ut luceat ignibus aurum,

"Aspice quot digitos exuit iste calix."

Martial likewise makes use of a like expression, "Potare gemma." Lib. XI. Ep. xii.

GILVUS.

GILVUS. See HELVUS.

HELVUS. Columella, speaking of grapes called Helvolae, says, "Quas nonnulli varias appellant, neque purpureae neque nigrae, ab Helvo (nisi fallor) colore vocitatae." Lib. III. c. ii.

HIRCUS. See CAPER.

HORROR. "Ad res sacras refertur et venerationem." So Virgil:

"Horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ." Aen. I. 169.

And Lucan:

"Arboribus fuus horror inest." Lib. III. 411.

"Redit ab Africâ Marius clade major: siquidem carcer, catenae, fuga, exilium, horrificaverant dignitatem." Florus, III. xxi.

JAMDUDUM is, I find, generally supposed to mean the same as Jampridem: yet I believe it relates oftner to the present time than the past, and is generally used with the present sense, and signifies *now, immediately, already, instantly*. And this is certain, that it always imports eagerness, quickness, and impatience of delay. See Georg. I. 213. and other places in Virgil, particularly Aen. I. 584.

"Jamdudum erumpere nubem

"Ardebat."

"Jamdudum fumite poenas." Aen. II. 103.

Aen. IX. 186. where Nisus, addressing himself to Euryalus, at the beginning of the famous episode, says;

"Aut pugnam, aut aliquid jamdudum invadere magnum

"Mens agitat mihi."

So Myfis in Terence, when she is sent in haste to call a midwife, says;

"Audi, Archillis, jamdudum Lesbiam adduci jubes."

Andria, act. I. sc. iv.

And Lucan:

"Nec plura locuto

"Viscera non unus jamdudum transigit ensis." Pharsal. IV. 545.

Where it must be rendered by, *now, instantly*.

IMPROBUS.

IMPROBUS. "Labor improbus." Virgil, Georg. I. 145. which is commonly supposed to mean, *continual, indefatigable*. Seneca calls purple often dipped, "Lacernas coloris improbi," Epist. cxv. And Pliny tells us, lib. IX. c. xli. that "nomen improbum" was given to purple several times dipped. And, perhaps, for the same reason, Martial gives Tyros the epithet *Improba*, as being employed in repeating the same work, and dipping over and over again the same cloth. Martial, lib. X. Epist. xvi.

INDI. Polybius, speaking of Hannibal's passing the Rhone with his elephants, calls their guides Indos, though probably Aethiopians.

INGREDIOR; though it seems to intend going in, does not always signify so; but, to march, proceed, etc. Virgil, when speaking of Aeneas's leaving and going out of the Sibyl's grotto, uses this word:

"Aeneas moesto defixus lumina vultu
"Ingreditur, linquens antrum." Lib. VI. 157.

Quaer. If it does not intimate something of gravity and solemnity?

INTUBUM. "Est et erraticum, quod in Aegypto Chicorium vocatur:" Plin. lib. XIX. c. viii. "Nascitur post vergilias, floret particulatim, "radix ei lenta, quare etiam ad vincula utuntur illâ:" Id. lib. XXI. c. xv. "Chicorium et similia circa terram folia habent germinantibus ab "radice post vergilias:" Id. lib. XXI. c. xvii.

JUGERUM.

- 1 A. B. C. D. "Jugerum. In agro Romano ac Latino jugeris metiuntur. Jugerum vocant quod quadratos duos actus habeat." Varro, De re rust. lib. I. c. x.
- 2 A. E. F. D. "actus quadratus. Qui et latus est pedes cxx. et longus totidem: is modus Acnua Latine appellatur." Varro, ibid. with whom Columella agrees. "Actus quadratus undique finitur pedibus cxx. Hoc duplicatum facit jugerum; et ab eo quod erat junctum nomen jugeri usurpavit. Hunc actum Provinciae Baeticae rustici Acnuam vocant; Galli Semijugerum Arepennem vocant." Col. lib. V. c. i. And again in the same chapter: "Ergo, ut dixi, duo actus jugerum efficiunt longitudine pedum ccxl. latitudine pedum cxx. Quae utraeque

“ que summae inter se multiplicatae quadratorum faciunt pedum
“ viginti octo millia et octingentos. [Pes est digitorum xvi.]”

Quaer. If not false printed for xii? for he says, “ Modus omnis
“ areae pedali mensurâ comprehenditur, qui digitorum est xvi.]”

- 3 *a b c d*, “ jugeri pars minima dicitur scrupulum; id est, decem
“ pedes in longitudinem et latitudinem quadratum. Ab hoc
“ principio mensores nonnunquam dicunt in subsicivum esse un-
“ ciam agri, aut sextantem, aut quid aliud, cum ad jugerum per-
“ venerunt. Id habet scrupula cclxxxviii. quantum As.”
Varro, ibid.

Columella agrees exactly. “ Pars ducentesima octogesima octava
“ pedes centum est scrupulum.”

a e f g. “ Pars septuagesima secunda jugeri, pedes cccc. hoc
“ est, Sextula, in quâ sunt scrupula quatuor.”

- $\frac{5}{12}$ 4 *a e h i*. “ Pars duodecima; duo millia et quadringentos pedes:
“ hoc est, Uncia, in quâ sunt scrupula xxiii.”

- $\frac{2}{12}$ 5 *a l m i*. “ Sextans. Pars sexta, pedes quatuor millia et octin-
“ gentos, hoc est, Sextans, in quo sunt scrupula xlviii.”

- $\frac{3}{12}$ 6 *a n o i*. “ Quadrans. Pars quarta; pedes septem millia et du-
“ centos, hoc est, Quadrans, in quo sunt scrupula lxxii.”

- $\frac{4}{12}$ 7 *a p q i*. “ Triens. Pars tertia, pedes novem millia et sexcentos,
“ hoc est, Triens, in quo sunt scrupula xcvi.”

- $\frac{5}{12}$ 8 *a r s i*. “ Quincunx. Pars tertia et unaduodecima, pedes duo-
“ decim millia, hoc est, Quincunx, in quo sunt scrupula cxx.”

- $\frac{6}{12}$ 9 *A E F D*. “ Semis. Pars dimidia, pedes quatuordecim millia
“ et quadringentos, hoc est, Semis, in quo sunt scrupula cxliiii.”

- $\frac{7}{12}$ 10 *a t u i*. “ Septunx. Pars dimidia et unaduodecima, pedes se-
“ decim millia et octingentos, hoc est, Septunx, in quo sunt scru-
“ pula clxviii.”

- 11 *a x y i*. “ Bes. Partes duaetertiae, pedes decem novem millia
“ et ducentos, hoc est, Bes, in quo sunt scrupula cxcii.”

- 12 *a z a a i*. “ Dodrans. Partes tres quartae, pedes unum et viginti
“ millia et sexcentos, hoc est, Dodrans, in quo sunt scrupula ccxvi.”

- 13 *a b b c c i*. “ Dextans. Pars dimidia et tertia, pedes viginti qua-
“ tuor millia, hoc est, Dextans, in quo sunt scrupula ccxl.”

- 14 *a d d e e i*. “ Deunx. Partes duae tertiae et una quarta, pedes
“ viginti sex et quadringentos, hoc est, Deunx, in quo sunt scru-
“ pula cclxiii.”

A B C D

ABCD. "Jugerum. Pedes viginti octo millia et octingentos,
" hoc est, As, in quo sunt scrupula cclxxxviii."

LANX. See ACERRA.

LAPPA. "Notabile et in lappâ quae adhaerescit, quoniam in ipsâ flos
" nascitur, non evidens, sed intus occultus, et intra se germinat velut
" animalia quae in se pariunt." Plin. lib. XXI. c. xvii. Quaer. If not
the Bur?

LARIX. The Larix grows like the fir, but is not an evergreen: its
leaves are paler than the fir, and the wood or timber of it redder. The
leaves are shaped like those of the fir, but do not shoot in the same man-
ner, one opposite to another on each side of the branch, but in tufts
quite round. This tree is very common on the mountains of Carniola
and Stiria.

LEGNO SANTO, or Vaggia cana, as it is called by the botanists, bears
a sweet berry, which is ripe about St. Andrews-tide: it is a beautiful
tree, and has a long leaf like the cherry-tree.

LEGUMINUM GENERA.

Faba.

Lenticula.

Pisum.

Phaselus.

Cicer.

Cannabis.

Milium.

Panicum.

Sesama.

Lupinum.

Linum etiam et

Ordeum, quia ex eo Pisana est. Columel. lib. II. c. vii.

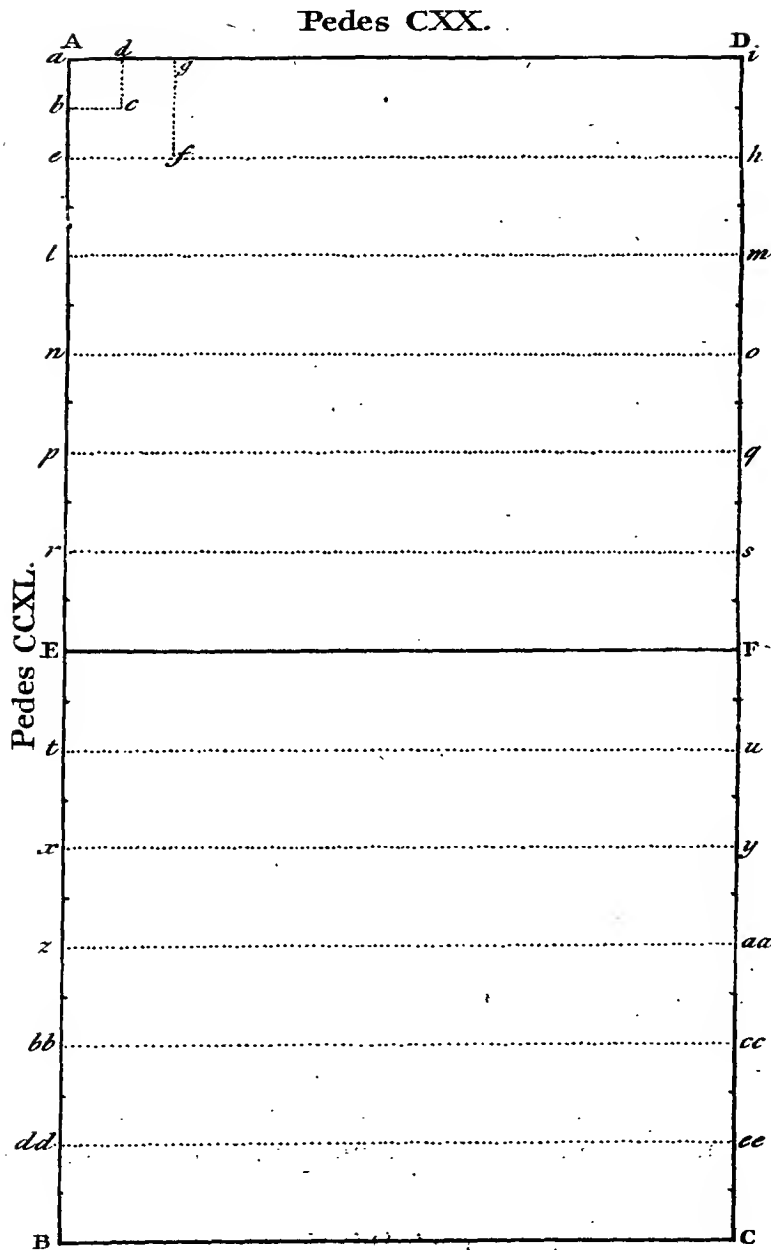
LOLIUM. Called in Italy Loglio, and by the vulgar Joglio, is thought
still very pernicious to the head, insomuch that it is a common proverb
in Tuscany, when a man has acted foolishly and out of the way, to say
of him,

"Hà mangiato pane con joglio."

LOTUS.

to face p. 528.

JUGERUM.



The Scale is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to 10 feet.

LOTUS. Called in Italy Fra-Giragolo, or otherwise Bagatto, or Buce-rata. A great quantity of it is in the plain of Foligni, where it is called Famfoli. Quaer. If coveted by cattle? See Athenaeus's account of the Libyan Lotos in the XIVth book of his Deipnosophist. He quotes the words of Polybius in the XIIth book of his History, now not extant. That historian speaks of it as an eye-witness. Ovid in his catalogue of trees, which went to listen to Orpheus, reckons the Lotos, and distinguishes it by the epithet Aquatica, and brings it in company with the Salix:

Amnicolaeque simul salices et aquatica lotos."

Met. X. 96.

Again;

" Haud procul a stagno Tyrios imitata colores

" In spem baccarum florebat aquatica lotos."

Lib. IX. ver. 341.

That the Lotus bears a berry is plain from Pliny, lib. XV. c. xxiv. where, speaking De baccis, he says, "Magna et baccis differentia. Aliae
" namque sunt olivis, lauris, et alio modo loto, cornis; alio myrtis,
" lentisco."

The Lotus of Italy was very different from that of Africa the foreign Lotus, as Pliny expressly tells us, lib. XIII. c. xvii. "Africa,
" quâ vergit ad nos, insignem arborem loton gignit, quam vocant celtin,
" et ipsam Italiae familiarem, sed terrâ mutatam. Praecipua est circa
" Syrtes atque Nafamonas: magnitudo, quae pyro, quanquam Nepos
" Cornelius brevem tradat. Incisurae folio crebriores; alioquin ilicis
" viderentur. Differentiae plures, caeque maximè fructibus fiunt. Magni-
" tudo huic fabae, color croci. Sed ante maturitatem alius atque alius,
" sicut in uvis. Nascitur densus in ramis myrti modo, non ut in Italia,
" cerasi: tam dulci ibi cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terraeque dederit,
" nimis hospitali advenarum oblivione patriae. Melior sine interiore
" nucleo, qui in altero genere osseus videtur. Ligno colos niger. Ad
" tibiarum cantus expetitur: è radice cultellis capulos, brevesque alios
" usus excogitant. Haec ibi natura arboris," etc.

Lib. XVI. c. xxx. he gives the following account of the Italian Lotos. Speaking of trees, branching or shooting out variously, he says:
" Alia in cacumine ramosa, ut pinus, lotos, sive faba Graeca; quam
" Romae à suavitate fructûs, sylvestris quidem, sed cerasorum penè

“naturâ loton appellant. Praecipue domibus expetitur ramorum petulantia, brevi caudice, latissimâ expatiantium umbrâ, et in vicinas domos saepe transfiliunt. Nulli opacitas brevior, nec aufert solem hieme decidentibus foliis. Nulli cortex jucundior, aut oculos excipiens blandius. Nulli rami longiores, validioresque aut plures, ut dixisse totidem arbores liceat. Cortice pelles tingunt, radice lanas,” etc. Again, lib. XVI. c. xl. Pliny reckons the Lotos amongst the trees; “Quae cariem vetustatemque non sentiunt, et ex reliquis ficcissima lotos quae Romae ita appellatur.” And, chapter the xliiith, he reckons several very old Loti at Rome. And, lib. XVII. c. i. he tells us the history of six famous Loti at the house of L. Crassus at Rome; “Patulâ ramorum opacitate lascivae.”

MADERE. “Loco sicco stabulentur equi, ne humore madescant ungulae,” i. e. mollescant. Columel. lib. VI. c. xxix.

MELIPHYLLUM. See APIASTRUM.

MESSIS. Varro having mentioned two different ways of reaping used, one in Umbria, and the other by the people of Picenum, proceeds to describe the method now generally in use: “Tertio modo metitur, ut sub urbe Roma, et locis plerisque, ut stramentum medium subsecet, quod manu sinistrâ summumprehendunt,” lib. I. c. l. Virgil, in speaking of reaping, uses words compounded of Sub, to express the manner of reaping.

“Rubicunda Ceres medio succiditur aestu.” Georg. I. 297.

————— “Neque ante

“Falcem maturis quisquam supponat aristis.” Ver. 348.

MICARE. Cicero, speaking of an honest man, says, he is “Dignus quicum in tenebris mices;” alluding probably to a sport still used in Italy called Giuoco d'amore. See Offic. lib. III. sect. ci. “Vir bonus non modo facere, sed ne cogitare quidem quidquam audebit, quod non audeat praedicare. Hoc non turpe est dubitare Philosophos quod ne Rustici quidem dubitent? à quibus natum est id quod jam tritum est vetustate proverbium. Quum enim fidem alicujus bonitatemque laudant, *Dignum esse dicunt quicum in tenebris mices*. Hoc quam habet vim nisi illam? nihil expedire quod non deceat, etiamsi id possis nullo refellente obtinere. Videsne hoc proverbio neque Gygi illi

“posse

“ posse veniam dari, neque huic quem paulo ante fingebam digitorum
 “ percussione hereditates omnium posse convertere?” Tully likewise mentions Micare, when he is speaking of the Sortes, in his second book. *De divinatione*.

Q. If the proper meaning of Micare is not to tremble with a very quick motion, as rays of light? Ovid, speaking of Marfyas flayd alive, and representing the arteries trembling when stripped of the skin, expresses it by Micare :

“ Trepidæque sine ullâ

“ Pelle micant venæ.”

Met. lib. VI. ver. 390.

MYRRHINA. Quær. If not a sort of China ware? See Jos. Scaliger on this verse of Propertius;

“ Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis.”

Lib. IV. El. v. ver. 26.

where he opposes Pliny, who speaks of Myrrhina as a natural product, lib. XXXVII. c. ii. Martial has the following epigram on Murrhina;

“ Si calidum potas, ardenti murrha Falerno

“ Convenit, et melior fit sapor inde mero.”

Lib. XIV. Ep. 113.

NAMQUE. See how this word is used in Silius Italicus, lib. XI, where Teuthras is playing to Hannibal :

“ Namque Chaos, caecum quondam sine fidere molem

“ Non surgente die, ac mundum sine luce, canebat ;

“ Tum Deus ut liquidi discisset stagna profundi,

“ Tellurisque globum mediâ compage locasset,”

is a part of this Teuthras's song; Silius, II. 458. where Namque is used in the same manner (and on the very same subject) as it is by Virgil :

“ Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta

“ Semina, terrarumque, animæque, marisque fuissent,

“ Et liquidi simul ignis : ut his exordia primis

“ Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.” Ecl. VI. 34.

NOVALIS, "dicitur ubi factum sit antequam secunda aratione renovetur." **Varro**, *De re rustica*, lib. II. c. xxix.

OCCARE, "est comminere, nè sit gleba." **Varro**, *De re rust.* lib. I.

c. xxxi.

OPIO, is what we call Maple, having a deep-jagged leaf with five divisions.

ORNUS. The wild ash, or mountain ash. "Si aspera et siticulosa loca arboribus conferenda erunt, neque opulus neque ulmus tam idoneae sunt quam orni. Eae sylvestres fraxini sunt, paulo latioribus tamen foliis quam caeterae fraxini, nec deteriore frondem quam ulmi praestant." **Colum.** *De arb.* c. xvi.

OSCILLA. **Columella** mentions this word, lib. II. c. x. "Vermes simul atque oscilla lupinorum ederunt, reliqua pars enasci non potest." Where it seems to signify the little heads or eyes of the lupins.

PASSUM. Wine made of grapes exposed some time to the sun to sweat after they were gathered, before they were pressed. **Hesiod**, lib. II. *Op. et Dier.* ver. 227, speaking of the time of vintage, orders grapes when gathered to be kept exposed abroad ten days and nights, and then under cover five days more, before they were pressed. *Εντ' αυ δ' Ωριων και Σεπιος ες μεσον ελθῃ*, etc. And **Columella** gives the following receipt for making *Passum*: "Uvam praecoquem bene maturam legere; acina arida aut vitiosa rejicere; furcas vel palos qui cannas sustineant inter quaternos pedes figere et perticis jugare: tum insuper cannas ponere, et in sole pandere uvas et noctibus tegere nè irrorentur. Cùm deinde exaruerint, acina decerpere, et in dolium, aut in seriam conjicere, eodem mustum quam optimum, sic ut grana submersa sint, adjicere; ubi combiberint uvae seque impleverint sexto die in fiscellam conferre et prelo premere, passumque tollere." Lib. XII. c. xxxix.—Q. If the *Vino Santo* near Verona, and the *Vino Aromatico* of the *Valtelline*, are not of this sort? See **Bishop Burnet's** description of them in his *Travels*. See **Martial**, lib. XIII. *Ep.* cvi.

PINUS in hortis. **Virgil**. Commentators without reason have changed this into *Tinus*. It is pretty evident that, besides the tall pine, there was a kind of shrub of this name planted often in gardens. **Virgil** in his

his fourth Georgic twice mentions the Pinus, and probably both times means the shrub; as likewise in his Culex. There seems to be a manifest proof of this in Ovid, Art. Amand. lib. III. ver. 692, where describing the fountain where Cephalus used to retire to cool or refresh himself, he makes it shaded with shrubs, and in order to thicken the shade (which was necessary for the sequel of the story, viz. the hiding of Procris, etc.) he supposes no tall trees there;

“ Sylva nemus non alta facit.”

And among the shrubs he mentions the Pinus, which he calls Culta, meaning thereby the Garden pine, to distinguish it from the Sylvestris. See note on this place in Burman's Ovid; and Catrou's 4th note on the IVth Georgic. See Pliny De Pinu et Pinastro.

PLANGERE.

“ Littora plangunt.” Georg. I. 334.

Lucan, speaking of the witch Erichtho imitating with her voice all manner of sounds, chooses Planctus to express the roaring of the sea:

“ Latratus habet illa canum, gemitusque luporum,
“ Quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur,
“ Quod strident ululantque ferae, quod sibilat anguis,
“ Exprimit, et planctus illis caute undae.” Lib. VI. 691.

PORCA. “ Quod est inter duos sulcos elata terra dicitur Porca; quod ea
“ feges frumentum porrigit.” Varro, lib. I. c. xxxii.

PROFANUS. Properly one who reveals secrets, which he ought to conceal. So Horace; “ Odi profanum vulgus.” Lucan, speaking of one of Cato's soldiers in Africa bit by a serpent called Seps, says, the poison was so violent, that the whole man rotted away.

“ Quicquid homo est, aperit pestis. Natura profana,
“ Morte patet.”

Which the scholiast well explains: “ Profanam mortem dicit, quod
“ naturae secreta patefecerit.” Lucan, Pharf. lib. IX. 779.

PROJICERE.

“ Corpora caeforum tumulis projecta negatis.” Lucan. VI. 626.

When

When Caunus had read part of Biblis's letter, Ovid, to express that he threw it away as vile and abominable, uses the word *Projicit*.

“*Projicit acceptas, lectâ fibi parte, tabellas.*” Met. lib. IX. 574.

PROPINQUI. See **FINITIMI**.

PROSCINDERE. “*Terram, cum primum arant proscindere appellant ; cum iterum, offringere dicunt. Quod primâ aratione glebe grandes solent excitari ; cum iteratur, offringere vocant.*” Varro *De re rust.* lib. I. c. xxix.

PULLUS. Properly dark brown. Virgil, G. III. Varro, describing the colour of hares in Italy, calls it *Pullus*. “*Superiore parte pullâ, ventre albo.*” *De re rust.* lib. III. c. xii.

QUIRITES. *Jus Quiritium*, and *Civitas Romana* are very different, as appears from Pliny, lib. X. Ep. iv. 6. 105 et 106. The former I take to be no more than Naturalization ; the latter the privileges of Citizens of Rome.

RASTRA. This word was used not only for a Rake, but any instrument with teeth proper to work, scrape, or grub up the ground, à *radere*. So Lucan, speaking of soldiers digging the ground to search for water, says ;

“*Nec solum rastris durisque ligonibus arva,*

“*Sed gladiis fodere suis.*” Lib. IV. 294.

A rake would be a very improper instrument to open and break up ground. Q. If the *Rastra* were not chiefly used in Apulia?

“*Quae piger Appulus arva*

“*Deferuit rastris.*” Lucan, V. 403.

Q. If *Rastra* was ever joined with the verb *Trahere*, as probably it would have been by some of the antients, if it signified a Harrow? Cato mentions, “*Raistros quadridentes duos,*” X. 34. In short, it seems that any instrument with teeth used to open the ground was called *Rastrum*, such as that used to loosen the earth about vines, and clear the ground of weeds. So Pliny, speaking of the *Balsamus* being like a vine, and to be cultivated in like manner, says, “*Tondetur similiter fruticans, ac rastris nitefcit.*” Lib. XII. c. xxv.

RIGUUS.

RIGUUS, "dicitur de agro vel foeno, etc. aquis irrigato." Columella says; "Foeni animadvertimus duo genera, quorum alterum est ficcane-
 "um, alterum riguum," lib. II. c. xvii: and then adds; "Laeto pin-
 "guique campo non desideratur influens rivus, meliusque habetur foe-
 "num quod suapte naturâ succoso gignitur solo, quam quod irrigatum
 "aquis elicitur, quae tamen sunt necessariae si macies terrae postulat."

ROBUR. Called by the Italians Rovere. The acorn of it, which is brought from Dalmatia to Venice, and is used for tanning, is very large, the cup of it thick and rough, and opens into scales or laminae like the fir-apple.

RUBUS. *Q.* If it does not properly signify the blackberry bramble now called at Naples Rugo?

RUSCUS, is commonly called the evergreen sharp-pointed prickly shrub used in Italy to make brooms to sweep down cobwebs, etc. and is now called by the Italians Brusco. Columella, giving instructions about pickling herbs and plants in spring, mentions, amongst others, "silentem
 "florem vitis albae, et asparagi, et rusci." *Q.* If this can be the Brusco? Virgil mentions the Ruscus, Ecl. VII. 42. "Horridior rusco."

SALEBRA. Supposed commonly to signify a rough place, a craggy rock. Thus Martial:

" Nil est tritius Hedyli lacernis,
 " Non anfae veterum Corinthiorum,
 " Nec crus compede lubricum decenni;
 " Non ruptae recutita colla mulae,
 " Nec quae Flaminiam fecant falebrae." Lib. IX. Ep. lviii.

SALIX. Columella, treating De faliſto, says; "Putant tria esse genera.
 "praecipuè falicis, Graecae, Gallicae, Sabinae, quam plurimi vocant.
 "Amerinam. Graeca flavi coloris est, Gallica obsoleti purpurei, et
 "tenuissimi viminis; Amerina falix gracilem et rutilum gerit." Lib. IV.
 c. xxx.

SAPA. See **DEFRUTUM**.

SAPOR.

SAPOR, which we translate Savour, means smell as well as taste. Pliny, speaking of Unguenta, says; "In M. Ciceronis monumentis invenitur, "unguenta gratiora esse, quae terram, quam quae crocum sapiant:" Lib. XIII. c. iii. alluding to a passage in Tully, De Orat. lib. III. Again, "Cicero lux doctrinarum altera, meliora, inquit, unguenta sunt, "quae terram quàm quae crocum sapiunt; hoc enim maluit dixisse, quàm "quae redolent:" Lib. XVII. c. v. By this I think it appears, that Sapor extends to two of our senses, and not only relates to taste, but to smell. And Ainsworth in his Dictionary renders, Sapere, *to savour, smell, or taste of*.

SCILICET. This word is frequently used by way of insult and sneer. So Virgil:

"Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam
"Scilicet." Georg. I. 282.

And it is remarkably used so in that passage in Lucan, where Julius Caesar takes the Consulship:

"Populoque precanti
"Scilicet indulgens summum Dictator honorem
"Contigit, et laetos fecit se Consule fastos." Lib. V. 383.

SCYTHIA. Quintus Curtius gives this account of the country. "Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythia, quos Europaeos vocant, dividit. Idem Asiam "et Europam finis interfuit. Coetuum Scytharum gens, haud procul "Thraciâ sita, ab Oriente ad Septentrionem se vertit; Sarmatarumque, "ut quidam credidere, non finitima sed pars est. Rectâ deinde regione "Alaunum ultra Istrum jacentem et ultima Asiae, quâ Bactra sunt, stringit, quae Septentrioni proxima sunt. Profundae inde sylvae vastae- "que solitudines excipiunt. Rursus quae ad Tanaim et Bactra spectant "humano cultu haud disparia sunt." Lib. II. § xxviii.

SEGES, is used in different senses. Varro says; "Seges dicitur quod "aratrum fatum est:" De Re Rust. lib. I. c. xxix. Yet notwithstanding this definition he himself uses it to signify a ploughed field ready to be sown. "Far quod ad sationem tum promendum, cum segetes "maturae sunt ad accipiendum:" Cap. lxix. In other places it signifies the corn itself.

STIVA.

STIVA. "Longissimum quemque aratorem faciemus, quod in re rusticâ
 "nullo minus opere fatigatur. prolixior, quia in arando stivæ penè
 "rectus innititur." Col. lib. I. c. ix. where he directs; "Qualis cor-
 "poraturæ mancipia cuique operi contribuenda sunt." *Quær.* Whe-
 ther in medals the ploughman is represented holding the Stiva with
 his left hand? See Agostini, Dialog. VII. and VIII.

"Cui laeva regēbat
 "Stivam post Aquilas." Sidonius Panegyri.

Valerius speaking of Atilius, says; "Illæ rustico opere attritæ manus
 "salutem publicam stabilierunt. Nec fuit iis rubori, eburneo scipione
 "posito, agrestem stivam aratri repetere." Lib. IV. c. iv.

Ovid, describing the Palilia, and the manner of first marking out the
 walls of towns, says;

"Inde premens stivam designat moenia fulco."
 Fast. lib. IV. El. xiii.

SUCCINUM. Of this from the Poplars on the Po, Martial says;

"Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera repit,
 "Fluxit in obstantem succina gemma feram:
 "Quæ dum miratur pingui se rore teneri,
 "Concreto riguit vineta repentè gelu." Lib. IV. Ep. lix.
 "Dum Phaëthontē formica vagatur in umbrâ,
 "Implicuit tenuem succina gutta feram:
 "Sic modo quæ fuerat vitâ contempta manente,
 "Funeribus facta nunc pretiosa fuis." Lib. V. Ep. xiv.

And that Martial was well acquainted with that country appears by
 Lib. III. Ep. iv. and Lib. IV. Ep. xxv. See a particular account of
 Succinum in Pliny, lib. XXXVII. c. ii. and iii.

SIDUS is often applied to the sun. So Ovid speaking of the loves of
 Phoebus, says;

"Hunc quoque fidereâ qui temperat omnia luce
 "Cepit amor Solem; Solis referamus amores."
 Met. lib. IV. 162.

TESTUDO. See in Burman's Ovid the difference between Tholus and Testudo. Fast. lib. VI. ver. 282.

TOPHUS. A sort of stone in some respects like the Pumice stone; in others differing from it: for as the Pumex is dry and light, the Tophus is moist and heavy. As to its roughness and hollowness it much resembles the Pumex. And therefore Ovid speaking of them both together, says;

“Pumice multicavo, nec laevibus atria tophis.

“Structa subit.” Met. lib. VIII. 561.

Meaning by “nec laevibus,” as rough, and full of holes as the Pumex.

TOPIARIUM OPUS. Pliny, speaking of the Buxus, says; “In ipsâ
“vero arbore topiario opere:” Lib. XVI. cap. xvi. And he calls the Acanthus, “topiariam et urbanam herbam:” Lib. XXII. c. xxii. And speaking of the Ficus Indica, he says; “Adeo in terram curvantur rami, ut annuo spatio infigantur, novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem in orbem, quodam opere topiario.” Lib. XII. cap. v.

TOPIARIUS. See Pliny, lib. III. Epist. xx.

TRAPETUM. Columella distinguishes the Trapetum from the Mola.
“Oleo conficiendo molae utiliores sunt quam trapetum: trapetum quam
“canalis et solea. Molae quam facillimam patiuntur administrationem:
“quoniam pro magnitudine baccarum vel submitti vel etiam elevari
“possunt, ne nucleus, qui saporem olei vitiat, confringatur. Rursus
“trapetum plus operis faciliusque quam solea et canalis efficit. Est
“et organum erectae tribulae simile, quod tudicula vocatur: idque
“non incommodè opus efficit, nisi quod frequenter vitiat, et, si baccae plusculum ingesseris, impeditur. Pro conditione tamen et regionum consuetudine praedictae machinae exercentur. Sed est optima
“molarum, tum etiam trapeti.” Lib. XII. cap. l.

TRIBULUM “fit è tabulâ lapidibus aut ferro asperatâ, quod imposito
“aurigâ aut pondere grandi trahitur jumentis junctis, ut discutiat è
“spicâ.

“spicâ grana :” Varro, *De Re Rust.* lib. I. cap. lii. Columella affirms that both the Tribula and Traha were used “in triturâ frumenti. “Si competit ut in areâ teratur frumentum, nihil dubium est quin equis melius quam bubus ea res conficiatur. Et si pauca juga sunt, “adjicere tribulam et traham possis, quae res utraque culmos facillimè “comminuit :” Lib. II. cap. xxi. Where observe, that Columella uses Tribula in the feminine ; as he does likewise, lib. I. cap. vi. “Non “cedente solo pulvisbus unguularum tribularumque.”

TRIBULUS. “Aliqua spinosa et secundum spinam habent folium ut “tribulus et ononis. Tributa proprietas quod et fructum spinosum habet :” Plin. lib. XXI. c. xv. “Tribulus non nisi in palustribus nascitur, dira res alibi : juxta Nilum et Strymonem amnes excipitur in cibus, inclinatus in vadum, folio ad effigiem ulmi, pediculo longo. At in reliquo orbe genera duo. Uni cicerculae folia, “alteri aculeata. Hic et serius floret, magis septa obsidet villarum. “Semen ei rotundius, nigrum in filiquâ, alteri harenaceum.” Ibid. cap. xvi. “Tribuli unum genus in hortis nascitur ; alterum in fluminibus tantum. Thraces qui ad Strymona habitant foliis tribuli “equos faginant : ipsi nucleo vivunt, panem facientes praedulcem.” Id. lib. XXII. cap. x.

VAGGIA CANA. See LEGNO SANTO.

VANNUS. Quaer. If the same as the *κισα* or *λίκνος* of the Greeks. See Hesychius in *Λικνιτης* ; and Clemens Alexand. account of *Κισαι μουσικαι* of Bacchus, etc. and Buonarroti's Medaglioni, p. 448. Columella mentions the use of the Vannus in cleaning corn. “Ubi paleis imista sunt frumenta, vento separantur : at si compluribus diebus undique filebit aura, vannis expurgentur.” Lib. II. cap. xxi.

VENUSTUS. One who says pretty things, sharp, witty. See the word used in this sense by Pliny. “Dictum Baeticorum (ut plerumque doctor etiam venustos facit) non illepidum ferebatur.” Lib. III. Epist. ix.

VESULUS MONS ; on the side of which the Po rises. “Padus è “gremio Vefuli montis celsissimum in cacumen elati, finibus Ligurum “Vagiennorum

“ Vagiennorum visendo fonte profluit :” Plin. lib. III. cap. xvi. And Solinus, “ Padum mons Vefulus superantissimus inter juga Alpium “ gremio suo fundit in Ligurum finibus,” cap. viii. And Martianus, “ Padum amnem mons Vefulus inter montes Alpium elatior gignit fonte “ mirabili in Ligurum finibus,” lib. VI. Virgil, who lived in the neighbourhood of the Po, which rises from this mountain, celebrates it.

“ Velut ille canum morfu de montibus altis

“ Actus aper, multos Vefulus quem pinifer annos.

“ Defendit.” Aen. X. 708.

This mountain is to this day commonly called by contraction Monte Vefo or Vifo.

VICINI. See FINITIMI.

VITES AMINEAE. This was one of the most common grapes in Italy. Columella gives the following character of it. “ Amineae cum sint “ unius nominis, non unam speciem gerunt :” Lib. III. cap. ii. He names several sorts, (viz.), “ duas germanas, majorem et minorem ; “ duas geminas vel gemellas, majorem et minorem. Et Amineam Latam.” And he observes, that the Minor Gemina was “ vulgè notissima, quippe Campaniae celeberrimos Vesuvii colles, Surrentinos- “ que vestit.” Again, cap. ix. speaking of the Amineae, he says ; “ quas plerumque folas antiqui noverant.” And again ; “ vetustissimas “ quasque vineas adhuc existimamus Amineas.”

UNEDO. It is plain that the Unedo has a smooth bark. Pliny, speaking of the different accounts given of the Myrrha, says ; “ corticem “ levem similemque unedoni, scabrum alii spinosumque dixere.” Lib. XII. cap. xv.

URUS, in German, *Urrochs*, ; a wild bull, of which there are still many in Prussia and the northernmost parts of Germany.

V O C A B U L A R Y II.

F O R P L A C E S.

AEMILIA. See VIA.

AEQUICOLI. Phaebonius, in his History of the Marſi, ſpeaking of the Aequicoli, ſays ; “ eſt montana et nemoroſa regio, ut inter ſaltus fylvas-
“ que eorum vitam exercentes innatâ à loco horriditate induantur,” etc.
lib. III. cap. vi. And in the ſame paragraph, “ parum ferax ſolum.”
This answers exactly to Virgil’s deſcription :

“ Horrida praecipue cui gens, affuetaque multo

“ Venatu nemorum, duris Aequicola glebis.” Aen. VII. 746.

Phaebonius in the ſame chapter obſerves, that the arms of the town Taggliacozzo are two men holding between them a coat, and one of them a ſword ready to divide it, which he ſuppoſes intimates ſpoil and plunder.

AEQUULANUM. Appian mentions Aequulanum in the country of the Hirpini. De Bel. Civil. lib. I.

ALATRI and FERENTINO. At both theſe towns part of the old walls are ſtill ſtanding, the “ opus reticulatum incertum.”

ALBA is near the Lacus Fucinus. “ Extat adhuc apud recentem Albam
“ veterum formâ caſtrorum quadratis muris, quae adhuc ſtativa mili-
“ tum indicet :” Donatus, lib. III. cap. xii. Theſe Caſtra are men-
tioned by ſeveral authors. “ Viſum eſt militibus iis quorum ad urbem
“ Romam ſub monte Albano caſtra erant, atque in hiſ liberi eorum con-
“ jugesque relictæ, neci dedere Maximinum :” Herodian. lib. VIII.
“ Timentes milites quorum affectus in Albano monte erant :” Junius
Capitolinus in Vitâ Maximini. Ad portam rectâ properavit Anto-
“ nius, et inde porro Albam, verbis, ut putabat, milites reducturus ad
“ officium.”

“ officium. Sed cùm peteretur telis è moenibus retrocessit :” Appian, De Bell. Civil. lib. III. “ Quasi milites quosdam ex iis coegisset, qui stipendia faciebant in Albano :” Dion sive Xiphilis in Heliogab. “ Pars militum apud Albam Getam occisum acerrimè accepit. Clausis- que portis diu imperator non admissus ; nisi delinitis animis, non solum querelis de Getâ et criminationibus editis, sed enormitate stipendii militibus (ut solet) placatis ; atque inde Romam rediit.” Spartian. in Anton. Carac.

“ L. Genutio, Sex. Cornelio Coff. Soram atque Albam coloniae deductae : Albam in Equos vii M. Colonorum scripta :” Liv. lib. X. “ Parvum quoddam oppidulum Romani olim in Aequanis munierant, Albam- que de metropolis suae nomine appellaverant.” Appian, in Hannib.

“ Maximè mediterranea Latinas inter urbes est Alba, Marsis finitima, in sublimi scopulo posita :” Strab. lib. V. “ Splendidissima Albae rudera, totusque moeniorum ambitus etiamnum visuntur :” Fabretti Col. Traj. p. 407. “ Non solum in pluribus viarum Consularium marginationibus et substructionibus, atque in parte moeniorum Praenestinae urbis alibique vestigia antiqui reticulati operis (quod à Vitruvio incertum dicitur) remanent ; sed totus et integer Albae ad lacum Fucinum murorum ambitus in eam speciem constructus hodieque visitur ; ita ut viam silice stratam, non in planam jacentem sed erectam videre putes ; nisi quod lapides viarum semper hexagoni (praeter exteriores et margines contingentes, qui pentagoni) isti omnino incerti, et in angulorum numero variantes inter se coagmentantur.” Fabretti, De Col. Traj. who gives a draught of this sort of building, cap. vii. p. 229.

I saw at Alba great remains of the old walls built of prodigious stones, “ opus reticulatum incertum ;” it appears that the town in most places was secured by a triple circuit of walls in terraces one above another, as the slope of the hill required or could admit of it. On the top of the hill is the church of a convent, in which are sixteen beautiful Corinthian pillars fluted : this, in all probability, was formerly a temple ; on the side of the hill of Alba rises a fine spring, called now Feronica, which serves the present town.

ALBULA. That this was a stinking place appears from Martial.

“ Quod ficcae redolet palus lacunae

“ Crudarum nebulae quod Albularum,” etc.

Lib. IV. Epist. iv.

merly

ALGIDUM. At the further end of the Alban or Tusculan hills, where the Via Latina begins to descend towards the plain, there is a narrow pass cut between the rocks, and just above the road on the left a very steep round hill, on which, it is probable, was the castle of Algidum, and in the rock, on the side of the road, are many grottas, used, perhaps, formerly for houses according to the ancient custom. This place is now called, Cave del Aglio, probably by corruption from Algidum.

ALPES COTTIAE. This passage was from Turin by Suza (Segusio) and Brianzon (Brigantio) to Eburunum, or Eburudunum, now Embrun. It took its name from Cottius a prince of the country, who opened or rather mended that road, and made it more commodious in the Time of Augustus, according to Marcellinus, who gives a particular description of the road, lib. V.

ALPES GRAIAE. This passage was from Augusta Praetoria, now Aosta, over the little St. Bernard, called formerly Alpe Graia, and sometimes Cremonis Jugum, to the Tarentaise (Darantasia) on the Isère, the country of the Centrones. The name was supposed to have been given to the Graiae Alpes from the fiction of Hercules's passage. Yet the Poets generally make him pass along the sea coasts. However as the name of the Cottiae Alpes came, as aforesaid, from Cottius, it may be that before that time the whole tract of the mountains towards Gaul was known by the name of Graiae quite to the sea.

ALPES PENNINAE. This passage was from Augusta Praetoria aforesaid, over the great St. Bernard, called Summum Penninum by the way of Octodorus, now Martinach, and Vivisco (Vevay) to Minnodunum, now Milden, and thence to Aventicum Helvetiorum, now Avances, in Switz. This passage was so called, as Livy testifies, "ab eo (sc. Deo) quem in summo sacratum vertice Veragri incolae jugi ejus Penninum appellant," lib. XXI. This mountain was afterwards called Mons Jovis, and now Monte Jove, as well as St. Bernard. It was likewise sometimes falsely called Poeninus, and supposed to have been Hannibal's passage into Italy, and from thence to have taken its name. But Livy declares positively, in the place aforesaid, that this was:

was not the way which Hannibal took, nor the occasion of the name. Yet notwithstanding the positive assertion of Livy, many authors, who wrote after him, fell into the same mistake as those who had wrote before, being deceived by the resemblance of the name and sound. So Pliny: "Salafforum, inquit, Augusta Praetoria, juxta geminas Alpium fauces, Graias atque Poeninas. His Poenos, Graiis Herculem transisse memorant," lib. III. cap. xvii. Isidorus falls into the same mistake; Orig. lib. XIV. cap. viii. And it appears by Senius, and Paulus Diaconus that it was the common opinion. Strabo gives this account of the Graiae and Penninae Alps: "Salafforum regio," not the country of the Velostains, "magnâ quidem ex parte in profundâ est convalle, montibus utrinque eam includentibus: pars vero quaedam eorum etiam ad supernè imminentes protenditur vertex. Qui igitur ex Italiâ profecti montes eos transcendere cupiunt, iis iter est per eam vallem. Mox in duas scinditur vias, quarum altera per Poeninum fert jugum, jumentis inaccessa, quâ summitas est Alpium: altera per Centrones magis occidua est," lib. IV. Again, he says afterwards; "Transitus ex Italiâ in Galliam ulteriorem et septentrionales regiones, qui per Salaffos est, Lugdunum ducit; estque duplex. Alter curribus etiam pervius, itinere longiore, per Centrones: alter per Paeninum montem brevior, sed idem adclivis et angustus."

It appears from Regino Chronic. lib. II. that the Alpe Pennina was in after times called Mons Jovis: for, speaking of Rudolfus, anno 888, taking possession of the Alpes Penninae, he afterwards, anno 894, calls the same Montem Jovis. Quaer. If this mountain, which is esteemed the highest of all the Alpes, was not called from Pen, which, in the old British language, signifies *Head*, and is a common name given to mountains in Wales and Bretagne? Quaer. If not of the same signification in the language of the Celtae, the inhabitants of this country? If so, it is probable that the Deity, worshiped on this mountain under the name of Penninus, was the chief or highest God, from whence, in process of time, when the people of this country became acquainted with the worship of the Roman Deities, the same mountain was called Mons Jovis.

Cluver has a long chapter to prove that Hannibal's passage was over the Alpes Penninae according to Polybius's account, and in opposition to Livy, whose relation of Hannibal's march he entirely rejects as false, contradictory, and inconsistent.

ALSIUM.

ALSIUM. Rufus Virginius, who is much celebrated by Pliny, had a villa here, which he used to call, "*fenestutis suae nidulum.*" And here likewise was his monument. See Plin. VI. Epist. x.

ALTINUM. "*In finistrâ Silis fluvii (now Sele) ripâ, haud procul ostio, reliquiae extant praeclari pontis:*" Cluverius, p. 161. This he supposes to have been the situation of the old Altinum. See Martial about Altinum, Aquileia, Podona, and the country near the Po, lib. III. Ep. lxvii. and lib. IV. Ep. xxv.

AMASENO. About two miles from Veroli, northward among the mountains, is a little church called Santa Maria d'Amaseno near the rise of a small brook, Amaseno (which is undoubtedly the Amasene Pater of Virgil, lib. VII. 687.): this fountain never fails in the hottest weather, is very clear, and abundant, and esteemed an excellent water. It runs to the Garigliano, through a very fruitful vale abounding in corn, wine, and oil. This stream in the maps is falsely named Strangola Gallo, from a town of that name, where rises another brook which passes into the Amaseno. I passed the Casamara about midway between Veroli and Isola, four miles from each. Casamara was an ancient convent, and was one of the largest in Italy, the church is a large Gothic structure, and the cloysters, most part of which are still standing, very beautiful, supported by small twisted pillars of white marble, according to the neatest Gothic taste. This convent being dissolved, and the lands held at present by Card. Albani, is now in part refitting up at his expence, being given to the Fathers of the order of La Trappe; there were about fourteen Fathers there, most, if not all strangers, that is, Florentins, Milaneze or Venetians, and some French: the Bishop of Tivoli, who, I think, is a Milaneze, was one of the number, and conformed to their rule.

AMITERNUM. About four or five miles from Aquila are the ruins of the old Amiternum. The greatest part of the city, or at least the suburbs, seems to have been on the plain, having the river Aterno, which there is very small, running through the middle of it: over the river is still remaining entire a bridge of one arch, built of vast stones of a coarse marble. This was indisputably a Roman work. Another

bridge was pulled down, as we were informed, for the sake of the stones, a few years ago. Part of the old Via Selcicata is still to be seen leading to this bridge, and appears in a strait line for a great length, I believe a mile, this being the road leading to the town from Rome by Rieti. About a musquet shot from the river's side are the ruins of an amphitheatre, the entire circuit of which is still to be seen: it was small and built of brick, all the arches turned with the large long brick. In one part, where the outward wall is still remaining, I observed the Opus Reticulatum; so that, without doubt, the outside was all built in that manner. This town was secured by a steep hill, which hangs just over it, and has two heads, on the lower of which is a church called St. Vittorino, in which are several old capitals, and pieces of broken pillars. On the upper hill are the ruins of the old fortifications: the ascent is very steep. The plain between this place and Aquila is very fruitful, and well watered by several springs breaking out from the foot of the mountains: the plain bears excellent corn, and the bread made from it is esteemed the best in Italy, and, as we were told, is often carried from Aquila to Rome and Naples, tho' so far distant. The country near Aquila is very well inhabited, having abundance of villages on each side of the mountains, and the people generally very strong sturdy men, great quantity of saffron growing near Aquila. The road leading from Aquila to Popoli was certainly the ancient Roman road: it was very strait, and seems to have been raised most part of the way, though naturally very firm. It is reckoned twenty-two miles from one to the other, and all good and level, except the three last miles towards Popoli, where the road leads over a hill, the descent of which is very steep. About midway between Aquila and Popoli, on an open plain, are the ruins of a pretty large town, which, we were informed, was formerly Aufidonia. About four miles from Aquila, the road from the Lacus Fucinus, we passed through a place called Bagna, where are several ruins, supposed to be of the old Forconium: it stands pleasantly on the side of the mountains, overlooking the vale of Aquila. I could not find that there are any baths there, which should give occasion to its present name. The side of the mountains thereabouts is covered with vineyards.

AMPHITHEATRE. See CAPUA; POLA.

ANAGNI

ANAGNI stands on a hill about thirty-seven miles from Rome to the left of the Via Latina. The hill is fruitful in wine and oil, and the plain below towards the river Sacco is an excellent corn country, but the mountains to the back of the hill towards the north bare rocks only, according to Virgil's description.

ANNA PERENNA. Martial mentions this place to be seen from Martial's gardens, which certainly stood on the side of Monte Mario, near Villa Madama.

" Hinc septem dominos videre montes,
 " Et totam licet aestimare Romam,
 " Albanos quoque Tufculosque colles,
 " Et quodcunque jacet sub urbe frigus,
 " Fidenas veteres, brevesque Rubras,
 " Et, quod virgineo cruore gaudet,
 " Annae pomiferum nemus Perennae." Lib. IV. Ep. lxiv.

Ovid, speaking of the feast of Anna Perenna, says, it was kept on the ides of March, and near the banks of the Tyber.

" Idibus est Annae festum geniale Perennae,
 " Non procul à ripis, advena Tybri, tuis."

Fast. lib. III. ver. 523.

In the same place he says, that she was a branch of the Numicius, or a brook running into that river, and hints that it was never dry.

" Corniger hanc tumidis rapuisse Numicius undis
 " Creditur, et stagnis oculuisse fuis.
 " Ipsa loqui visa est; placidi sum Nympha Numici:
 " Amne perenne latens Anna Perenna vocor." Ver. 647.

Again, a few verses after, he gives another account of the name, by which it seems probable that the brook which runs by Bovillae was called the Anna Perenna.

" Orta suburbanis quaedam fuit Anna bovillis," etc. Ver. 667.

Near to the Numicius was the Lucus Jovis Indigetis, mentioned by Dionysius Hal. lib. I. And Aurelius Victor, De Orig. Gent. Rom. says;
 " Illi [Aeneae] eo loco templum consecratum, adpellarique placuit Deum
 " Indigetem," pag. 16. And Tibullus says to Aeneas:

“ Illic sanctus eris, quum te, venerande Numici,

“ Unda Deum caelo miserit Indigetem.” Lib. II. El. v.

Silius Italicus places the brook of Anna Perenna in the Laurentian marshes. In the beginning of the VIIIth book, when Juno speaks to her, the Poet says:

“ Accitam stagnis Laurentibus Annam.

“ Affatur.”

And a little after relates how she was changed into a fountain falling into the Numicius:

“ Haud procul hinc parvo descendens fonte Numicus.

“ Labitur, et leni per valles volvitur amne.”

And afterwards:

“ Numicius illam.

“ Suscepit gremio.”

This near the grove sacred to Aeneas by the name of Deus Indiges.

“ Diva Indigetis sacris contermina lucis.” Sil. ibid.

Silius says, her feast was observed all over Italy, and in the beginning of the year.

“ Ex illo primis anni celebrata diebus

“ Per totam Ausoniam venerando numine culta est.” Lib. VIII.

ANTEMNAE was one of the nearest towns to old Rome. Strabo, speaking of the first building of Rome, observes: “ Romulum et Remum
“ urbem Romam condidisse loco non tam delectu quam necessitate capto.
“ Nam neque munitus naturâ erat, neque solum habebat proprium et
“ quod urbi sufficeret, neque homines qui incolerent. Nam qui
“ tum circa ea loca erant, ii pro se quique seorsum habitabant,
“ muros urbis Romae quae tum condebatur attingentes, neque Albanos
“ admodum curabant. Erant Collatia, Antemnae, Fidenae, Λαβινον.”
(Quaere, What place this means? Lavinium, as it is translated, would
be at too great a distance; besides, Strabo calls Lavinium Λαβινον)
“ aliaque id genus tunc oppida, nunc pagi, privatorum domicilia, xxx
“ aut xl à Româ stadiis. Sanè inter quintum et sextum à Româ lapidem
“ locus est Fetti: hunc tradunt eo tempore finem agri Romani fuisse,
“ et hodieque ibi, aliisque in locis qui limites sint, sacerdotes sacrificium
“ peragunt, quod Ambervalia dicitur.” Strab. lib. V. Virgil calls Antemnae Turrigerae, and reckons it one of the five cities, which wrought
arms

arms to oppose Aeneas; from whence it is probable that it stood upon the water, and had the conveniency of mills.

APPIA. The Via Appia was continued from Sinuessa to Baiæ by Domitian, and from Beneventum to Brundisium by Trajan. One of these works was probably under the direction of one Macer, as appears from Martial, who, sending his book to him, says :

“ Appia, quid facies, si leget ista Macer ? ” Lib. X. Ep. xvii.

AQUILA. See **AMITERNUM**.

AQUILEIA. Nothing is remaining there, but broken pillars and fragments of sculpture in a bad taste : a small river called Natifa runs through the town, and the Amphora, a much larger river, able to carry vessels of good burden just without the town.

ARCHES. See **TRIESTE**, **POLA**.

ARDEA. That this was esteemed a very unhealthy place in hot weather, see Martial :

“ Ardea solstitio Castranaque rura petantur. ” Lib. IV. Ep. lx.

By Castrana rura is supposed to be meant Castrum.

AREZZO. Vitruvius, speaking of strong brick buildings, celebrates “ Vetustum Aretii egregie factum murum, ” lib. II. cap. viii.

ARICIA. Aricinus Clivus was a famous station for beggars.

“ Debet Aricino conviva recumbere clivo,

“ Quem tua felicem, Zoïle, coena facit. ”

Martial, lib. II. Ep. xix.

And again :

“ Migrare clivum crederes Aricinum. ” Lib. XII. Ep. xxxii.

ASSISI. See **TEMPLES**.

ATELLA. About seven miles from Naples and two from Aversa, on the right hand of the road leading from Naples to Capua, are the vestiges of the old Atella, still retaining the ancient name. The ditch, which

which encompassed the town, is very visible quite round, and in some places the foundation of the walls appears, and the depth of the ditch is so great, that the country people, not knowing what it was, suppose that it was formerly the channel of the Vulturnus, or Capona river. On the side of the old town are the ruins of a large building, which probably was a temple: it was built of brick, and faced with small square stones set edgeways, called *Opus reticulatum*. These ruins are still called *Atella*. Near this spot, but without the ditch, is a convent called *Santa Maria d'Atella*, and a village called *Pomigliano d'Atella*. The country all round is very fruitful.

ATINA. Martial mentions this place:

“*Quo cive prisca gloriatur Atina.*” Lib. X. Ep. xcii.

Silius Italicus, reckoning up the forces of Italy, ranges it in company with Sora, Fabretaria, Sueffa, and Frusino; and places it in a mountainous country.

“*Nec monte nivoso*

“*Descendens Atina aberat.*” Lib. VIII. ver. 398.

And see Cicero Pro Cn. Plancio. “*Hujus praefectura (Atina) plena virorum fortissimorum, sic ut nulla totâ frequentior dici possit.*”

AVERNUS LACUS. Virgil calls it,

“*Averna fonantia silvis.*” Aen. III. 442.

Aristotle, in *Admirandis*, speaking of it, says; “*Circumpositis undique et supernè incumbentibus densissimis sylvis.*” Strabo asserts the same very particularly: “*Includitur Avernus superciliis rectâ sursum adfurgentibus, et undique praeterquam in aditu imminentibus: nunc quidem culturâ elaboratis. At olim sylva circumdabat inaccessa et magnarum arborum, quae ad superstitionem usque ipsum sinum obumbrabat. Addita est ab incolis fabula; nempe aves quae supervolarent in aquam decidere exanimatas aëris exhalatione, quemadmodum in locis fieri solet Plutoniis.*” Lib. V. This wood was afterwards cut down by Agrippa, as appears from Strabo and others. Strabo gives the following account: “*Qui nos aetate antecesserunt, Necyae Homericae fabulam Averno adplicuerunt. Atque adeo narrant, fuisse ibi oraculum ubi vitâ defuncti responsa darent. Eoque Ulysses per-*”
“*venisse.*”

“venisse. Atque hunc locum Plutoni dicatum arbitrabantur. Et Cimmerios hic habitare traditum fuisse. Ac qui intro navigabant, prius sacrificiis placabant Genios subterraneos: quum essent sacerdotes, qui conducto isto loco hujusmodi sacra docebant administrabantque. Ibidem et fons est aquae potabilis ad ipsum mare, sed eâ omnes abstinant, Stygis aquam esse putantes. Ibidemque alicubi et oraculum erat. Et Pyri Phlegethontem ex aquis calidis Acherusiae vicinis existimant haec esse. At Ephorus, Cimmeriis locum hunc attribuens, hos habitare tradit in subterraneis aedificiis, quas argillas vocant; ac per cuniculos quosdam inter se commeare, hospitesque eâdem viâ ad ora culum perducere, altè infra terram conditum; victum partim metallis effodiendis quærere, partim ab iis accipere qui oraculum consulunt. Regemque iis constituisse eo nomine stipendium. Caeterum qui apud oraculum istud degant, eos, more ab majoribus accepto, nunquam videre solem; sed noctu ex hiatibus terrae prodire. Eoque Homerum ita de iis cecinisse. Neque unquam eos sol lucidus adspicit. Postea vero temporis Cimmerios fuisse deletos à rege quodam cujus eventa oraculum non comprobassent. Sedem autem oraculi alio translata etiamnum durare. Atque talia quidem fabulati sunt, qui aetatem nostram praecesserunt. Nostra vero tempestate quum sylvam, quae circa Avernum fuit, excidisset Agrippa, et loca aedificiis occupata essent, actusque ab Averno Cumas usque cuniculus, omnia ista fabulas esse liquido adparuit. Cocceio, qui cuniculum istum egit, et alium a Puteolis ad Neapolim supra Baias tendentem (*ἐπὶ νεαν πόλιν ἐκ Δικαιαρχίας ἐπὶ ταῖς Βαίαις*) praedictam fabulam quodammodo de Cimmeriis sequente; ac fortasse etiam arbitrante loco huic antiquâ ex consuetudine convenire, ut per cuniculos viae ducantur.”

Virgil gives the name Avernus or Avernum to the Grotta (now called Sibyl's) as well as to the lake, and makes the stench rise chiefly from thence; and more than once names Averno in the plural:

“Averno sonantia sylvis.” Aen. III. 442.

“Averno per alta

“Congressus pete, nate, meos.” Aen. V. 732.

And particularly of the Grotta:

“Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,

“Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque tenebris;

“Quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes

“Tendere iter pennis; talis sese halitus atris

“Faucibus.

“Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat ;

“Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Avernum.” Aen. VI. 242.

And again, speaking of the doves ;

“Inde ubi venēre ad fauces graveolentis Averni,

“Tollunt se celeres, liquidum per aëra lapsae.” VI. 201.

Liquidum is very properly added in opposition to Graveolens.

“Tunc et pestiferi pacatum limen Averni,

“Innocuae, transtistis, aves.” Claudian, De raptu Proserp. lib. II.

Cluver observes, that the lake seems to have taken its name from the Grotta. “Ab antri hujus nomine lacus cognomen accepit Averni.

“Nam, haud semel apud auctores lacus Averni vocatur.” He quotes

Cicero, Livy, etc. Maximus Tyrius ; “Erat et in Italiae Magnā

“Graeciā, non procul à lacu Averno antrum fatidicum, cui homines

“praeerant, qui ab animarum evocatione, quae illic fiebat, nomen ha-

“bebant. Huc qui consulendi oraculi causā venisset, precibus conceptis,

“caesā victimā, libaminibusque rite effusis, cujuscunque vellet sive pa-

“rentem sive amicorum umbram ciebat. Quo facto prodibat tenuis

“anima, nec visu facilis nec cognitu : quae tamen et voce praedita esset

“et vaticinandi peritiā. Postquam autem responsa de iis quae quaere-

“bantur reddidisset, disparebat. Hoc oraculum novisse mihi videtur

“Homerus ; suumque eò deduxisse Ulyssēm.” Dissertat. xxvi.

Cluver is entirely of this opinion, that the Lacus Avernus was the place to which Homer brings Ulysses. Ital. p. 1131, etc. Cicero men-

tions the fictions of raising the dead at the Lacus Avernus ; for treating,

in his Tusculan Questions, De Inferorum conditione, and the errors

thereupon, he concludes, “inde Homeri tota *venya*, inde ea quam meus

“amicus Appius *νεκρομαντεια* faciebat. Inde in viciniā nostrā Averni

“lacus.

“Unde animae excitantur obscurā umbrā, aperto ostio

“Alti Acherontis, falso sanguine, imagines mortuorum.” Lib. I. xvi.

BAIAE. Pliny, speaking of two Villas which he had near the Lago di Como, one of them close to the shore of the lake, the other on the top of the mountain between the two branches of the lake, compares them to the Villas at Baiae ; some of which were built close to the shore, or on the side of the lakes Lucrinus or Avernus ; others on the top of the mountain

mountain between old Baiae and Cumae, which I have observed in another place was called by Strabo the new town, *Νεα Πολις*. And it is probable that, in time of the Roman luxury, some of their great men had their Villas at both for change of air. “Altera imposita faxis, more Baiano, lacum prospicit: altera, aequè more Baiano, lacum tangit. Itaque illam Tragoediam, hanc appellare Comoediam soleo: illam quod quasi cothurnis, hanc quod quasi focculis sustinetur.” Lib. IX. Epist. vii. Camillus Pellegrinus in his Campania endeavours to solve the following difficult passage in Strabo: *ἐπὶ νεῶν πόλιν ἐκ Δικαιοκρατίας ἐπὶ ταῖς Βαίαις*. He observes very well that *νεῶν πόλιν* is writ in two words, and therefore that it does not necessarily mean in this place the city of Naples, but only a new town; and supposes that Strabo is there speaking not of the Grotta Paufilypo near Naples, but of another under-ground in the way leading from Puteoli to, or towards, the new town above or near Baiae. Sebastiano Bartoli makes several objections (I think very idle ones) to this interpretation of Pellegrini, and attempts to ridicule it in his *Thermologia Aragonia*, tom. II. p. 23. But, in support of this opinion of Pellegrini, it may be observed, that about Baiae there was a new town begun before Strabo wrote, and still encreasing in his time. For he himself, speaking of Baiae afterwards, in another place, says: “Alia enim ibi urbs condita est Imperatore alio super alium magnificentius,” etc. And Josephus thus: “Apud Baias nova urbs construitur, non minor Puteolis, aliis subinde supra alias Regiis villis ibi aedificatis.” The same author, in another place, speaking of this territory, says: “Ubi Palatia sunt splendidissima, dum Imperatorum quisque superiorem vincere contendit magnificentia: invitantibus eò lavacris calidis, sponte è terrâ scaturientibus, tam ad farciendam corporum valitudinem, quam ad animos otio relaxandos.” Lib. XIX. cap. i. Dio, speaking of Caligula’s bridge, mentions this new town of Baiae, lib. LIX. See Pellegrini, pag. 757.

The air of Baiae formerly was not reckoned healthy, till the great men building Villas there brought it into reputation. Cicero, in one of his Epistles, seems to hint at this change, and writes merrily to Dolabella on this occasion. “Gratulor Baiis nostris, siquidem, ut scribis, salubres repente factae sunt: nisi forte te amant et tibi assentantur, et tam diu dum ades, sunt oblatae fui. Quod quidem si ita est, mihi nimè miror caelum etiam et terras vim suam, si tibi ita conveniat, dimittere.” Epist. Famil. lib. IX. xii. See Propertius, lib. I. Eleg. xi.

Baiae is called by Josephus a little town, speaking of Agrippa's servant bringing letters there to Caesar, lib. XVIII. cap. ix. et cap. xiv. "Baiaes contingit Lucrinus lacus:" Strabo. The same author, speaking of the name of Puteoli, says thus: "Alii a foetore aquarum totam istam regionem sic dici censent ad Baias usque et Agrum Cumanum." Lib. V.

BAULI. This place lay between Baiae and Misenum. And though the distance between Baiae and Bauli must be very small, yet it is to be questioned whether there was any passing from one to the other by land, at least without some difficulty, by reason of the rock projecting between them. For it seems probable, from an Epigram in Martial, lib. IV. Ep. lxiii. and from the famous story of Agrippina, Nero's mother, that the usual way of going was by water.

AD BIVIVM. A place so called from the conjunction of the Via Latina and Labicana; now Grotta di St. Hilario, where are several passages cut in a rock with niches for coffins, four or five one above another, which probably served formerly for catacombs or burial-place for the little town, which stood here at the meeting of the two roads. Besides this place Ad Bivium, Strabo mentions another place, where the same roads met, which he calls Ad Pictas: which may be thus accounted for. I observed, as I travelled the Via Latina, that a little beyond the Osteria of Cave degl' Aglio the road divided, that to the right going in a straight line towards St. Hilario above mentioned, the other inclining to the left goes for Valmontone. Having travelled a few miles on this latter road in my way to Valmontone, I crossed the Via Labicana, and observed there some ruins, which I take to be Strabo's Ad Pictas. N. B. Valmontone does not stand on the Via Labicana, but near a mile to the left of it. They reckon twenty-four miles from Rome to Valmontone, and two and half from thence to St. Hilario.

CAECUBUM "quidem, locus palustris, vitem arboream alit, cujus vinum est praestantissimum." Strab. lib. V.

CAERE. "Olim Agylla usurpatur, quae nunc Caere; ferturque condita à Pelasgis, qui è Thessaliâ venerant; quos cum Lydi, qui Tyrreni disti sunt, bello petiissent, etc. urbi captae nomen Caere fecisse." Strabo, lib. V. "Hodie urbis tam splendidae quondam et clarae tantum restant"

“restant rudera. Magis frequentantur Thermae vicinae Caeretanæ:”
 Ibid. Pliny mentions “Caeretanus amnis, et ipsum Caere intus M.
 pass. iv. Agylla à Pelasgis conditoribus dictum.”

CAIAZZO. See CAPUA.

CAPENATES. Livy often mentions these people, particularly lib. V. where they join with the Falisci to attack the Romans, when they besieged Veii. Yet I don't find that he names any strong town of theirs, which the Romans ever besieged: but when the Roman tribunes Valerius and Servilius had depopulated their country, they sued for peace, which was granted them. Cap. xxiv.

CAPUA old. Amphitheatre. had heads carved over each arch of the lower order. small remains of a Theatre. a Cryptoportico between the Theatre and Amphitheatre, which is now used as a stable for the German horse. It is reputed capable of holding six hundred. About two miles from Capua, on the road to Caiazzo, are the ruins of an old bridge over the Vulturnus: near it is now a ferry. Between the river and the mountains, formerly called Tifata, is a plain called the plain of Sarzano, which lies in the form of a bow, of which the river is the string, and the mountains encompass all the circular part. The entrance of this plain from the side of Capua is very narrow, and has a fine fountain breaking out at the foot of the hill of St. Nicolo (as it is now called from a chapel and hermitage on the top of it): adjoining to the fountain are some remains of an old building. At the other end of the plain, at about three miles distance, the outlet between the mountains and the river is so narrow, that in some places two horses can scarce pass one another. At the foot of the mountain there, several beautiful springs break out with such abundance of water, that they immediately serve to turn four mills. These last mentioned fountains are called by the millers Aqua di Morrone, from an old castle on the hill above: but a country fellow told me, that among them they are commonly called Fontane Janara (Janara in their language signifies a Witch). Quaer. If this may not be a corruption from Diana, who had probably a temple thereabouts? Besides the fountains already mentioned there, a little brook runs through the middle of the plain, which rises on the side of the hill, and divides the plain in two. The sides of the mountains are covered with wood. This plain is supposed to have been one of Hannibal's camps. Its natural circumvallation, the advantage it has of

wood and water, and its nearness to Campania for the supply of all necessary provisions, made it very convenient for that purpose. At the foot of the hill of St. Nicolo towards the Campania, and near the road leading from old Capua to the old bridge aforesaid, is an old convent called St. Angelo; where they say there are several antiquities.

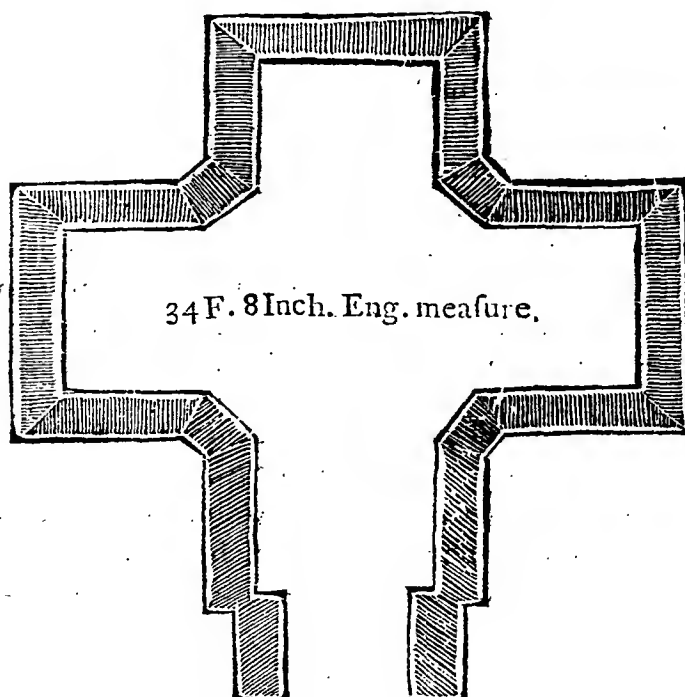
Caiazzo stands on a hill overlooking the plain of Sarzano, and the plain on the opposite side of the river. The direct road from Caiazzo to Benevento lies through a place called Frafca.

CARSEOLI. "Eodem anno (i. e. L. Corn. Scipione, Cn. Fulvio Coff.)
"Carfeolos colonia in Aequicolorum deducta." Liv. lib. X.

CASAMARA. See AMASENO.

CASPERIA. Vibius Sequester says: "Himella Sabinorum prope Casperiam urbem." Q. If not now Aspra?

CASSINUM. At the foot of Monte Cassino stood the old Cassinum, of which there are several remains; among the rest, a Colosseo, as they call it, having seats made on the slope of the hill, as Vitruvius directs. This probably was a Theatre or Amphitheatre for spectacles, not for fighting of beasts, being too small for the purpose. Just above the Colosseo is a Rotunda, with wings like a Greek cross, built of stones of a prodigious size as here represented.



N. B. The Sepulchre of Galla Placidia, etc. at Ravenna, is not unlike this; perhaps this might be designed for the same use by some great man in the time of primitive Christianity. It is almost buried under ground.

Where the famous monastery of Monte Cassino now stands was formerly a temple of Apollo, as is evident from Strabo. The piece of a porphyry pillar of above four feet diameter, which still lies there, belonged to that temple.

CASTRO. See **IL PORTO.**

CASTRUM JUNI. See **ARDEA.**

CENINENSES. Livy reckons these people and the Crustumini and Antemnates among the nearest neighbours to Rome. "Romulus spectaculum jubet. Multi mortales convenere studio etiam videndae novae urbis; maximè proximi quique, Ceninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates. Jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac conjugibus venit:" Liv. lib. I. And again, after the rape of the Sabines, he adds: "Ceninenses, Crustumini et Antemnates erant ad quos ejus injuriae pars pertinebat; lentè iis agere Tatiùs Sabinique visi sunt. Ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Nec Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Ceninensium satis se impigrè movent. Ita per se ipsum nomen Ceninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit." Ibid.

CENTRONI. About eight miles from Rome, to the left of the Via Latina, on a square mount, are many very considerable ruins, probably the remains of some ancient Villa. Under the hill, are cut nine streets of Grottas all running parallel, and traversed by two others, each street about fifteen feet wide, and twenty high. This place is near the lock or sluice, by which the Aqua Crabra is diverted from its natural channel, by which it should run to the Teveroni, and is carried to Rome; a passage being made for it under ground for about half a mile.

CENTUMCELLAE; a Villa of Trajan near Civita Vecchia. See an account in Pliny's Epistles of the making that port. "Evocatus in consilium à Caesare nostro ad Centum Cellas (hoc loco nomen) longè maximum cepi voluptatem. Villa pulcherrima cingitur viridissimis agris:

“agris: imminet littori, cujus in sinu quam maximus portus, velut Amphitheatrum. Hujus sinistrum brachium firmissimo opere munitum est, dextrum elaboratur: in ore portus insula affurgit,” etc. Lib. VI. Epist. xxxi.

CICERO'S VILLA, at Puzzuolo. “Digna memoratu villa est ab Averno lacu Puteolos tendentibus, imposita littori, celebrata porticu ac nemore, quam et vocabat M. Cicero Academiam, ab exemplo Athenarum, ibi compositis voluminibus ejusdem nominis, in qua et monumentum sibi instauraverat, ceu vero non et toto terrarum orbe fecisset. Hujus in parte prima exiguo post obitum ipsius Antistio Vetere possidente, eruperunt fontes calidi, perquam salubres oculis, celebrati carmine Laureae Tullii, qui fuit à libertis ejus, ut protinus noscatur etiam ministerium ejus ex illa majestate (ponam enim ipsum carmen) dignum ubique, et non ibi tantum legi,

“Quo tua, Romanae vindex clarissima linguae,
 “Sylva loco melius furgere iussa viret,
 “Atque Academiae celebratam nomine villam
 “Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Verus:
 “Hic etiam apparent lymphae non ante repertae,
 “Languida quae infuso lumina rore levant.
 “Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
 “Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
 “Ut, quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,
 “Sint plures, oculis quae medeantur, aquae.”

Plin. lib. XXXI. cap. ii.

CLAELIA FOSSA, the place where the battle was fought between the Horatii and Curiatii; five miles from Rome on the Via Appia. Livy, speaking of this war, says: “Castra ab urbe haud plus v millia passuum locant; fossa circumdant,” etc. Lib. I. And Dionysius: “Castra collata sunt ad quadragesimum ab urbe stadium. Ea metati sunt Albani ad fossam Cluiliam; Romani paulo citerius,” etc. Lib. III. At the same place Coriolanus encamped, when he came to attack Rome. “Postremum ab urbem à Peditibus ducit; et ad fossas Cluilias, v ab urbe millia passuum, castris positus, populatur inde Agrum Romanum:” Liv. lib. II. And Plutarch, in his Life of Coriolanus: “Ad fossas Claelias
 “castra

“castra ad v ab urbe lapidem posuit.” That this Fossa, or field of battle, was on the Via Appia, is plain from Martial :

“¹ Capena grandi porta quà pluit guttâ ;
 “ Phrygiaeque matris ² Almo quà lavat ferrum ;
 “ ³ Horatorum quà viret facer campus ;
 “ ⁴ Et quà pusilli fervet Herculis fanum ;
 “ Faustine, plenâ Bassus ibat in rhedâ.” Lib. III. Ep. xlvii.

¹ The Gate where the Via Appia began.

² A Brook on the Via Appia, about two miles from the old gate.

³ At five miles distance.

⁴ This Temple was on the Via Appia, eight miles from Rome, and six from Albano, as Martial expressly tells us, lib. IV. Ep. lxxv and ciii.

The place which seems to answer best to the Fossa Cluilia, or camp of the Albani, is now called Santa Maria Nuova. It is about five miles distant from the old Porta Capena, stands high, and has a deep descent on the left hand towards the present road to Albano ; and in the middle of the field is a fine spring, the fountain-head of the Almo. Near this, and somewhat nearer to Rome on the right adjoining to the road, I observed a very green plain, the most verdant spot I saw on all that road, which I thought might be the field of battle of the Horatii and Curiatii ; at least it put me in mind of Martial's “ Horatorum quà viret campus.” There are great ruins still remaining at Santa Maria Nuova, which the shepherds there call the Villa of Lucretia. Most of the other ruins on the road are sepulchres, which almost line both sides of the road.

CLITUMNUS. Pliny, writing Ad Romanum, gives the following account of it. “ Vidistine aliquando Clitumnum fontem? Si nondum (et puto
 “ nondum, alioqui narraffes mihi), vide ; quem ego (poeniret tarditatis)
 “ proximè vidi. Modicus collis adfurgit ; antiquâ cupressu nemorosus
 “ et opacus. Hunc subter fons exit ; et exprimitur pluribus venis,”
 [This place is still called Le Vene, and is the post between Foligni and Spoleto], “ sed imparibus ; eluctatusque facit gurgitem, qui lato gre-
 “ mio patefcit purus et vitreus, ut numerare jactas sliques et relucentes
 “ calculos possis. Inde non loci devexitate, sed ipsâ sui copiâ et quasi
 “ pondere impellitur. Fons adhuc, et jam amplissimum flumen, atque
 “ etiam navium patiens, quas obvias quoque et contrario nisu in diversa
 “ tendentes

“tendentes transmittit et perfert: adeo validus, ut illà quà properat
 “ipse, tanquam per solum planum, remis non adjuvetur; idem aegerrimè
 “remis contisque superetur adversus. Jucundum utrumque per jocum
 “lusumque fluitantibus, ut flexerint cursum, laborem otio, otium la-
 “bore variare. Ripae fraxino multâ, multâ populo vestiuntur, quas
 “perspicuus amnis velut mersas viridi imagine adnumerat. Rigor aequè
 “certaverit nivibus, nec color cedit. Adjacet templum priseum et re-
 “ligiosum. Stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque praetextâ; praesens
 “numen, atque etiam fatidicum, indicant sortes. Sparsa sunt circa
 “facella complura, totidemque Dei simulacra; sua cuique veneratio,
 “suum nomen. Quibusdam vero etiam fontes: nam praeter illum
 “quasi parentem caeterorum, sunt minores, capite discreti; sed flumini
 “miscuntur, quod ponte transmittuntur: is terminus sacri profanique.
 “In superiore parte navigare tantum, infra etiam natare concessum.
 “Balineum Hispellates, quibus illum locum Divus Augustus dono dedit,
 “publicè praebent, et hospitium. Nec desunt villae, quae secutae flu-
 “minis amoenitatem, margini insunt. In summâ, nihil erit ex quo
 “non capias voluptatem. Nam studebis quoque, et leges multa multo-
 “rum omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inscripta, quibus fons ille
 “Deusque celebratur.” Lib. VIII. Ep. viii. Suetonius says, in Cali-
 gulâ: “Ad visendum nemus flumenque Clitumni Mevaniam processit:”
 (Which by the by is an argument that the Via Flaminia at that time
 passed through Mevania, not Spoleto.) The Itinerarium Hierosoly-
 mitanum mentions Sacraria eight miles from Spoleto, and four from
 Trevi; which must certainly be the same place where there were so
 many Sacella above-mentioned. And Ado, in Martyrologio, speaking
 of St. Concordius, says, that he was buried, “Non longè a Spoleto in
 “loco ubi multae aquae emanant.” The same is asserted in the life of
 St. Concordius.

CLUILIA FOSSA. See CLAELIA.

COLLATIA. See ANTEMNAE.

COMUM. “Fuit initio oppidum mediocre Comum. Sed Pompeius
 “Strabo, Magni pater, afflictum à supra accolentibus Rhaetis instauravit.
 “Deinde C. Scipio ad tria colonorum millia adjecit. Quibus iterum
 “Divus Caesar 5000 addidit. De quibus fuerunt Graecorum nobilissi-
 “mi,” etc. Strab. lib. V.

CRUSTU-

CRUSTUMINI. See what is said under the article **CENINENSES**. Livy, having related that the Romans sent colonies to Antemnae and Crustuminiū, observes: "Plures inventi, qui, propter ubertatem terrae, in Crustuminiū nomina darent:" Liv. lib. I. p. 3. Virgil reckons the Crustumeri among the five people who prepared arms against Aeneas, Aen. lib. VII. ver. 630. And he celebrates the Crustumian pears: "Crustumii Syriique pyri," Georg. II. ver. 88. And Pliny: "Cunctis autem Crustumina gratissima:" Plin. lib. XV. c. xv. Pliny reckons Crustumerium in Latium, and among the destroyed cities. "Praeterea fuere in Latio clara oppida Caenina, Crustumerium, Antemnae," etc. Lib. III. cap. v. In the same chapter he says: "In eadem parte," i. e. in Tuscany, "oppidorum veterum nomina retinent agri Crustuminus, Caletranus." And afterwards, speaking of the river Tiber, he says: "Citra xiii M. pass. urbis Veientem agrum a Crustumino, dein Fidenate, Latinumque à Vaticano dirimens.—Ad viam Salariam in agro Crustumino videre licet locis aliquot conjunctos aggeres cum fossis, ne flumen agris noceat." Var. lib. I. cap. xiv.

CUMAE. "Cumani à Chalcide Euboicâ originem tradunt:" Liv. lib. VIII. "Cumam, Graecam in Opicis urbem, Eretrienes Chalcidensesque condiderunt:" Dionys. Hal. lib. VII. Chalcis and Eretria are both towns in the island Euboea.

The situation of Cumae is thus described by Agathias: "Est Cumae oppidum Italicum munitissimum, neque expugnari facile. Situm enim est in arduo difficilemque aditum habente colle; estque veluti specula maris Etrusci. Imminet quippe littori collis ita uti ad ejus radices fluctus maris illi frangantur. Editiore igitur loco situm cinctum est vallo, turribusque et propugnaculis validissimae structurae:" Hist. lib. I. That there was a port at Cumae appears from Livy: "Auctores erant quidem, ut protinus inde Cumas duceret, urbemque oppugnaret; id haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas saltem maritimam urbem haberet:" Lib. XXIII. And afterwards in the same book: "Naves Cumas adpulsae." And Silius Italicus:

"Tandem ad vicinos Cumarum vertere portus
"Defessus subigit." Lib. XII.

It is likewise manifest from Dionys. Hal. that formerly the ports about Misenum belonged to the Cumani: for he says, "Erant quippe Cumae eo tempore" (that is, in the 64th Olympiad) "per omnem Italiam, divitiarum potentiae, caeterorumque bonorum nomine celebres; quod

“ agrum haberent Campaniae fertilissimum, et portus circa Misenum
 “ opportunitissimos :” Lib. VIII. Even the Baths at Baiae were some-
 times formerly called Cuman ; as appears from Livy : “ Accefferat ad
 “ religionem, quod Cn. Cornelius consul ex monte Albano rediens con-
 “ cidit, et parte membrorum captus ad aquas Cumanas profectus, ingra-
 “ vescente morbo, Cumis decessit :” Lib. XLI. And Lucretius :

“ Qualis apud Cumas locus est montemque Vesevum
 “ Oppleri calidis ubi fumant fontibus auctus.” Lib. VI.

CURES. “ Nunc viculus est ; quondam urbs illustris :” Strabo, lib. V.

EGERIA. Martial places this fountain at Aricia, or thereabouts, near the Nemus Dianae. See his Epigram Ad Ianthida Nympham.

“ Nympha, mei Stellae quae fonte domestica puro
 “ Laberis, et domini gemmea testa subis :
 “ Sive Numae conjux Triviae te misit ab antro,
 “ Sive Camenarum de grege nona venis,” etc.

Lib. VI. Ep. xlvii.

This Fountain was nearer to Rome.

ETRURIA. Rutilius, in his Itinerary, shews, that the roads through Etruria were rendered almost unpassable in his time, which he imputes to the Goths.

“ Electum pelagus ; quoniam terrena viarum
 “ Plana madent fluviis, cautibus alta rigent.
 “ Postquam Tuscus ager, postquamque Aurelius agger
 “ Perpeffus Geticas ense vel igne manus,
 “ Non silvas domibus, non flumina ponte coerces.” Ver. 37.

ETRUSCI. See TYRRHENI.

FALERII. See FALISCI.

FALERNUM. At a place called Falciano belonging to the Duke of Monte Dragone, and lying between Monte Dragone and the river Savone, is made a small quantity of wine now called Falerno. It is a dry white wine, of a strong body, and as clear as, and of the colour of, Champagne.

Champagne. Martial often gives the epithet *Nigrum* to this wine. The place agrees with the description given of it by Pliny. From Capua to the river Savone, in the way to Monte Dragone, is reckoned twelve miles, from thence to Monte Dragone six, or, as some say, eight: the road lies at the foot of the mountain formerly called *Mafficus*, now Monte Marzo; but the old paved road, as I was informed, lies nearer to the mountain than the present, and is, they say, still visible. The country thereabouts has but few vineyards, being turned chiefly to tillage, but seems very proper for vines, being a fat soil upon a coarse gravel, and having a good aspect south and south east. It bears abundance of fern, and other strong weeds, and wild vines grow common in the hedges. The loss of these famous vineyards, the *Maffic* and *Falernian*, is probably owing in great measure to want of hands, this country being at present very thin of inhabitants, since the destruction of *Sinuessa*. Besides, the Neapolitans love only the sweet wines.

Martial seems to reckon the *Maffic* and *Falern* the same wine. For he says thus:

“*De Sinuessanis venerunt Maffica prelis.*” Lib. XIII. Ep. iii.

And yet the title of the epigram is *Falernum*; which title was manifestly given by Martial himself, as appears by the third epigram of the same book.

Silius Italicus likewise tells us, that the *Falern* was on the *Maffica Jaga*. See his Table of the origin of that wine:

“*Maffica fulcabat meliore Falernus in aevo,*” etc. Lib. VII.

FALISCI, the People. *Falerii*, the Town. See Livy, lib. V. cap. xxvii.

This is now, according to the best accounts, *Civita Castellana*. Though the people of that place pretend that it was the *Veii* of the antients. But *Veii* was certainly much nearer Rome; and the *Falisci* looked upon as a distant country from Rome in comparison of the other. Thus in the war of *Lartès Tolumnius*, wherein the *Fidenates*, *Veientes*, and *Falisci* join forces against the Romans, and encamped near the mouth of the *Teveroni* or *Anio*, Livy observes thus: “*Faliscus procul ab domo militiam aegrè patiens, fatisque fidens sibi, poscere pugnam: Veienti, Fidenatique plus spei in trahendo bello esse.*” Liv. lib. IV. cap. xviii.

FERENTINO. See ALATRI.

FIBRENO. See INSULA, Cicero's Native place.

FIDENAE. Cluverius and other antiquaries place Fidenae at Castel Giubileo; but by comparing the account given by Livy of the wars, particularly the last between the Romans and Fidenates, in which Quinctius Pennus was ordered to take possession of the hills behind the town (lib. IV. cap. xxxi. etc.) it appears not to agree to the situation of Castel Giubileo, but rather to La Serpentara (a villa belonging to the family of Spada), where there are still some ruins on the top of the hill, where probably they had their Arx. This was separated from the other hills by a deep fosse. See likewise Livy's account of the taking of Fidenae by the Dictator Servilius, lib. IV. cap. xxii. Besides Fidenae was never reckoned more than five miles from Rome, as Serpentara is now, whereas Castel Giubileo is more. N. B. I was assured, at the Osteria di Serpentara, that, from the Porta Salara to the great gate, going up to the Villa Spada, measures five miles and twenty-seven chains. Several old grottas and ruins are at that Osteria. See ANTEMNAE.

Martial observes that Fidenae was to be seen at Martial's villa, which certainly stood on the hill now called Monte Mario, probably above Villa Madama.

“Hinc videre licet

“Fidenas veteres, brevesque Rubras.” Lib. IV. Epig. lxiv.

Vitruvius mentions the quarries of stone in the territory of Fidenae. “Lapidinae inveniuntur esse disparibus et dissimilibus virtutibus. Sunt enim aliae molles, ut sunt circa urbem Rubrae, Pallienfes, Fidenates, “Albanae,” lib. II. cap. vii. These Rubrae Lapidinae were probably near the head of the Aqua Virgo, on the banks of the Anio: for Strabo speaking of Tivoli says, “Inde Anio per loca fructuosissima “perlabitur juxta secturas lapidis Tiburtini, et Gabini, et ejus, qui dicitur Rubens; uteductio ex fodinis et navibus devectio plane sit expedita, et pleraque opera Romae ex ea materia fiant,” lib. V. These quarries are called by Fabretti the Collatin Stone. “Regio ista quod propius ad Anienem accedit, eo magis solidâ humo consistit, et Rubentis Collatini lapidis per Strab. lib. V. celebrati latomiis feate.” De Aquaeduct. § xi.

FLAMINIA

FLAMINIA VIA. On the road between Foligno and Fano, which is the old Via Flaminia, there still remain several old bridges, built with prodigious large stones. Most of the bridges are only of one or two arches, being built over small brooks; but at Cagli, where two rivers join, is a very noble old bridge of many arches. The substructions in several places on this road to slopes of the hills, and, particularly, on the banks of the river, are wonderful works. The passage through the rock at Forlo is about forty paces in length, and was made by Vespasian, as appears by an inscription still remaining. It is commonly believed in that country, that, before Vespasian's time, the road went over the mountain. But it seems more probable, that, before this passage was cut, the road turned round the point of a rock above the river. The substructions, which are still partly remaining on the side of the river, at the place where the rock projects, are an argument that it did so. Upon the falling down of some part of these substructions it was, perhaps, thought adviseable to pierce the rock for so short a way, and make a road through it, rather than repair the buttresses to support the old one. See **CLITUMNUS**.

FORLO. See **FLAMINIA VIA**.

FORMIAE. Now Mola. See Martial. lib. X. Ep. xxx. "De Apollinaris littore Formiano."

FORULI. "Sunt et Foruli Sabinorum. Saxa ad rebellionem quam habitationem aptiora," Strab. lib. V. About four miles from Amiternum, just above the road leading to Rome, is a small town now called Civita Tomosa, which is supposed to have been the old Foruli. And I was assured at Aquila that in Salvatore Massonio dell' antichità d'Aquila, there are certain proofs that it was so; but I could never meet with the book to examine his proofs. That it was an old town is certain; the ruins of the walls still appearing, and several broken pieces of large pillars lying scattered about the hill. But the situation by no means answers Strabo's account, for though it stands high, yet it is not the least unfit for habitation, for it overlooks a fruitful plain, and is not of very difficult access.

FUCINUS. "Ferunt hunc lacum interdum usque ad montana impleri, rursumque subsidere, ita ut loca quae palustribus aquis obducta erant, rursus

“ rursus detegantur; et cultui fiant apta, sive scaturigines aquarum, quæ sunt in imo vado, sparsis locis aliis scaturiant, rursus in unum confluant, seu prorsus deficient fontes, atque iterum exprimantur.” Strab. lib. V.

“ Claudii inter maximè memoranda equidem duxerim, quamvis destitutum successoris odio, montem perfossam ad Fucinum lacum emittendum: inenarrabili profectò impendio, et operarum multitudine per tot annos; cum corrivatio aquarum, quæ terrenus mons erat; egeretur in verticem machinis, aut silex cederetur, omniaque intus in tenebris fierent, quæ neque concipi animo, nisi ab iis qui videre, neque humano sermone enarrari possunt.” Plin. lib. XXXVI. c. xv.

Suetonius gives the following account of it. “ Opera magna potius quam necessaria permulta perfecit (Claudius); sed vel præcipua, aquaeductum à Caio inchoatum; item emissarium Fucini lacus, portumque Ostiensem; quanquam sciret, ex his alterum ab Augusto precantibus assiduè Maris negatum, alterum à D. Julio sæpius destinatum, ac propter difficultatem omissum.” And a little after: “ Per tria autem passuum millia, partim effosso monte, partim exciso, canalem absolvit, aegrè, et post xi annos, quamvis continuis xxx hominum millibus sine intermissione operantibus.” And again, “ Fucinum aggreffus est non minus compendii spe quam gloriæ, cum quidam privato sumptu emissuros se repromitterent, si sibi siccati agri concederentur.” Tacitus's account: “ Sub idem tempus (i. e. 12mo Imp. Claudii anno) inter lacum Fucinum Lirimque amnem perrupto monte, quo magnificentia operis à pluribus viseretur, lacu in ipso navale praelium adornatur, ut quondam Augustus structo cis Tiberim stagno, sed levibus navigiis et minore copiâ ediderat,” An. lib. XII. And again, afterwards, “ Sed perfecto spectaculo apertum aquarum iter; et incuria operis manifesta fuit, haud satis depressi ad lacus ima vel media.” And immediately follows: “ Eoque, tempore interjecto, altiùs effossi specus.” Tacitus subjoins: “ Et contrahendæ rursus multitudini gladiatorum spectaculum editur, inditis pontibus pedestrem ad pugnam. Quin et convivium effluvio lacus appositum, magnâ formidine cunctos effecit, quia vis aquarum prorumpens proxima trahebat, convulsis ulterioribus, aut fragore et sonitu exterritis.”

Spartianus in his life of Adrian asserts that it was let out by him: to which Fabretti answers that it is probable that it was only cleaned by Adrian; for Claudius died soon after the work was finished of cutting

ting the mountain through. And then it was neglected and not continued to be drained lower as was intended : for Pliny positively asserts, that it was “*destitutum successoris odio* ;” that is, it was sunk no lower, as was designed : for it is plain, by the level at the mouth near the Garigliano, that it might have been sunk much lower, and certainly it was Claudius’s intent to have the lake to the bottom or near it. And it would have been no difficult work after the mountain was pierced.

Dion’s account. “*Consulatum gerebat Claudius, collegam habens C. Largum. Fucinum lacum, qui in Marfis est, in Tiberim emittere voluit, quo regio circa lacum agriculturæ apta, simulque amnis magis adhuc navigabilis efficeretur, verum inanes fuerunt sumptus.*” To this Fabretti answers, that, perhaps, Claudius in the beginning of his reign (for Dion is speaking of his first or second year) might have designed to make an outlet from the lake into the Velino, and so into the Tiber, but failing in that attempt, or probably dissuaded from it for fear of its swelling the Tiber too much, he then undertook to make a passage into the Liris. The objection drawn from Dion’s silence as to this latter project is answered by observing that this part of his history is very imperfect, especially as to the latter part of Claudius’s reign.

Near the lake is the Os Pitonii, vulgo la Pedogna, the natural outlet of the lake. Fabretti says of Claudius’s outlet ; “*Indubia splendida-que vestigia ejus tum ad lacum, tum ad Lirim extant :*” and I can testify. N. B. The channel of this emissary, where it emptied itself into the Garigliano is seven feet five inches wide : but in order to make the mouth of this outlet more beautiful, the rock there is cut into a lofty arch, and widened in order to strengthen it, or for beauty. The arch is faced with square stones set edgeways. The *Opus Reticulatum*, this mouth is eleven feet eight inches wide. The road to Capistrello is just over the top of this arch.

There being several little brooks always running into the Lacus Fucinus, particularly at Piscina, Celano, and Avezzano, and there being a subterraneous outlet at Pedogna, the people about that country imagine, some that the lake vents itself at the Lago Tofana near Anagni, others at La Posta, where the Fibreno rises, and they confidently assert that pieces of nets and other things thrown into the Lacus Fucinus have been found at those outlets. Others say that the lake vents itself into the Teverone or Anio at Trevi. This latter opinion probably prevailed in Strabo’s and in Pliny’s time.

GARIL.

GABII. "A sinistro Latinae viae latere, inter eam et Valeriam, jacent Gabii in viâ Praenestinâ, quae urbs latomias habet, Romanis tanto "quanto non aliae usui; distat aequali a Româ et Praeneste intervallo;" i. e. as is added in the Greek, *περὶ ἑκατον σταδίων*. These quarries are still plainly to be seen on the side of the lake now called Lago di Pantano, the stone seems to be excellently good for building, and great quantities to have been dug from thence. These quarries, the situation on the Via Praenestina, the pavement of which may still be traced almost all the way from Rome to Palestrina, the equal distance from those two towns, the fruitfulness of the adjoining country for the support of a city (the Tenuta of Pantano being esteemed one of the best in the Campagna di Roma both for corn and pasture); all these things are evident marks to determine the situation of the antient Gabii.

N. B. There are still several ruins to be seen on the side of this lake (the further side of the lake from Rome), which is at present marked eleven miles and half from Porta Maggiore. It is probable, that, in Strabo's time, the road ran through the middle of Gabii, for he says it stood in Via Praenestina, and in the preceding page, speaking of the towns of Latium on the great roads, he distinguishes very particularly between those that stood in a great road, near one, or between two. "Aut enim in his (viis), aut prope, aut in medio earum," or rather (as *μεταξὺ* seems to import) "inter duas sitae sunt."

On the road to Gabii between three and four miles distant from it, and about an hundred paces beyond the eighth mile stone from Rome, one passes a remarkable bridge, supposed to have been formerly called "Pons ad nonum" (now Ponto Nuovo), the difference of the computation occasioned by the distance of the place from whence the miles are computed, the measure beginning now from Porta Maggiore, whereas it was formerly computed from Porta Esquilina, which is supposed to have been near Gallienus's Arch. The same rule will account for the distance between Rome and Gabii, which Strabo reckons an hundred stadia. This bridge consists of seven large arches built of huge stones like tophus without cement, the key stones of each arch different from the rest, and seem to be a harder stone; both ends of the bridge from the last arch to the land are of a reddish stone, which probably came from the Collatin quarries, and were so ordered to diversify the work, and give a greater beauty, the same being done, as Fabretti observes, in the building of the arches of some of the aqueducts.

HORATORUM CAMPUS. This field was on the Via Appia, within less than eight miles of Rome, between the brook Almo and the eighth mile stone, as is very manifest from Martial, who speaks of Bassus going to his country house, as follows :

“ Capenâ grandi porta quâ pluit guttâ,
 “ Phrygiaeque matris Almo quâ lavat ferrum,
 “ Horatorum quâ viret facer campus,
 “ Et quâ pusilli fervet *Herculis fanum,
 “ Faustine, plenâ Bassus ibat in rhedâ,” etc.

Lib. III. Ep. 47.

* N. B. This temple was on the Via Appia, between Rome and Albano, eight miles from the former and six from the latter, as is plainly marked by Martial, lib. IX. Ep. lx. et ciii.

INSCRIPTIONS, found at Tivoli, Albano, and that neighbourhood.

Extra parochiam S. Vincentii in Cardine Ecclesiae.

HERCVLI.
 TIBVRT. VICT.
 ET. CAETERIS. DIs.
 PRAET. TIBVRT.
 L. MINICIUS.
 NATALIS. COSS. AVGV.
 LEG. AVG. PR. PR.
 PROVINCIAE.
 MOESIAE. INFER.
 VOT. FECIT.

Lapis rubeus de Herculea Platea Romae translatus : Gruter XLIX.

HERCVLI. SAXANO.
 SACRVM.
 SER. SVLPICIUS. THROPHIMVS.
 AEDEM. ZOTHECAM. ET. CVLINAM.
 PECVNIA. SVA. A. SOLO. RESTITVIT
 EIDEMQVE. DICAVIT. K. DECEMB.
 L. TVRPILIO. DEXTRO. M. MECIO. FVSCO. COSS.
 EVTHICHIUS. SER. PERAGENDVM.
 CVRAVIT.

In Episcopio prope Basilicam Dexter Colossi Stylobatum.

Q. POMPEIO. Q. F. QVIR. SENECTION.
 ROSCIO. MVRENAE. COELIO. SEX~.
 IVLIO. FRONTINO. SILIO. DECIANO.
 C. IVLIO. EVRVGII. HIRCVLANEO. L.
 VIEVLLIO. PIO. AVGVSTANO. ALPINO.
 BELLICIO. SOLLERTI. IVLIO. APRO.
 DVCENIO. PROCVLO. RVTILIANO.
 RVFINO. SILIO. VALENTI. VALERIO.
 NIGRO. G. L. RVSIO. SAXA. AMINTIANO.
 SOCIO. PRISCO. PONTIFICI. SODALI.
 HADRIANALI. SODALI. ANTONINIANI.
 VERIANI. SALIO. COLLINO. QVAESTORI.
 CANDITATO. AVGG. LEGATO. PR. PR. ASIAE.
 PRAETORI. CONSVLI. PROCONSVLI. ASI-
 AE. SORTITO. PRAEFECTO. ALIMEFTOR.
 XX. VIRO. MONETALI. SEVIRO. PRAEF.
 FERIARVM. IATINARVM. Q- Q- PATRONO.
 MVNCIPII. SALIO. CVRATORI. FANI. H- V-
 S- P- Q- T-

In fenestra supra Porticum Maecenatis Palatii.

L. OCTAVIVS. L. F.
 VITVLVS.
 C. RVSTIVS. C. F.
 FLAVOS.
 ITER. IIII. VIR.
 D. S. S.
 VIAM. INTEGENDAM.
 CVRAVERE.

Ibidem, effossus erat in Parochia S. Sylvestri.

C. LVTIVS. L. F. AVLIAN.
 Q. PLAVSVRNIVS. C. F.
 VARVS.
 L. VENTIDIVS. L. F.
 BASSVS.

C. OCTAV. C. F. GRACCHIN.

III. VIR.

PORTICVS. P. CCLV.

ET. EXEDRAM. ET. PRONAON.

ET. PORTICVM. ET. SCAENAM.

LONG. P. CXL.

S. C. F. C.

Apud Franciscum Antonium Lolli in Adriani Palatio in loco dicto Pantanello inventus.

SOLI. INVICTO. MITHRAE.

SICVTI. IPSE. SE. IN. VISV.

IVSSIT. REFICI

VICTORINVS. CAES. N.

VERNA. DISPENSATOR.

NUMINI. PRAESENTI. SVIS. IM-

PENDIS. REFICIENDVM.

CVRAVIT. DEDICAVITQVE.

..... NTIS. TITAE.

..... IO. MAGNO.

NAMA. CVNCTIS.

Apud Eminentiff. Albani e Parochia S. Sylvestri ab eo Romae translatus, sed antea in templo Drusillae prope Sibyllam existerat.

DIVAE. DRVSILLAE.

SACRVM.

RVBELLIVS. C. F. BLANDVS.

DIVI. AVG. TR. PL. PR. COS.

..... O. COS.

PONTIF.

Anno MDCCXXIX in Ecclesiae Carmelitarum inventus, hodie apud eundem Cardinalem, lapis longitudine palmarum x.

GN. PINARIO. GN. F.

SEVERO. CONSVLI. AVGRI. REGI. SAC.

IMP. CAESARIS. NERVAE. TRAIANI. AVG. SALIO. COL.

CORNAELIA. MANLI.

In valle Artensi, five monte Affliano inventus, et in Palatio Principis
Sancti Gregorii translatus.

BONAE. DEAE. SANCTISSIME. COELESTI.
L. PASQUIDIUS. FESTVS. REDEMPTOR.
OPERVM. CAES. PVBLICORVM. AEDEM.
DIRVTAM. REFECIT. QVOD. ADIVTORIO.
RIVOM. AQVAE. CLAVDIAE. AVGVSTIAE.
SVB. MONTE. AFFLIANO. CONSVMAVIT.
IMP. DOMIT. CAES. AVG. CERM. COS.
V. NONAS. IVL.

Lapis in fundamentis Cathedralis in Herculis templo effossus.

FORTVNAE. PRAETORAE.
SACRVM.
E. MUCIVS. NICEPHOR.
MAG. HERCVLI. AVG.
GN. COPONIVS. EPAGATVS.
CVRATORES. PRIMI. D. S. P.
CVLTORIBVS D. D.

In ascensu Sancti Valerii sic de dicto Coponio habetur in Lapide.

CAVPONIVS. L. E. GEMINVS.
CAVPONIA. L. F. GEMINA.

Lapides in loco dicto Cefarano effossi. Primus.

L. CAESONIVS. C. FL. QVIRINA. LVCIL-
LVS.
MACER. RVFINIANVS. COS. FRATER. AR-
VALIS.
PRAEF. VRBIS. ELECTVS. AD. COGNOSCENDAS.
VICE. CAESARIS.
COGNITIONES. PROCOS. PROV. AFRICAE. XX.
VIROS. EX SENATVS.
CONSVLTO. R. P. CVRANDAE. CVRATOR.
AQVARVM. ET. MINICIAE.

CVR.

CVR. ALBET. TIBERIS. ET. CLOACARVM.

VRBIS. LEGATVS. PROV.

AFRICAЕ. EODEM. TEMPORE. VICE. PROCON-

SOLIS. CVRATOR. R. P.

TVSCOLANORVM. CVRATOR. R. P. SVESSA-

NORVM.

PRAETOR. KANDIDATVS. QVAESTOR. KAN-

DIDAT.

ELECTVS. IN. FAMILIAM. PATRICIAM. X.

VIR.

STLIBVS. IVDICANDIS.

Secundus.

C. CAESONIO. C. F. QVIR. MACRO. RV-

FINIANO.

CONSVLARI. SODALI. AVGVSTALI COMITI.

IMP.

SEVERI. ALEXANDRI. AVG. CVR. R. P. LA-

NIVINOR. II.

PROCOS. PROV. AFRICAЕ. CVR. AQVAR. ET.

MINIC.

LEG. AVG. PR. PR. GERMAN. SVPERIORIS.

CVR. ALVEI.

TIBERIS. CVR. R. P. TEANENS. LEG. AVG.

PR. PR. PROV.

LVSITAN. CVR. R. P. TARRICINENS. PRO-

COS. PROV.

ACHAIAE. LEG. LEG. VII. CLAVD. CVR. R. P.

ASCVLAN.

LEG. PROV. ASIAE. PR. LEG. PROV. BOETIC.

TRIB. PL.

QVAESTORI. PROV. NARBON. TRIB. LEG. I.

ADIVTRIC.

DONATO. DONIS. MILITARIB. A. DIVO. MARCO.

II. VIR. CAPITALI.

PATRI. DVLCISSIMO. ET INCOMPARABILI.

CAESONIUS. LVCILLVS. FILIVS.

CONSVLARIS.

Fuit propé Balnea Sulfurea inventus.

PROCVLVVS. SACERDOS.

M. D. M. IGIAE. SAC.

AD. AQVAS. ALBVLAS.

D. D.

In loco dicto il Truglio.

COSSINIAE. O. L. CAESIAE.

POSSIDONIO.

L. COSSINIO. O. L. DISCO.

SEXTIAE. P. L. DISCO.

IN. FR. P. XI. IN. AG. P. XV.

INSULA near Arpino, Cicero's country: "Sed ventum in Insulam est; "hâc vero nihil est amoenius, ut enim hoc quasi rostro finditur Fibrenus, et, divisus aequaliter in duas partes, latera haec adluit, rapideque dilapsus, cito in unum confluit, et tantum complectitur quod satis modice palaestrae loci; quo effecto, tanquam id habuerit operis ac muneris, ut hanc nostram efficeret sedem ad disputandum, statim se praecipitat in Lirim," etc. Cic. De Leg. lib. II. N. B. The Fibreno rises just under a place called La Posta at the foot of the Apennines, about four miles from Sora, and forms a lake abounding with excellent trout and Carpieni. Its course is short, not above five miles in length, through a very beautiful plain, and then falls by two streams into the Garigliano about a mile above the cascade. The Fibreno, dividing itself into two streams, forms the island mentioned as above by Tully, and his native place. The island is not above two musket shot wide, and as much in length. Just without the island, on one side of the streams, was formerly a large convent of Bernardines, now destroyed. In the church, which is still standing, and called St. Dominico, is a bust, or rather part of the head and shoulders of a broken statue, which is supposed to be Tully's, and Mr. D. told me, it resembled other busts he had seen of Tully. I observed several pieces of broken pillars and Corinthian cornices lying about the church and convent, which perhaps might belong to Tully's house, mentioned by him, *ibid.* The Fibreno is a swift clear stream, and seemed, when I crossed it, to have more water than the Garigliano. The cascade

cade of the Garigliano, which is a mile below the conflux of the Fimbreno is very beautiful. The palace of the Duke of Sora stands just at the point where the river falls, and divides itself into two cascades; that on the left falls perpendicularly about sixty feet, as near as I could guess, and in a sheet twenty paces wide. On the right it falls by one continued slope above 21 paces in length, and much wider than the other, and forms a nobler cascade than the great Riviere at Marli formerly did. At a little distance it appears like a sheet of snow, and, I think, is called, *La Cascata*, or *Fiume di Neve*. The little town of Isola stands just below the Duke's palace within the island, which is formed by these two cascades: the water is very clear.

LABICANA VIA. See **BIVIVM**.

LABICUM. Now *Colonna*. This place and the *Via Labicana* are plainly described by Strabo. "Incidit viae Latinae Labicana, incipiens à portâ Esquilinâ, unde et Praenestina: relinquens autem ad laevam et illam et campum Esquilinum procedit ad cxx et amplius stadia, et appropinquans veteri Lavico, quod oppidum, in sublimi situm, nunc dirutum est: Hoc et Tusculum ad dexteram relinquit, et ad Pictas in Latinam viam definit. Abest is locus Româ ccx stadiis." Strabo, lib. V. "Ad Pictas," now called "S. Hillario ad Bivium."

By this passage in Strabo, it appears, that, in his time, old Labicum was destroyed. But the Itineraries and Peutinger's tables mark a stage on the same road and at the same distance from Rome (i. e. fifteen miles) which they call "Ad Quintanas." And Fabretti, *De Aquaeduct.* p. 183. mentions an old inscription wherein the Quintanenſes are called Lavicani.

D. M.
PARTHRTENIO. ARCARIO.
REI. PVBLICAE.
LAVICANORVM.
QVINTANENSIVM.

LABINON. See **ANTEMNAE**.

LACUS. See **VADIMONIS**, **AVERNUS**, **FUCINUS**, **THRASYMENUS**.

LACUS LUCRINUS. See **BAIAE**.

LATINA

LATINA VIA. About six or seven miles from St. Germano on the road to Naples, the Via Latina makes a great bend at a place called "Hosteria di San Pietro in fano," near a small brook, which I at first thought might be the place called in the Itineraries, "Ad flexum:" but continuing on the road I came to a place called the "Hosteria di San Felice," near which there are several ruins. Here the present road quits the Via Latina, and continues in a straight line at the foot of the hills, till it comes under the Presenzano, and then turns to the right, whereas the old road turns to the right near San Felice, towards Teano, which it passed through. This made me conjecture that San Felice might be the old Ad Flexum, the *flexus* being changed into *felice*, and made a saint. The turn to the right hand here, and the ruins near it, favour this opinion: but then there must be some mistake in the figures of the Itineraries, which reckon only eight miles from Cassino to Ad Flexum, whereas it is much more to the Hosteria of San Felice. The Itineraries reckon only seventeen miles from Cassinum to Teanum, and three from thence to Cales. At present it is reckoned, by the common road, from San Germano to Calvi twenty-eight miles. Strabo describes the beginning of this road very exactly. "Incipit Latina à Viâ Appiâ ad sinistram ab eâ prope Romam deflectens, ac supra montem Tusculanum transit inter Tusculum urbem ac montem Albanum, descenditque ad Algidum oppidum (see **ALGIDUM**) et Pictas, diversorium. Incidit deinde Lavicana." See **TEANUM**.

LAVINIUM. Varro, speaking of sows having commonly as many pigs as teats, says; "si plures pariat, esse portentum. In quo illud antiquissimum fuisse scribitur, quod fus Aeneae Lavinii xxx porcos pepererit albos: itaque quod portenderit factum xxx annis, ut Lavinienſes condiderint oppidum Albam. Hujus fuis ac porcorum etiam nunc vestigia apparent Lavinii: quod et simulacra eorum aeneae etiam nunc in publico posita, et corpus matris ab sacerdotibus, quod in falsurâ fuerit, demonstratur." De Re Rust. lib. II. cap. iv.

In Ovid's Fasti, near the beginning of the sixth book, Juno says;

"Laurens populus Laviniumque meum."

Quaer. If Lavinium and Lanuvium are not the same place, though differently writ? Livy, writing of the wars between the Romans and Latins, calls these people in the same page sometimes by one name, sometimes by another. "Venerant et ab Lavinio Antioque auxilia: et Aricinos,"

“cinos, Laviniosque et Veliternos Antiatis Volscis se conjungentes
 “ad Sturam flumen Maenius improvise adortus fudit.” And presently
 after, at the conclusion of this war, he says; “Lanuvinis civitas data:
 “sacraque sua reddita, cum eo, ut aedes Iocusque Sospitae Junonis
 “communis Lanuvinis municipibus eum pop. R. effet.” And again,
 “Aricini Nomentanique et Pedani eodem jure quo Lanuvini in civita-
 “tem accepti.” Lib. VIII.

N. B. The temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium is mentioned frequently by Livy.

Quaer. If the coast from Ostia towards Nettuno is not still called
 “Spiaggia della città della Vigna?” Quaer. If the Fasti Consulares in
 the Capitol at Rome do not write Lavineis in the Consulship of Maenius,
 viz. C. MENIVS P. F. P. N. COS. DE. ANTIATIBVS. LAVINEIS. VELITER-
 NEIS. AN. CDXV. PRIDIE. K. OCT. Aelian, in his history, Animal. lib.
 XI. cap. xvi. plainly asserts the temple of Juno Sospita to be at Lavi-
 nium, which, he says, was so called from Lavinia Latinus's daughter.
 See Cluver. Ital. pag. 937. who there remarks that Aelian was himself
 of the neighbourhood of this country, being born at Praeneste, and
 therefore may be supposed to be well informed. It is probable, that
 Virgil hints at this temple of Juno at Lavinium and at her temple on
 mount Aventin, when he makes Jupiter tell her:

“Nec gens ulla tuos aequè celebrabit honores.”

Lib. XII. ver. 840.

Ovid mentions “castrumque sacrasque Lavini sedes” near the shore,
 which the ship passed, which brought the Epidaurian Serpent, Met.
 lib. XV. But, N. B. the geographical account in this fable of Ovid
 is very confused.

Appian, speaking of Milo killing Clodius, says; “profectus est in
 “patriam suam Lavinium, quam Aeneas fertur (so the Latin, but the
 “Greek has it Διομνδη φρον) post expugnatum Ilium primam condidisse
 “in Italiâ, distitam ab urbe ad decimum nonum lapidem,” Appian. De
 Bell. Civ. lib. II. 439.

“Ostia Ancus Martius condidit; quae urbs etiam est. Eam sequitur
 “Antium, urbs importuosa, saxi insita, distans ab Ostiis cclx stadiis.
 “Hodie urbs ea, etc. In medio harum urbium est Lavinium: quod
 “habet omnibus Latinis commune fanum Veneris. Ejus administratio

“ à majoribus est ad Ardeates propagata. Sequitur Laurentum, et supra
 “ (ὑπερκείται δὲ τούτων) id, Ardea, Rutulorum colonia, LXX à mari stadiis.
 “ Prope est fanum Veneris (Ἀφροδισιον); ad quod Latini solennem agitant
 “ conventum. Ea loca sunt à Samnitibus vastata, et nunc rudera urbium
 “ restant. Loca ipsa nobilitata sunt Aeneae peregrinatione, et sacrifi-
 “ ciorum ritus ab illo usque tempore traditos servari aiunt.” Strabo,
 lib. V. In another place, a little before this passage, he seems to
 place Lavinium between Ardea and Antium. “ Totum Latium fe-
 “ lix est et omnium rerum ferax, demptis paucis quibusdam locis mari-
 “ timis quae palustria sunt et morbosae, ut Ardeatium ager, et quod
 “ est inter Antium ac Lavinium usque ad Pometiam.”

Mela does not name Lavinium, but mentions Aphrodisium, and
 places it between Ardea and Antium, thus; “ Circes domus aliquando
 “ Circeii, Antium, Aphrodisium, Ardea, Laurentum, Ostia.” Pliny
 likewise makes no mention of Lavinium in his catalogue, but speaks
 of Aphrodisium, and places it as Mela does. “ In principio est Ostia,
 “ colonia à Romano rege deducta; oppidum Laurentum, lucus Jovis
 “ indigetis, amnis Numicius, Ardea à Danaë Persei matre condita.
 “ Dein quondam Aphrodisium, Antium colonia,” etc. Plin. lib. III.
 cap. v.

Silius Italicus describes Lavinium on the side of a high hill..

“ Quos celsa devexa iugo, Junonia sedes,
 “ Lavinium.” Lib. VIII. 360.

He speaks of it in the thirteenth Book as the country of Milo's fa-
 mily.

“ Lavino generate, inquit, quem Sospita Juno
 “ Dat nobis, Milo.” Lib. XIII. 364.

LAVINO, a river between Bologna and Modena, six miles from Bologna,
 and four from the Reno.

LAURENTINUM. It is plain, from Pliny, that his villa of this name
 stood on the sea-shore between the Viae Ostiensis and Laurentia: for
 he describes it thus: “ Decem et septem millibus passuum ab urbe se-
 “ cessit. Aditur non unâ viâ, nam et Laurentina et Ostiensis eodem
 “ ferunt. Sed Laurentina à quartodecimo lapide, Ostiensis ab unde-
 “ cimo

“ cimo relinquenda.” Ostia was the only town in his neighbourhood, though there was a village nearer to him (perhaps Laurentum).

“ Suggestunt affatim ligna proximæ sylvæ : cæteras copias Ostiensis colonia ministrat. Frugi quidem homini sufficit etiam vicus, quem una villa discernit : in hoc balineæ meritoria tria.” It is plain that there was no running water at his Villa ; but well-water, and that near the surface, and in great plenty. “ Deficitur aquâ salienti, sed puteos ac potius fontes habet, sunt enim in summo : illuc è pascuis pecora conveniunt, si quando aquam umbramve sectantur.” *Epist. lib. II. xvii.*

The place now shewn for the ruins of Pliny's villa is about half a mile from the sea shore, two miles and half or three from Villa Sacchetti, and four from old Ostia. The old paved road from Ostia to Laurentum or Torre Paterno, and so on to Antium, passes very near these ruins, and further distant from the sea, and is still visible in several places through the woods. The road to this place is by Ostia ; but I was informed on the spot that there is a much nearer way through the woods, on horseback or foot, which leaves the lake of Ostia on the left, and falls into the great road at Malafede de Lanti, about eight miles from Rome. It is plain by Pliny's account, that when he went by the Via Ostiensis to his villa, he did not turn off till the eleventh mile, i. e. six miles from his own house, and five from Ostia. This must have been about the top of the hill called now Monte di S. Paolo, where I observed a road to turn off to the left, and it seemed to have been paved, though by Pliny's account it was not paved in his time, but sandy.

LAURENTUM. Virgil seems to make Aeneas march his infantry to attack Laurentum along the hills now called Monte di S. Paolo : for thus Turnus speaks to Camilla :

“ Aeneas, ut fama fidem missique reportant
 “ Exploratores, † equitum levia improbus arma
 “ Praemisit, quaterent campos : ipse ardua montis
 “ Per desertâ jugo * properans adventat ad urbem.
 “ Furta paro belli convexo in tramite sylvæ,
 “ Ut bivias armato obsidam milite fauces.” *Lib. XI. ver. 511.*

And six verses afterwards he adds :

"† Est curvo anfractu vallis accommoda fraudi

" Armorumque dolis: quam densis frondibus atrum

" Urget utrinque latus: tenuis quo semita ducit,

" Angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni.

" Hanc super, in speculis summoque in vertice montis,

" Planities ignota jacer," etc.

† He means probably that the light-horse were sent over the plain from Ostia towards Villa Sacchetti, etc.

* Though Aeneas marched expeditiously, he did not arrive till the close of the evening, as appears by the four last verses of the eleventh book.

† Quaer. If there is any place in the woods of Laurentum answering this description?

When Aruns had killed Camilla, Opis, by the direction of Diana, revenges her death by killing Aruns, for which purpose Virgil places her on the top of a mount near Laurentum, which he thus describes:

" Fuit ingens monte sub alto

" Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum

" Antiqui Laurentis, opacâque ilice tectum.

" Hic Dea se primum rapido pulcherrima nisu

" Sistit, et Aruntem tumulo speculatur ab alto." Ver. 850.

That there was a great marsh or lake near Laurentum is manifest from Virgil; for, when he makes Turnus fly from Aeneas in the single combat under the walls of Laurentum, he says:

" Et nunc hue, inde huc incertos implicat orbes.

" Undique enim densâ Teucris includere coronâ:

" Atque hinc vasta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt.

Aen. XII. 743.

I do not remember that Virgil ever mentions or describes Laurentum as situated on the sea shore, but he seems to hint that it was not far distant from the shore; for, speaking of the field in which the aforementioned single combat was fought, he says:

" Forte facer Fauno foliis oleaster amaris

" Hic steterat, nautis olim venerabile lignum:

" Servati

" Servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant

" Laurenti Divo, et votas suspendere vestes." Aen. XII. 766.

LITERNUM. " Ad Clanii ostium fuit Liternum, nempe in angusto illo
 " tramite inter dextram fluminis ripam et mare, qua speculatrix con-
 " spicitur turris vulgari appellatione La Torre di Patria: juxta quam
 " etiam nunc antiqui oppidi quaedam visuntur rudera:" Cluver. Ital.
 lib. IV. cap. ii. This place was famous for the retirement of Scipio
 Africanus. Livy, after having given a long account of him, concludes
 thus: " Multa alia in Scipionis exitu maximae vitae, dieque dicta, morte,
 " funere, sepulcro, in diversum trahunt; ut cui famae, quibus scriptis
 " adfentiar, non habeam. Non de accusatore convenit. Alii M. Naevium,
 " alii Petilios diem dixisse scribunt. Non de tempore, quo dicta dies sit;
 " non de anno quo mortuus sit; non, ubi mortuus aut elatus sit. Alii
 " Romae, alii Literni, et mortuum et sepultum. Utrobique monumenta
 " ostenduntur et statuæ. Nam et Literni monumentum, monumentoque
 " statua superimposita fuit; quam tempestate disiectam nuper vidimus
 " ipsi: et Romae extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres
 " statuæ sunt: quarum duæ P. et L. Scipionum dicuntur esse: tertia
 " poëtae Q. Ennii:" Lib. XXXVIII. Valerius Maximus, speaking of the
 monument of Scipio at Liternum, says: " Voluntarii exilii acerbiter
 " non tacitus ad inferos tulit; sepulcro suo inscribi jubendo; Ingrata
 " Patria ne Offa quidem mea habes. Lib. V. cap. iii.

Silius Italicus seems to place Liternum between the Vulturnus and the
 Maffie hills. For when he gives the account of Hannibal's being
 hemmed in by Fabius, he expressly places him in the Falernian.

" Hic vero intravit postquam uberis arva Falerni."

And on the other side he makes him enclosed by the Linterna Palus.

" Hinc Lestrygoniae saxoso monte premebant

" A tergo rupes; undosis squallida terris

" Hinc Linterna palus." Lib. VII.

EUCULLI AGER. N. B. Part of the Campagna about the Mezza via
 di marino, and round about the country, is now called Lugulo: perhaps
 by corruption from Lucullus.

MANDURIUM, now called Casal-nuovo, about eighteen miles from
 Tarento, where still remains an old double wall about seven miles in
 circum-

circumference, "opus reticulatum incertum." There is likewise there a fountain in a grotta now called Fonte di Manduria.

MARRUVIUM. "Marruvium in plano situm erat, in loco quem vulgus "modo appellat, Il Piano di Marcio, ultra Ortuculam, ut fatis accuratè "Leander Albatus observavit; licet minimè Cluverio placeat, qui falso "Morream fuisse præsinit." Phaebonius Hist. Mars. lib. III. cap. i.

In the same chapter of Phaebonius are two old inscriptions mentioning Civitat. Marforum. Marr. Morrea is situated on a very steep rock on the left side of the Garigliano about twelve miles above Sora. I was informed, when I passed that road, that it is now a very small place consisting of about fifty houses only, but still it is the head of a district belonging to the family of Piccolomini, Barons of Balzerano; and all the towns under that state, as St. Vincenzo, St. Giovanni, etc. are obliged to go to Morrea to hold their courts, and do all business relating to that state, the seal being kept at Morrea, which is an argument of its being an ancient place. The vale under it, now called the Vale of Roveto, is very uneven, but spacious and fruitful, and well wooded.

MEDIOLANUM was grown to be an eminent city in Strabo's time.

"Infubres Galli etiamnum extant, quorum fuit metropolis Mediolanum, "pagus olim (nam per pagos habitabant eâ tempestate universi), nunc "urbs est praeclara, trans Padum, et Alpibus fere contigua." Strab. lib. V.

MELA may well be said to run through Brescia, though the natural bed or channel lies a mile westward of the town: for all the water is by a canal brought through the town to turn mills, etc. When I passed that way, January the 20th, I observed that the natural bed was then quite dry, and I was informed that it was always so, unless upon great rains. See Cluverius.

MOLA. See **FORMIAE**.

MONTE DRAGONE. See **SINUessa**.

MONZA, ten miles from Milan. This is the Modicia mentioned by Paulus Diaconus. "Per idem tempus Theudelinda regina Basilicam
"Beati

“*Beati Johannis Baptistae, quam in Modiciâ construxerat, qui locus supra Mediolanum xii millibus abest, dedicavit. Multisque ornamentis auri argenteque decoravit, praediisque sufficienter ditavit; quo in loco etiam Theudericus quondam Gothorum rex palatium construxit, pro eo quod aestivo tempore locus ipse, utpote vicinus Alpibus, temperatus ac salubris existit.*” *Langobard. rer. lib. IV. cap. xxii.* Here is still kept the famous iron crown (as it is called) with which the kings of the Romans are crowned when in Italy. It is a gold diadem without rays, beset with precious stones, and about the middle of the inside is a small circle of iron pretended to have been made of one of the nails of the Cross; which occasions the name of the Iron Crown. It is now kept at the altar at the end of the right isle secured with iron bars and doors, and is brought out once a year only to be carried in the procession. We saw the model of it in the treasury: it is said that the Emperor Charles the Vth was crowned with this at Bologna. They have in the same treasury several vessels and rich ornaments of gold and silver of a very antient mode, part of which was probably given them by Queen Theudelinda. Among other things, the famous Sapphire cup on a gold foot; the cup, in the shape of a tumbler or goblet, is two inches three-tenths deep, by three inches four-tenths wide. At the entrance of the church are two pillars of Verde Antique of about a foot diameter, which support a little porch at the great door.

NARNIA. “*Alter Consul Apuleius in Umbria Nequinum oppidum circumfedit. Locus erat arduus, atque in parte unâ praeceps, ubi nunc Narnia sita est,*” etc. *Liv. lib. X.* And afterwards he goes on: “*Ita Nequinum in ditionem pop. Rom. venit. Colonia eò adversus Umbros missa, à Nare flumine Narnia appellata.*” *Ibid.*

NEA ΠΟΛΙΣ. See **BAIAE.**

NEPETE, now **Nepi.** The Ager Nepesinus lay between Veii and the Falisci and Capenates. When these two people had harrassed the Romans during the siege of Veii, Camillus the Dictator led an army against them, and Livy says: “*In agro primum Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert. Non praelio tantum fudit hostes, sed castris quoque exuit,* etc. *Iude ad Veios exercitus ductus.*” *Lib. V. cap. xix.*

NEQUINUM.

NEQUINUM. See NARNIA.

NOMENTUM. Pliny, lib. XIV. cap. iv. which chapter is entitled, "Insignia culturae vinearum," has this passage: "Summam adeptus est gloriam Acilius Sthenelus è plebe libertinâ, LX jugerum non amplius vineis excultis in Nomentano agro, atque cccc nummum venundatis. Sed maxima ejusdem Stheneli opera Rhemio Palaemoni, alias grammaticâ arte celebri, in hisce viginti annis mercato rus DC nummum in eodem Nomentano, decimi lapidis ab urbe diverticulo. Est autem usquequaque nota vilitas mercis per omnia suburbana, ibi tamen maxima, quoniam et neglecta per indiligentiam praedia paraverat, ac ne in pessimis quidem elegantioris soli. Haec aggressus excolere, non virtute animi, sed vanitate primo, quae nota mirè in illo fuit, pastinatis de integro vineis, curâ Stheneli dum agricolam imitatur, ad vix credibile miraculum perduxit, intra octavum annum cccc nummum emptori addictâ pendenti vindemiâ. Cucurritque non nemo ad spectandas uvarum in iis vineis strues, litteris ejus altioribus contra id pigrâ vicinitate sibi patrocinate."

NUMICIUS. Ovid speaks of Numicius as one of the rivers of Latium. And as all the other rivers he mentions there run into the Tyber, we may conjecture that this does so too. We may further conclude that if it does not fall into the Tyber, it is near the sea; for, when the Gods had consented to the deification of Aeneas, Ovid says of Venus:

"Littus adit Laurens; ubi tectus arundine serpit
 "In freta flumineis vicina Numicius undis.
 "Hunc jubet Aeneae, quaecunque obnoxia morti,
 "Abluere," etc. Lib. XIV. 598.

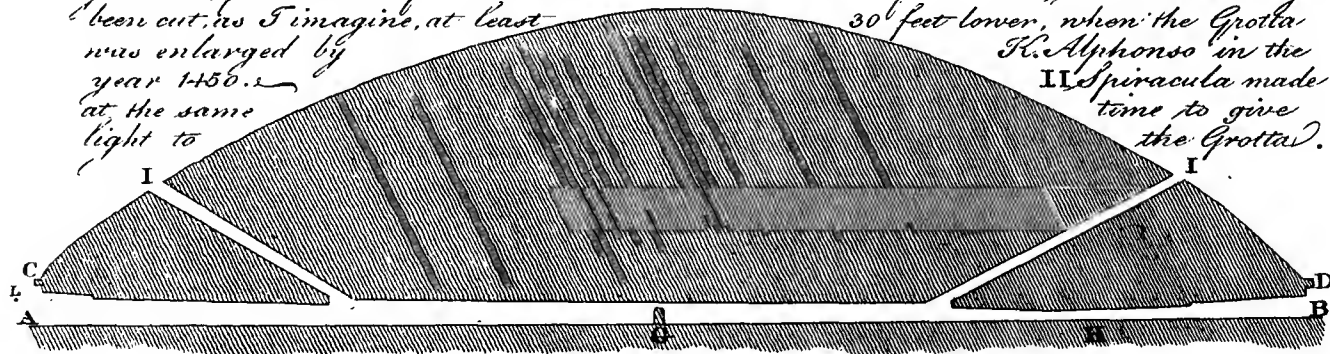
OSCI. These people seem to have been the ancient inhabitants of one part of the mountains which encompass the Campagna Felice, and whose territories extended towards the Volsci: for thus Strabo: "Super hoc littus (i. e. à Sinuessâ ad Promontorium Minervae) universa est sita Campania, omnium planitierum felicissima. Circum eam jacent cum tumuli terrae fertiles, tum Samnitum Ostorumque montes." Lib. V. And a little before, speaking of the Campus Pometius, he adds: "Huic contiguam regionem prius Ausones habitaverunt, qui iidem Campaniam quoque tenuerunt. Post hos Osci sunt, qui et ipsi partem
 "Camp-

Section of the Grotta of Pausilypo.

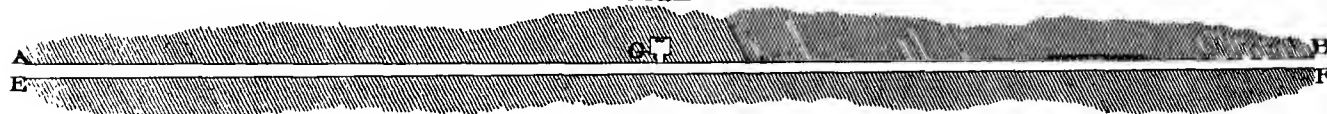
AB Length of the Grotta 2290 ft. English.

AC Height of ditto at the entrance next to Naples, from the Top of the artificial Arch C 83 feet, from the Arch of the Rock to the Ground about 70.

BD Height of ditto at the end next to Pozzuolo, from the Bottom of the artificial Arch D 69½, from the Arch of the Rock to the Ground about 10. L Virgil's Tomb on the edge of the Rock on the left hand, as one enters the Grotta from Naples, the depth of the Rock from thence to the ground 65 feet. It was at first in view but cannot now be seen from below, the Rock having been cut, as I imagine, at least 30 feet lower, when the Grotta was enlarged by H. Alphonso in the year 1456. II Spiracula made at the same time to give light to the Grotta.



Plan



Scale of Feet
200 400 600

AE Wide from the entrance next to Naples, from 20 to 22 feet, near to the Chappel tis only 18.

BF Wide at the entrance next to Pozzuolo, 15 feet 10, further in 15 feet 2 only, towards the middle it widens to 18 Feet.

G The Chappel, the height of the Grotta thereabout is near 35 feet. H Height of the Grotta at the lowest part 14½. NB The Rock at that part is not solid and therefore is fortified on each side by artificial work of very large Stones, as marked in the Plan.

"*Campaniae tenuerunt.*" By which Strabo seems to mean that several places of the Campania were colonies of the Osci; for he says that the Sidicini, or Inhabitants of Teanum, were Osci. See TEANUM. In another place, Strabo, speaking of the country about Naples or the Crater, as he calls it, says; "*Alii ferunt, cum ea loca quondam Opici et Ausones tenuissent, fuisse ea deinde ab Oscâ gente occupata, quae a Cumanis pulsa inde sit, quos rursus Etrusci eiecerint; etenim ob praestantiam campos illos multis fuisse certaminibus expetitos.*" Again, afterwards, he says; "*Pompeios tenuerunt olim Osci, deinde Etrusci ac Pelasgi, post hos Samnitae, qui et ipsi inde sunt expulsi.*" Strab. lib. V. It appears from hence that the Osci were an ancient people in Italy, but in Strabo's time there was no such people, for he remarks it as a singular thing; "*Cum Ostorum gens interierit, sermo eorum apud Romanos restat, ita ut carmina quaedam ac mimi certo quodam certamine, quod instituto majorum celebratur, in scenam producantur.*" Horace, in his journey to Brundisium, makes his Messius, "*clarum genus Osci,*" an inhabitant of Caudium.

OSTIA. It is plain from Rutilius that the left branch of the Tyber was stopped in his time, and had been so for many years. See Itiner.

PATERNO. Anastasius, in the life of Sylvester, speaking of the donations of the Emperor Constantine, says; "*Item sub civitate Laurentium, Possessio Patras.*" "*Haud dubie hic locus est qui nunc vulgo vocatur Paterno,*" says Cluver, lib. III. cap. iii. Quære.

PAUSILYPO. See the Plate annexed.

PERUGIA. S. Angelo is supposed to have been the Temple of Vesta. It is built in the form of S. Stefano Rotundo at Rome. The inner circle consists of sixteen Corinthian pillars, most of them very beautiful, but some irregular, and, being smaller than the rest, have pedestals to raise them to the height of the others. The outward circle of pillars are immured, some of them entirely, others partly; and one stands quite clear of the wall of the church, in the house of the sacristan.

PERUSIA. One of the twelve cities of the ancient Etrusci. See Ap-
pian, p. 1113. edit. Toll.

AD PICTAS. See AD BIVIVM.

PISA. Just within the Lucca gate at Pisa are the remains, as it is said, of old baths, commonly called Nero's. The Sudatorium still remains entire, as is affirmed by the following inscription on the wall.

" D. O. M.

" *Parietinae, quas, viator, aspicias, Reliquiae Thermarum sunt, quibus antiquitus Pisana civitas utebatur. Harum quum reliquas partes tempus edax consumpserit; sudatorio duntaxat pepercit. Quod nec innumerali annorum serie, nec Barbarorum injuriis eversum studiosos vetustatis oculos ad se allicit. Id ingredi et attentius contemplare, firerum antiquarum studio delectaris. Videbis integram aedificii formam, observabis rationem luminum, et quomodo calor per tubos immitteretur. Nihil notitiae tuae substractum quereris, nec facile quicquam alibi in hoc genere inveniri posse perfectius affirmabis. Et simul gratias ages providentiae Serenissimae Cosmi Tertii, magni Etruriae ducis, qui ne hoc antiquitatis insigne monumentum funditus interiret, ejus curam diligentemque custodiam imperavit. An. MDCCXIII.*"

Round the cloyster of the Campo Santo are several old heathen Sarcophagi, as appears by the reliefs on their front. That of the Countess Matilda's mother, which stands near one of the side doors of the dome, represents Meleager hunting.

In the dome are several pillars of very beautiful marble, but for want of cleaning make no shew. Most of them are much abused, having iron cramps driven in to hold lamps, etc.

POLA. See TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS, and the Plates annexed.

IL PORTO. (See the plate annexed). About four miles S. E. from Otranta lies a creek called Il Porto, as represented in the plate, which is supposed by the people of the country to be the place where Aeneas first landed. It is reckoned the nearest point of land to Greece; the hills of which are easily distinguished from thence. The port is encompassed by pointed rocks on both sides, as described by Virgil :

" *Gemino dimittunt brachia muro*

" *Turriti scopuli.*" Aen. III. 535.

And the town of Minorvino, which probably was the Castrum Minervae, with her Temple, stands about four miles up in the country, S. W. from the port.

" *Refugitque*

part of the map is the same as the
 map of the island of Sicily
 in the year 1714.

to face page 588.

Torre di
 S. Amilano.

Il Porto is reckoned
 30 fiasci deep and spacious
 enough to contain commodiously
 Twelve Tartans.
 Portus ab Eoo fluctu curvatus in arcum.

Torre Minorevino,
 a Tower on the Shore,
 not the Town.

Torre Badisca 4 Miles
 S. E. of Oranto.

T. Kitchin Sculp.

“Refugitque à littore templum.”

N. B. Castro, which lies to the east of Porto, is supposed by Cluver and others to have been the old *Castrum Minervae*. But it appears, by all the Itineraries, that the great road leads through *Castrum Minervae*: and I am informed that Castro lies in so rocky a country, that it is impossible the road could have gone near it.

PUPINIA. Varro, speaking of poor land, observes: “In Pupiniâ neque arbores prolixas, neque vites feraces, neque frumenta videre crassa possis, neque ficum manicam, et arbores plerasque ac prata re-torrida et muscosa,” lib. I. cap. ix. “Pupiniae pestilentis simul et exilis agri cultorem fuisse M. Attilium Regulum loquuntur historiae.” Columella, lib. I. cap. iv.

PUTEOLI. “Sequuntur hinc littora circa Dicacarchiam atque ipsa urbs. Fuit ea antiquitus navale Cumanorum + in supercilio littoris extructum. At sub tempus Hannibalis belli Romani novis colonis frequentarunt, mutatoque nomine Puteolos dixerunt à Puteos. Alii à putore aquarum omnem hunc tractum ad Baias usque et Cumianum agrum, quod sulphuris sit plenus ignisque et calidarum aquarum.” Strab. lib. V. The port is described in the following manner: “Urbs ea emporium evasit maximum, stationes habens navium manu structas; naturâ arenae eam commoditatem praestante, quae calci proportionem respondens validam conglutinationem concretionemque recipit: itaque glaream cum caemento, ex calce et arenâ conflato, admiscentes aggeres, in mare producunt, sinuantque littoris partes maxime apertas, ita ut subduci tuto possint maximae onerariae naves.” Ibid. An inscription at Puzzuolo touching the repairing of the piles of Antoninus Pius: thirteen remaining, says Cluver. Caligula’s bridge of boats reached to the mole of Pozzuolo from Baiae, says Suetonius; from Misenum, according to Josephus: but Dio, who gives the fullest account, says, from Bauli. The former reckons it three miles and six hundred paces long; the latter three miles and half; but Josephus, four miles. Seneca mentions the same Pilae. Epist. lxxvii.

+ He means, probably, that in former times it took up only the top of the hill, where is now the cathedral. Livy tells us that it was fortified, and began to flourish at the time of the second Punic

war. "Q. Fabius ex autoritate Senatus Puteolos, perbellum coeptum, "frequentari emporium communiit," lib. XXIV.

RAVENNA. "Urbium in paludibus sitarum maxima est Ravenna, tota "ligneis constans aedificiis, aquis perflua, quare pontibus et lembis "viae expediuntur. Non exiguum maris portionem affluxu aestûs re- "cipit, à quo et à fluminibus coenosa omnia cùm eleuantur, aëris vitio "fit medicina. Itaque locus adeo salubris est, ut ibi gladiatores ali "atque exerceri iusserint Principes Romani." Strab. lib. V.

"Fertur Ravennam à Theffalis fuisse conditam, qui cùm Tyrrheno- "rum injurias non ferrent, ultrò in urbem admissis Umbrorum quibus- "dam, qui urbem etiamnum tenent, domum reverterint." Ibid.

It is a common notion among the modern Geographers and Voyage- writers, that the sea came formerly quite up to Ravenna, and is since retired from it. But this does not agree with Strabo's account, who describes it like a town in Holland in a low marshy country, having communication with the sea by rivers and canals. Ravenna at present answers this description, being situated between two rivers. The tide flows up to the town, and brings piottas and other vessels of larger burthen. The only difference, probably, is, that several branches of the canals, which formerly, for the conveniency of trade, passed through the streets, and opened a communication between the rivers and greater canals, being, by the decay of trade, rendered usefess, are in process of time entirely choaked up. At about two miles distance from Ravenna, on the road to Rimini, is a convent of the Camaldolese called Classe, which Cluver supposes took its name from the station of the Roman navy. The ground all round it is very low and marshy, which favours his opinion. And there are still canals near it which carry boats. The sea is about three miles distant. The church of Classe is supported by a great number of ancient columns; and in it are several very large and handsome Sarcophagi, with the bodies, as they pretend, of saints.

RHEGIENSES "cives, ultimi Brutiorum, quos à Siciliae corpore violenti "quondam maris impetus segregavit, unde civitas eorum nomen accepit; "diviso enim *ρήγης* Graecâ linguâ vocitatur." Cassiod. lib. XII. cap. xiv.

ROSEA.

ROSEA. "Caesar Vopiscus Aedilicius causam cum ageret apud cen-
 "fores, campos Roseae Italiae dixit esse fumen, in quo relicta pertica
 "postridie non apparet propter herbam:" Varro, De Re Rust. lib. I.
 cap. vii. "Muli è Roseâ campestri ætate exiguntur in Gurgures altos
 "montes:" Var. lib. II. cap. i. He always uses it substantively. The
 adjective of Rosea is Roseanus; as, "Equi Roseani." Var.

RUBICON. Three miles from Cesenatico, in the way to Rimini, the road
 crosses two little rivulets, called Le Due Bocche, at their conflux, or
 the place where they fall into each other. This, probably, was the
 Confluentes in the old Itineraries, for it answers exactly to the num-
 ber of miles, being now reckoned twelve from Rimini, and six from
 the Bologna road, or Via Aemilia, a branch of which, it is probable,
 fell into the Ravenna road at this place. One of the above-named
 brooks is still known higher up, viz. on the Bologna road, by the
 name Rubicone; and it is generally pretended, that Caesar passed the
 river at that place, and there the Roman edict is set up to certify the
 same; but it plainly appears from Cluverius that that inscription is
 spurious, and that the place, where Caesar passed, was on the Ra-
 venna road at the conflux. N. B. Between the posts of Cesena and
 Savignano, on the road from Bologna to Rimini, one passes three
 rivers or torrents. The nearest to Cesena, at about two miles distance
 from the town, is still called Rubicone, where the abovementioned edict
 is set up; the second river is about six miles from Cesena, and is com-
 monly called Rugosa, and in some maps, Butrio (perhaps from an
 Osteria close by it, which is so called); the third river runs close under
 the walls of Savignano, and is called, as I was informed, Pisatello.
 The two former rivers join above the Due Bocche. (Quær. How far?)
 And the Pisatello joins them at the Due Bocche.

RUBRAE, or Saxa Rubra, marked in the Itineraries ix miles from
 Rome, or vi from the bridge. This place answers to Prima Porta, the
 first post on the Via Flaminia, which is near eight miles distant from
 the present gate of Rome, the Porto de Popolo, and consequently must
 be nine from old Rome, and six from the bridge. There still remains
 here part of a brick arch, which stood over the road, and probably
 was the occasion of the present name. And there are several other
 ruins.

ruins. Caesar's Villa, called Ad Gallinas (for the reasons mentioned by Pliny, Suetonius, and others), was near this place, being described by Pliny: "Fluvio Tiberis imposita, juxta nonum lapidem Flaminiâ viâ." See Pliny, lib. XV. cap. ult. See FIDENAE.

SACRIPORTUS. A place below Setia. See Appian, De Bell. Civil. lib. I.

SALARIA VIA. See VIA.

SAURACTI. "In originum libro Cato scribit haec. In Sauracti Fisci cello caprae ferae sunt, quae saliant è faxo pedes plus sexagenos." See Varro, De Re Rust. lib. II. cap. iii. This I suppose different from Soracte.

SAXA RUBRA. See RUBRAE.

SERMIONE. Though it appears to be only a promontory shooting out into the Lago di Garda; is really an island, the water of the lake encompassing all round, and there being no going to it but by a boat, or over a bridge.

SETIA, now Sezza, on a mountain overlooking the Palus Pomptina, was very famous for its wines.

"Non Hybla, non me spicifer capit Nilus,
"Nec quae paludes delicata Pomptinas
"Ex arce clivi spectat uva Setini."

Martial, lib. X. Ep. lxxiv.

The Vinum Setinum is frequently celebrated by the same author, as well as by others.

SINUESSA. "In finu Setino sita est, et à finu nomen gerit (σινος γὰρ ὁ κόλπος, as the Greek adds), in proximo thermae ad quosdam morbos pellendos efficacissimae," Strab. lib. V. This was the last town in Latium. "Nunc quidem ora maritima ab Ostia Sinuessam usque Latium appellatur." And, probably, this district was parted from the Campania by a bridge, which Horace calls "Pons Campanus."

"Proxima

"Proxima Campano ponti quae villula, tectum
 "Praebuit." Sat. lib. I. Sat. v.

The bridge was over the Savone.

From Monte Dragone to the Bagni of Sinuessæ, on the road to the Garigliano is about two miles. The water of the Bagni smells and tastes very strong of sulphur, and boils up plentifully at two different sources. The water at one of them is white like the sulphureous water near Tivoli, the other is blackish: at both very warm, but not boiling. The air here is esteemed much better than at Monte Dragone. The Duke of Monte Dragone, to whom the baths belong, is fitting up a house there, in order to make the baths of use. Just by the Bagni is a ruined house, which was formerly the post-house, and still bears the name of La Posta, from whence to the Garigliano they reckon eight miles. The old road is visible all the way by a high bank thrown up in a straight line, pointing directly to the ferry; and in some places the old pavement still appears. At Sinuessæ are ruins of several old buildings, but nothing remarkable. Above the Bagni is a round hill, where, probably, was the castle of the town; and higher up on the top of the mountain above Monte Dragone are still some ruins, called La Rocca, which was, probably, another castle. The wines, on the side of the hill, between Sinuessæ and the Garigliano, are mentioned by Horace:

"Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa, palustres
 "Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum."

Lib. I. Ep. v.

The Tabulae reckon from Sinuessæ to Savo VII, to Vulturno XII, from Sinuessæ to Liternum XII, to Cumæ VI. See FALERNUM.

SORA stands on a flat, close to the side of the Garigliano, and just under a craggy rock, on the top of which is a fort, to which there is no access, but by a narrow steep path, or rather stairs, winding up the rock a mile and a half or more. About half way up the mountain is a small flat, where, certainly, there was formerly another fortress, or part of the old town, there being still remaining part of a wall, built with vast great stones, without cement, the "opus reticulatum incertum," and a great number of huge stones thrown down. There is now on the same small flat an hermitage called La Madonna delle Grazie.

SPELLO.

SPELLO. Near it are the ruins of an Amphitheatre, the whole circuit of the oval plainly appearing still, and one of the vaults which supported the seats. Near the former are the remains of another building, in form of a theatre.

Under the town is a thick wall, which buttresses the side of the hill, and serves as part of the wall of the town, in which wall is a nich or arch of ancient architecture of a very good taste: near which is the following distich, cut on the wall, about ten feet high from the ground:

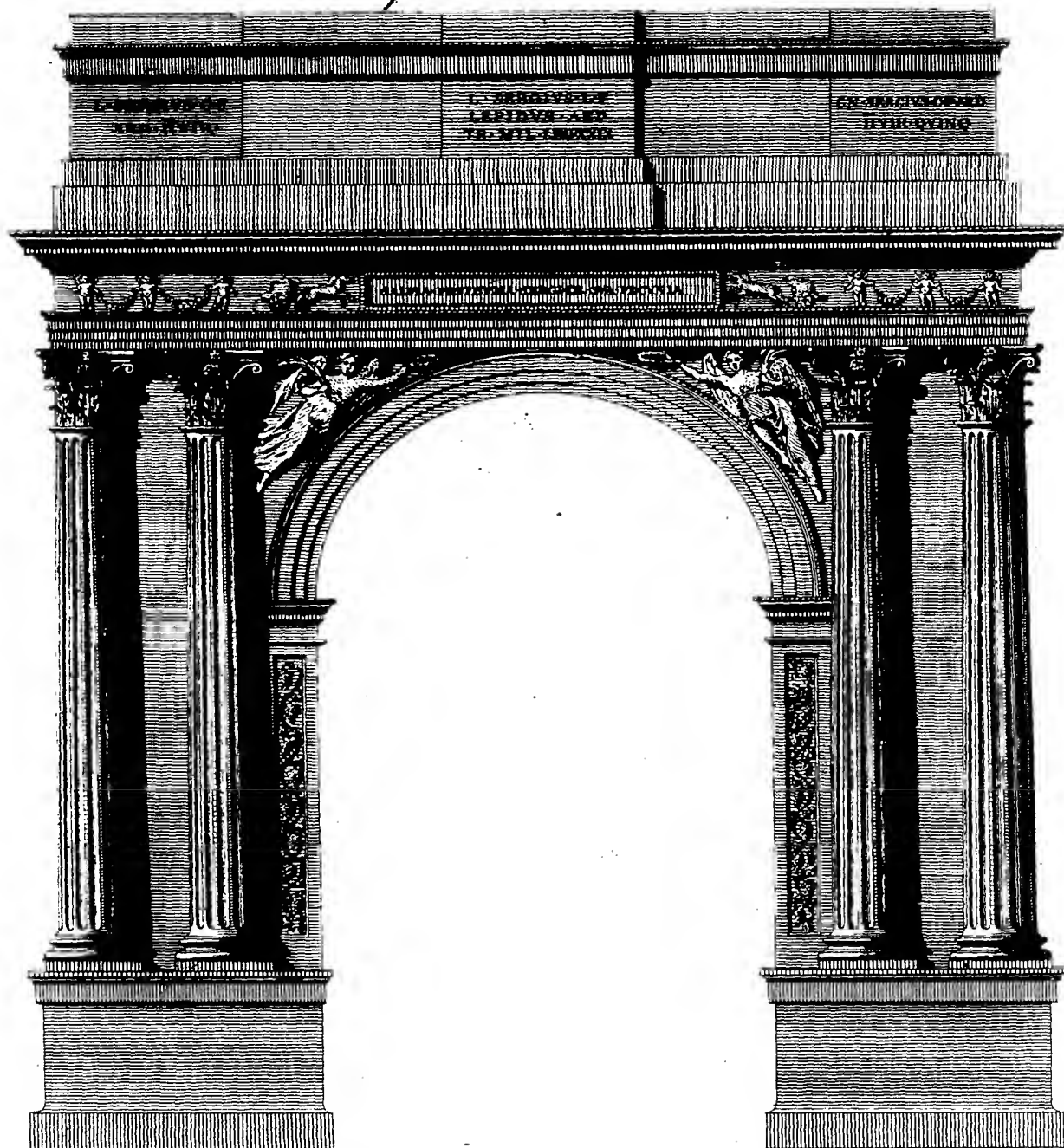
ORLANDI HIC CAROLI MAGNI MIRERE NEPOTIS
INGENTES ARTVS, CAETERA FACTA DOCENT.

Just under the verses is still a little hole, which the people of that country pretend was to mark the height of Orlando.

SULMO stands pretty high, has two small rivers running just under the town on both sides. The vale is finely watered, as Ovid describes it. About two miles from Sulmone is a convent of the Celestins, the chief of their order: it stands just under a mountain called the Morone. It is one of the most beautiful convents I ever saw. In the vale of Sulmone about a mile from Popoli is a Villa of the Duke di Popoli, where a river, a fine clear stream, rises under the house, and running through the gardens, soon discharges itself into the Pescara.

TEANUM SIDICINUM. This was formerly a very considerable city. Strabo, after he has enumerated the towns on the Via Latina, which were in Latium, adds: "Teanum Sidicinum, quod proximè sequitur, ipso cognomento ostendit se ad Sidicinos pertinere qui sunt Ofci, Gens Campanorum superstes, ita ut possit Campaniae dici, ipsa quoque urbium in Viâ Latinâ sitarum maxima:" Strab. lib. V. And again two or three pages after: "In mediterraneis est Capua, revera id quod nomine ejus significatur. Reliquas enim si ei compares, oppida sunt, excepto Teano Sidicino, quae urbs est magni nominis." Soon after, Strabo observes, that the territories of Teanum and Cales, now Calvi, were bounded by two temples of Fortune. "Teanum Sidicinum et Cales distinguunt duae Fortunae, quarum templa sunt collocata ab utrâque Latinae viae parte." Livy relates a war between the Sidicini and

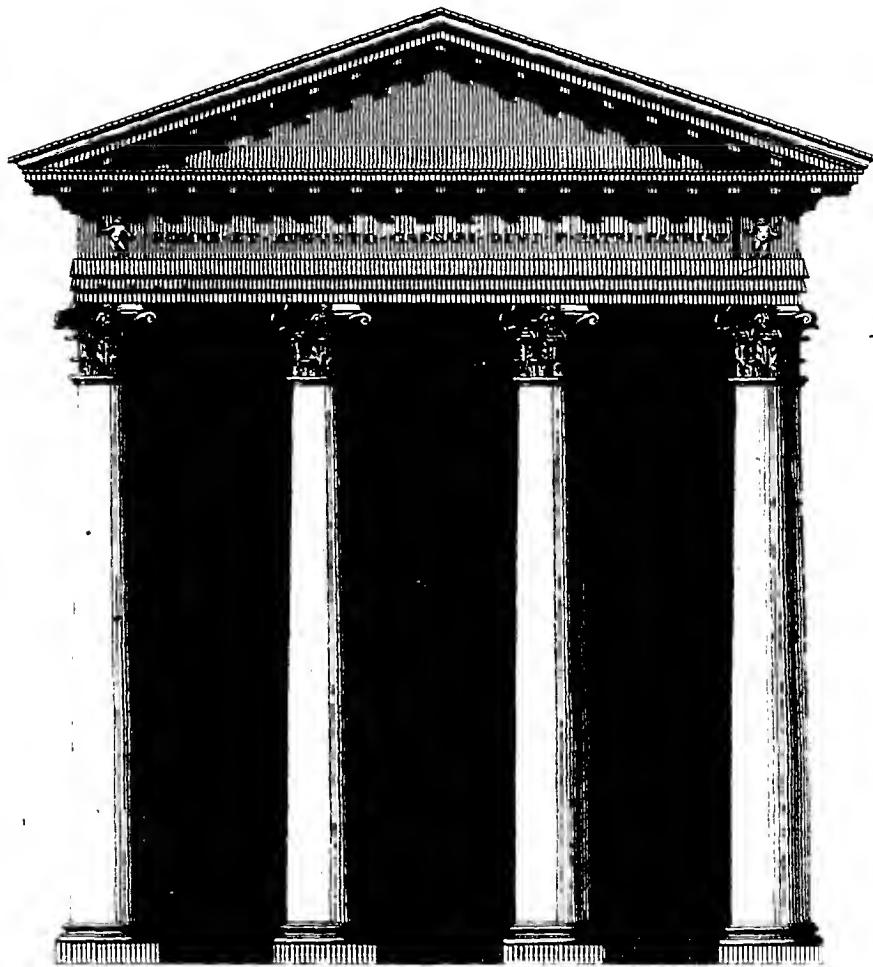
Triumphal Arch at Pola.



10 20 30 ft.

In this Arch is seen the manner of fastening stones without cement, with cramps of Iron coveredth Lead.
S. Ward del. C. Roemer sculp.

Temple of Augustus at Pola.



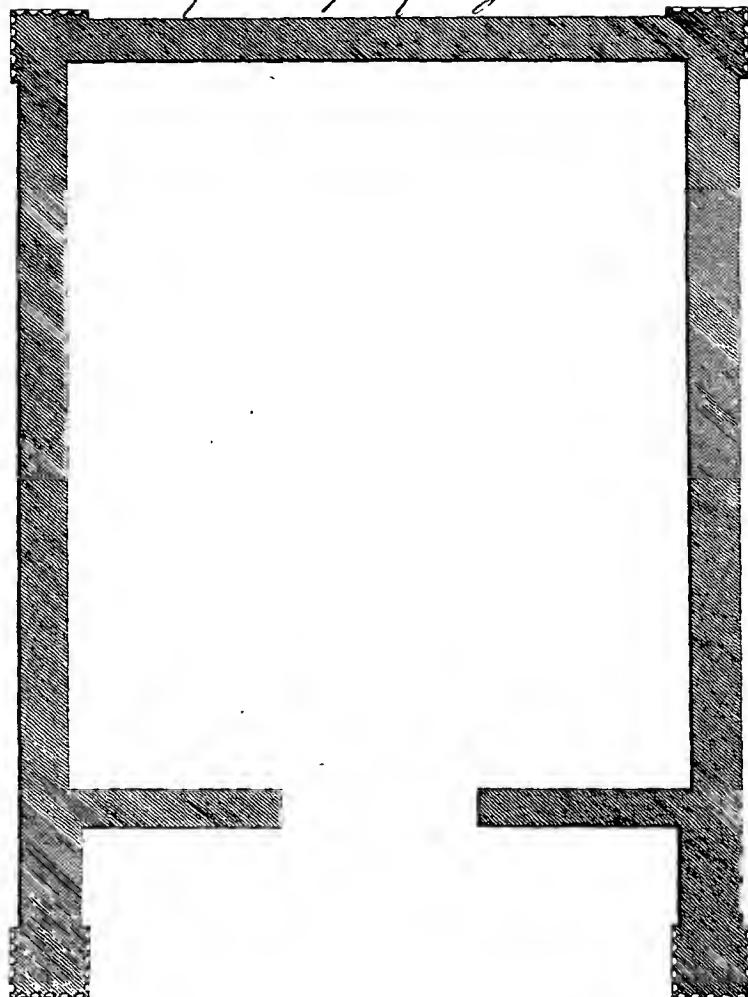
L. Nodding del.

E. Rooker sculp.

Pl. III.

Plan of the Temple of Augustus .

To face p. 298.



L. Wale del.

E. Rothen sculp.

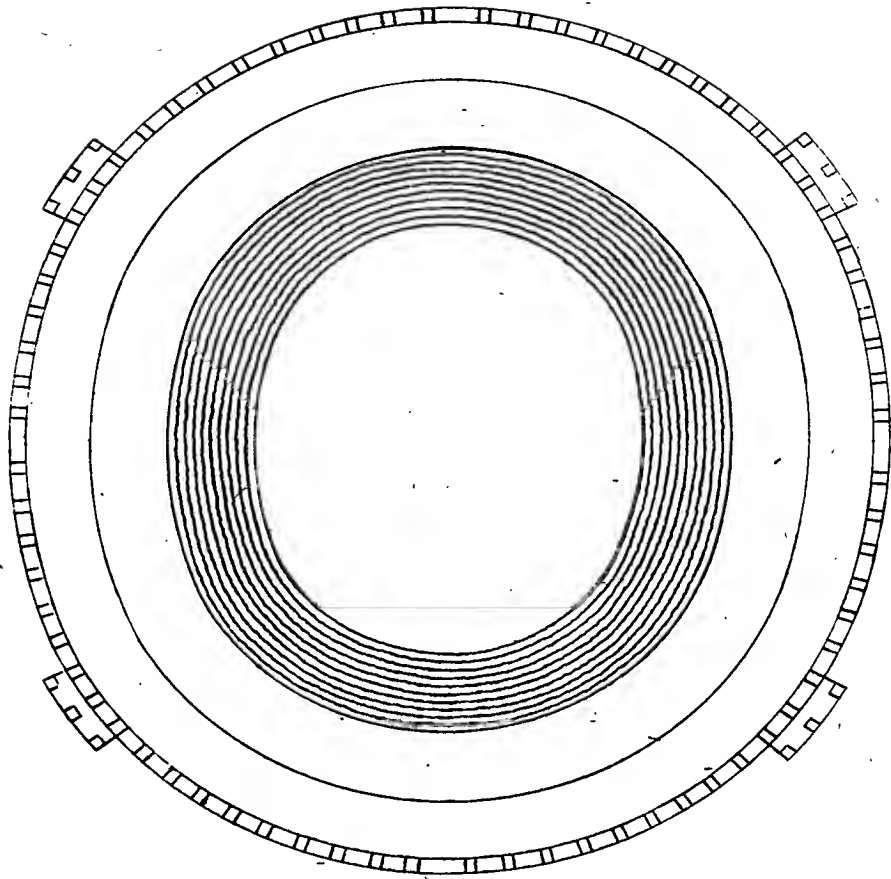
To face p. 595.

Temple at Apsisi.



J. Wall del. 17

E. Reuter sculp.



The Amphitheater at Pola.

Is not a perfect Circle being about 370 Venetian feet by 300 .

There is no Appearance of Steps or Seats round the Wall, but as the building stands on the side of a hill, the Seats of the first Piano, were form'd on the Hill side, on the declivity of the Rock, and 'tis probable that the lower side was built up to the same level with the hill side, on Arches as in other Amphitheaters. Tho' there are no Arches remaining yet, the Pillasters still appear which probably served for the turning of Arches to support Seats .

As to the two upper Stories, the Seats were undoubtedly of Timber, & the holes, where the heads of beams were let in to support them appear very manifestly, especially in the second Story, almost quite round the Wall at equal distances.

and their neighbours the Aurunci, in which the latter were forced to quit their town and retire to Sueffa, which from them was called Aurunci. See lib. VIII. Their old town was afterwards demolished by the Sidicini. Pliny calls Teanum, Sidicinum cognomine.

Teano stands on a gentle rise above a spacious plain abounding in corn; which plain extends itself from the foot of the hill of Presenzano to the river Volturno over-against Ailano, and so round to Vaierano, Petra Molara, etc. This was Virgil's Sidicina aequora. The city was formerly very large, as appears by the ruins, which extend far below the present town, especially on the side toward Calvi. The old Via Latina is still very entire in several places between Teano and Calvi, and may easily be traced all the way from one to the other. It is reckoned now four miles from Teano to Calvi, formerly but three; which difference may be occasioned partly by both towns extending themselves at that time further than at present, especially the former, and partly because the present road in several places breaks out of the strait line, particularly at the bridge over the brook near Torricella. The territories of Teano and Calvi join to each other, and are naturally bounded by a gentle ridge of hills rising between the Lignano and the brook of Calvi. Near the Osteria of Torricella is a Fosso, which parts the two aforesaid territories, and near the Fosso, on each side the road, are some ruins still to be seen, which answer to the situation of the two temples of Fortune mentioned by Strabo. Above Teano, towards the north-west, that is, between Teano and the river Garigliano, is a ridge of high mountains covered with woods towards Torre and Rocca Monfena, which hilly country was probably inhabited formerly by the Aurunci, who being too near neighbours to Teano, were by the inhabitants of it, the Sidicini, driven from their habitation, and forced to retire further off to Sezza, as mentioned by Livy. Of these likewise Virgil speaks:

“ Quos de collibus altis

“ Aurunci misere patres.” Aen. lib. VII. 727.

TEMPLE AT ASSISI. [See the annexed Plate.]

TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS. [See the annexed Plate.]

TETRICA was certainly upon the Apennines, and on one of the wildest parts of them, probably near Mons Fiscellus. For Varro, speaking of wild cattle in several countries, says: “Etiam nunc in locis multis genera pecudum ferarum sunt aliquot; ut in Phrygiâ ex ovibus, ubi greges videntur complures; ut in Samothracæ caprarum, quas Latine Rotas appellant; sunt enim in Italiâ circum Fiscellum et Tetricam montes multae.” Var. De Re Rust. lib. II. cap. i.

“Tetricae horrentes rupes.” Virg. Aen. VII. 713.

THRASYMENUS LACUS. The famous battle, which took its name from this lake, is by some supposed to have been on the plain under Cortona; by others it is placed nearer to the lake of Perugia, between Offaia and Passigniano, in the plain, through which runs a small brook, called now Fiume di Sanguino. Cluverius is of the latter opinion, and urges in favour of it the two names Sanguino and Offaia or Offaria, which he imagines are derived, the former from blood spilt there, the latter from the bones buried after the battle. This argument from etymology might have some weight, if the place agreed with the description left us by historians; and it has prevailed so much at Offaia, that there is an inscription over the door of the principal house of the village, which positively asserts that this was the place of battle:

“Nomen habet locus hic Offaria ab ossibus illis

“Quae dolus Hannibalis fudit et † Asta simul.”

† So it is writ.

But, having travelled over the ground, I did not observe any part of it on the road from Arezzo quite to Passigniano (that is twenty miles), which in the least answers the description of the most famous historians: for excepting a small vale between the mountains very near Arezzo, and a pass over the little hill at Castiglione d'Areino (both which are at too great a distance from the lake for the field of battle), the rest of the road lies all the way at the foot of the mountains of Cortona, which it leaves to the left, and is open to the spacious plain of the Chiaina on the right. This persuaded me that Cluverius as well as the people of Offaia are mistaken in the field they assign for the battle. And I think it very evident that the plain between Offaia and Passigniano was the place which the Roman Consul came to the night before the battle,

battle, and that the battle was fought further on between Passigniano and the Post-house of Torricella. Polybius, describing Hannibal's march before the battle, says: "*Hannibal interea Romam versus per Etruriam suos ducebat, habens ad laevam Cortonium urbem et adjacentes illi montes, ad dextram Thrasymenum lacum.*" By this it is plain that Hannibal was going by the way of Perugia, which is now the common road from Arezzo or Cortona to Rome, otherwise he could not have the lake to his right. On this road one must of necessity pass this little plain of Torricella, which is enclosed at the end next to Cortona by the mountains at Passigniano, which at that place approach so near to the lake, that there is room only for a few small houses between the steep rocks and the lake, leaving a very narrow passage for the road, which is barely passable for a chaise. The other end of the plain is likewise shut in by the mountains (called, I think, at that place, *Montagna di Colonia*) which one must necessarily pass over to go to Perugia. As to its length, it is about four miles long, but not above one broad, and in some places not so much, the mountain in one place towards the middle of the vale, shooting out in a narrow slip almost to the lake. Behind these little branches of the hills Hannibal, according to the historians account, hid great part of his army, or perhaps his light-armed forces, behind the hill of Colonia. "*Baleares caeteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit.*" Livy. And Polybius thus: "*Baleares et caeteram levem armaturam è primo agmine circumducit, et ad tumulos, qui dexterum vallis latus continent, longâ admodum serie adplicat,*" etc. When Polybius describes the vale where the battle was fought, he must be understood to mean thus: That, with regard to the length, it was enclosed at the two extremities by the same ridge of mountains; and, with regard to its breadth, it has an unpassable mountain on one side, and the lake on the other. "*Erat in ipso transitu plana convallis,*" etc. In ranging Hannibal's army, when Polybius is speaking of right and left, we must consider Hannibal as standing with his back to the lake, and his face to the mountain; or else right and left must be understood with respect to the vale, not to Hannibal. "*A tergo lacum,*" etc. Both Polybius and Livy agree, that the field of battle ad Thrasymenum was in a plain into which there was a strait pass between the foot of the mountains and the lake, which must be at

Passigniano, for there is no other pass; nor any other place on that road, in the least answering the description.

If it is objected that the vale was too small for a field of battle, it must be considered that Hannibal designed it as a pound, not a place for a regular combat. It is true that Strabo, describing the lakes of Tuscany, speaks of the Lacus Thrasymenus as near Arezzo; which is speaking too largely: for, though the nearest lake to Arezzo, it is twenty miles from it.



TICINUS. The Tessin is a very rapid river; yet Silius Italicus describes it as a deep slow stream at that part near which the battle was fought between Hannibal and the Roman Consul Scipio.

“Caeruleas Ticinus aquas et stagna vadofo.

“Perspicuus servat turbare nescia fundo,

“Ac nitidum viridi lentè trahit amne liquorem.

“Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis

“Argutos inter volucrum certamina cantus

“Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.” Lib. IV.

Q. What part of the river answers this description?

TIFATA. See CAPUA.

TIMAVUS. Cluverius tells us in his Italia, that he went to see the several mouths or rather sources of this river, and there are only seven very

very near one another, and therefore most authors call them seven; but that there are two others, which rise at some distance, and discharge themselves into the same channel with the other seven, before they fall into the sea. Having discoursed largely on this subject, he proceeds to describe the rising of the tide in that place higher than and above these mouths, through holes and cavities in the rocks, and the great noise occasioned by the meeting and opposition of these several streams with the tide. His account agrees exactly well with, and explains, Virgil's description. His words are as follow: "*Cùm omnis hic tractus inter mare et frigidum amnem unum perpetuumque sit faxum, innumeris passim altissimisque antris perforatum, cuniculi quidam à colle faxeo qui septem Timavi fontibus supernè imminet, ad proximi maris vada pertingunt, per quos incrementum patitur atque decrementum Timavus ex adfluxu refluxuque ejusdem maris, ita ut lenis, sine ullo majori strepitu, atque mansuetus dulcibus suis aquis per complures fauces defluit amnis, ubi mare subsedit, ac procul recessit; quàm primum vero idem mare aestu suo intumuit, tanto cum impetu prædictis cuniculis infertur, fontibusque Timavi permiscetur, ut ingenti cum fragore, ac veluti mugitu faxei montis, per complura illa spatiosa ora prorumpat; jamque alveo Timavi contineri nequeat, sed adjacencia prata, per quae ad ostium tendit amnis, longè latèque saepius inundet, pelagique in speciem planè contegat.*" See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. Lib. I. cap. xx. If this place merited so much the attention of Cluver, who could not but be well acquainted with tides, how much more extraordinary must it appear to Italians, who are almost strangers to the nature of the tide? The inhabitants of the country near Timavus used to call it, as Strabo tells us from Polybius, *πηγὴ καὶ μητέρα θαλάττης*. Cluver tells us, in the same chapter, that the Timavus rises from several springs at the foot of the mountains higher up in the country near S. Cantiano, and then burying itself, and running fourteen miles underground, breaks out again at the aforesaid mouths near S. Giovanni di Duino, not above one mile from the sea. Whoever would be curious to know the number of the mouths may consult Cluver; but I think it not material to Virgil whether there be nine or not, more or less, provided there are many.

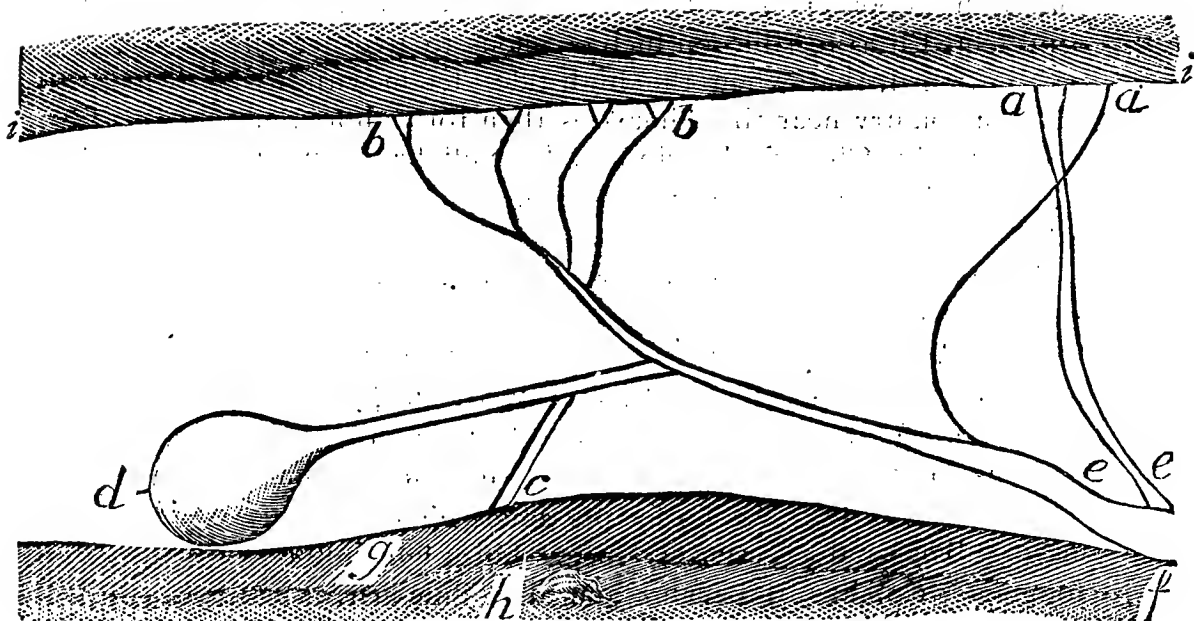
The Timavus was very quiet when I saw it, except just at the spring head, where it runs with violence, as one may easily imagine of a river breaking out at once at the foot of a rock: but I was informed on the place,

place, that upon great rains it roars with so much violence, that they represented it as terrible on such occasions to live near it. I was likewise informed, that when the high tides set in with strong winds, all that flat country near the Timavo is then for a short time under water. I suppose, by Cluver's description, he must have been there at such a time, or else took his description from the country people, who had lately suffered by a flood.

The three principal fountains of Timavo are at S. Giovanni di Duino, within a stone's throw of one another; the largest of all rises under Conte di Torre's palace: these three joining together form a large river. Four more fountains rise at the foot of the rock west of S. Giovanni, and about a mile distant from it, and form another river, which falls into that of S. Giovanni, after having run something more than a mile. These seven springs are now commonly called the Sette bocche di Timavo. Besides these, there is, at about a mile distance further, the fountain Degli Bagni, which is small; and further on still, on the road to Montefalcone, another large fountain springs on the side of a small lake, and forms another river, into which the fountain Degli Bagni falls, and then unites with the river of the four fountains, and so with that of S. Giovanni. These two last-named springs do not rise at the foot of the mountains as the other seven, but in the plain. N. B. The rivers formed by these several fountains abovementioned are all so large, as to be able to carry vessels of good burthen.

N. B. The Timavo is still reckoned the boundary of Italy on that side; one side of the mouths of the river belonging to Germany, the other to the Venetians; and the Imperial guard is on one side, the Venetian on the other. On the German side (viz.) at S. Giovanni del Duino, which is not above a mile from the mouth of the river, the common language of the country people is Sciavo; on the other side at Montefalcone, Venetian or Italian. This was a proper boundary: for here the flat Venetian country terminates, and from hence to Trieste is a continued cliff or mountain close to the sea, without so much as room for a road. N. B. The water of the fountain Degli Bagni is very brackish, and warm as milk from the cow. The baths are now disused, but not long since were much frequented. The water of neither of the fountains is esteemed good to drink, or that of one of them only.

d. Three



- a.* Three fountains of Timavo at S. Giovanni di Duino.
- b.* Four fountains more, rising at the foot of the same ridge of rocks; the place or rock where they rise called, I think, Sablice.
- c.* The fountain Degli Bagni, rising in the plain.
- d.* The fountain which rises in a little lake likewise in the plain.
- e.* The German side of the mouth of Timavo.
- f.* The Venetian side.
- g.* Road leading from the mouth of the Timavo to Montefalcone, three miles distant.
- h.* A little rocky hill, between the plain of Timavo and the sea, about two miles long, and half a mile wide.
- i.* A continued ridge of mountains at the foot of which the Timavo rises.

TORTONA. “Est autem Derthon urbs insignis, sita medio inter Placentiam et Genoa[m] itinere, cccc ab utraque distans stadiis: in eodem itinere sunt Diacuisa et Jelleia.” Strab. lib. V.

TREBIA. When Silius Italicus is describing Scipio’s passage over the Trebia, and Hannibal’s pursuing of him, and Scipio finds great difficulty

culty in passing the river, the Poet makes him threaten the river, that unless it abated its fury, and permitted him to pass quietly, it should be dried up from the fountain, or be dispersed over the country and lose its name. Quær. If this was not afterwards in some measure accomplished by the river changing its course; which must give occasion to this thought of the Poet? If so, this will account for what is observed by Mr. Bowman in his Letters.

TREBULA. Martial has the following Epigram on this place.

“ Humida qua gelidas summittit Trebula valles,

“ Et viridis Cancrî mensibus alget ager ;

“ Rura Cleonæo nunquam temerata leone,

“ Et domus Aeolio semper amica Noto,

“ Te, Faustine, vocant: longas his exige menses

“ Collibus; hibernum jam tibi Tibur erit.”

Lib. V. Ep. lxxii.

TRIESTE. [See the plate annexed.]

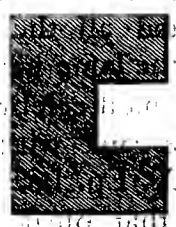
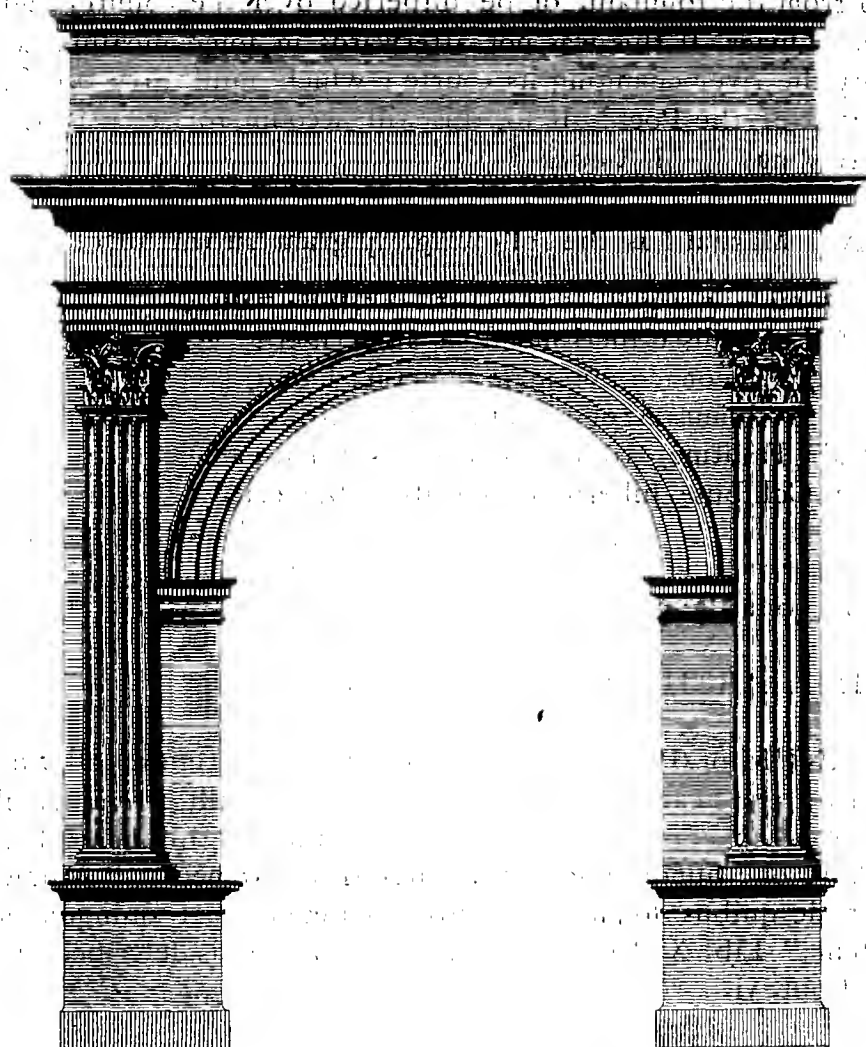
TRIUMPHAL ARCH. See TRIESTE, POLA.

TUSCULANUM of Pliny was near Tifernum Tiberinum, of which he was patron, and near which he tells us that he built a temple, lib. IV. Ep. i. And this town and his estate in the neighbourhood he says were above one hundred and fifty miles from Rome.” “ Municipium “ et agri de quibus loquor sunt ultra centesimum et quinquagesimum “ lapidem.” Lib. X. Ep. xxiv. The Tusculanum is described at large, lib. V. Epist. vi.

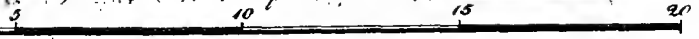
TUSCULUM. The old town is commonly supposed to have stood on the top of the hill above Fregati, where are still to be seen several ruins. But it is probable that Fregati itself, and all the adjoining slope of the beautiful hill, was reckoned under the same name, as belonging to its territory. Martial, speaking of the most celebrated roses of Italy, mentions those of Tusculum in the same rank with those of Tivoli, Praeneste, Campania, and Paestum, lib. IX. Ep. lxi. And it is not likely that such roses grew on the top of that bleak mountain.
Tusculum

Triumphal Arch at Trieste

p. 602



Scale of Feet



J. M. P. del.

E. Pooker sculp.

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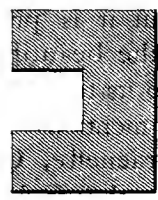
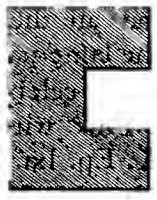
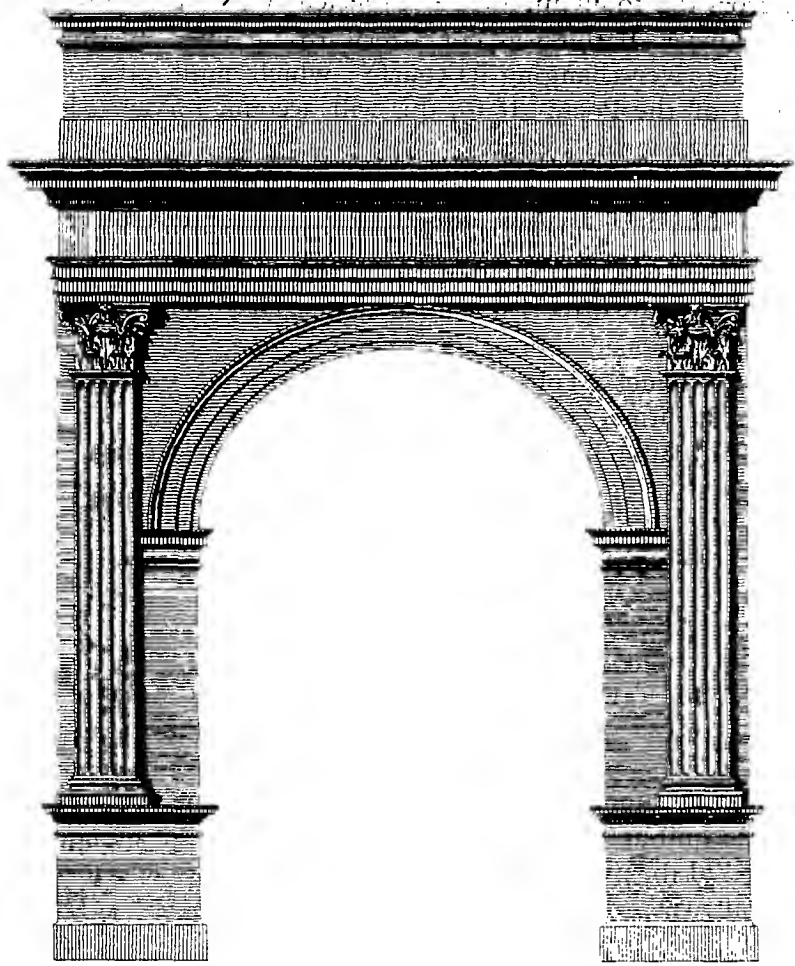
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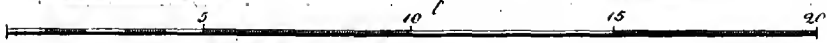
Tusculum

Triumphal Arch at Trieste

p. 002.



Scale of Feet



L. Male del.

E. Roemer sculp.

Tusculum is described by Strabo, as adorned with stately villas on all sides, particularly on the side towards Rome, where is now Fregati. His description is as follows: "Nearer to Rome than this mountainous country of Tivoli and Praeneste is another ridge, separated from the former by a vale towards Algidum, and rising high to the mount of Alba. On this side lies Tusculum, a city not ill built; and which is beautified all round with plantations and buildings, particularly on the declivity below the town, on that side of the hill towards Rome. For Tusculum, on that side, is a fruitful well-watered hill, branched out into many heads, fit for the stately palaces of great men. Adjoining hereto is the slope of the hill, under Mons Albanus, which has the same sort of soil, and equally beautified.

TYRRHENI "à Romanis Etrusci et Tusci nominantur. Graeci sic appellarunt à Tyrrheno Atys F. qui eo coloniam ex Lydiâ duxerit. Fame enim et sterilitate coactus Atys, unus ex Hercule et Omphale prognatis, de duobus filiis alterum Lydum nomine sortito detinuit, alterum Tyrrhenum cum majore populi parte amandavit. Is cum Italiam venisset, regionem à suo nomine Tyrrheniam nuncupavit, et duodecim urbes condidit, praefecto rei Tarchonte, a quo Tarquiniiis urbi nomen est."

VADEMONIS LACUS; near Ameria. See an account of it, Plin. lib. VIII. Epist. xx.

VENAFRUM. At Venafro, close by the walls of the present town, rises a large spring at the foot of the rock. This rivulet formerly ran through the middle of the town, and, perhaps, occasioned the mistake of Strabo, who says that the Volturno ran through the middle of it, whereas it is two miles distant from the Volturno. The town stands just at the foot of the mountains, from whence a beautiful and rich plain reaches to the river. The foot of the mountains is covered with olive-trees. A small part of the old walls of Venafro of vast stones, the "opus reticulatum incertum," is still standing about half a mile without the present town. The occasion of changing the situation of the town, is said to be an earthquake, which having destroyed the town, the people removed to a spot at a small distance, where there was a chapel, which, having stood the shock, was supposed to be very holy, and more secure from earthquakes than the neighbourhood.

bourhood. N. B. There are several old ruins of villas, etc. along the side of the hill near Venafro. From Venafro to S. Germano is reckoned twelve miles. The road passes over the mountain at a very narrow pass, called *Annunciata Lunga*, and from thence descends the side of the mountain to S. Pietro Fano. All along the hill one still sees the vast great stones, which supported this ancient road, like a terrace, which, in some places, continues entire. The road was very narrow, and could never serve for carriages. About a mile below S. Pietro Fano this road falls into the *Via Latina*.

VESUVIUS. Vitruvius, who lived, as it is generally believed, in Augustus's time, speaks of this mountain having marks as if it had burnt formerly. And so does Strabo, who lived under Tiberius. It is indeed asserted by some, that Vitruvius dedicated his book to Titus, not to Augustus. But even this passage concerning mount Vesuvius (lib. II. cap. vi.) is an argument to the contrary; for as the famous eruption, which destroyed Pliny, happened in the first year of Titus, Vitruvius must have spoken of the mountain in a different manner, and have taken particular notice of that eruption, had he lived in that time. Besides, it is pretty evident, that Pliny often quotes passages from Vitruvius word for word, particularly, lib. XXXVI. cap. vi. compared with Vitruvius, lib. II. cap. viii. Lucretius likewise speaks of *Montem Vesevum*, as a burning mountain, if we admit of that verse, lib. VI. as we find it in several editions. And Silius Italicus, who lived at the time of the famous eruption mentioned by Pliny, describes Vesuvius as a burning mountain in Hannibal's time; or which had marks of having burnt formerly.

“*Monstrantur Veseva juga, atque in vertice fummo*

“*Depasti flammis scopuli, fractusque ruinâ*

“*Mons circum atque Aetnae fatis certantia faxe.*” Lib. XII.

VIAE. “*Aemiliam viam, quae per Pisas et Lunam usque ad Sabbatos, indeque Derthonem ducit, stravit Scaurus:*” Strab. lib. V. “*Alia est Aemilia Flaminiam excipiens. Nam collegae in consulatu fuerunt, M. Lepidus et C. Flaminius. Qui devictis Liguribus, hic Flaminiam viam stravit à Româ per Etruriam et Umbriam usque ad Ariminum; ille*

“ ille deinceps, ad Bononiam usque ad Aquileiam juxta radices Alpium, “ paludibus in gyrum circumventis.” Ibid.

“ Nobilissimæ viarum sunt Appia, Latina, et Valeria. De his Appia “ Latii partes maritimas pertransit usque ad Sinuessam. Valeria est “ quæ ad Sabinos pertinet usque ad Marfos. Media est Latina, quæ “ in Appiam incidit ad Cassinum urbem, distantem à Capua XIX stadiis. “ Incipit Latina à Viâ Appiâ ad sinistram ab eâ prope Romam deflectens.” And, afterwards: “ Valeria viâ Tybure incipit ducitque in Marfos,” etc. Strab. lib. V.

VIA SALARIA. “ In agro Sabino Viâ Salaria non longè à Reate mi- “ liarius clivus appellatur Thebæ :” Varro, De Re Rust. lib. III. cap. i. And, again, cap. ii. he mentions, “ Fundum in Sabinis qui est ad quar- “ tum et vicesimum lapidem Viâ Salaria à Româ. Ubi æstate diem “ meridie dividere solet, cum eo Reate ex urbe, aut cum inde venit “ hieme noctu ponere castra.”

See APPIA, LATINA, LABICANA, FLAMINIA.

VILLA HORATHI. Horace himself assures us that he had but one house; and that he was fully contented with it.

“ Satis beatus unicus Sabinis.”

If he had had a house of his own at Tivoli, we might probably have found him inviting Maecenas to it.

Tivoli is not in the country of the Sabins, being situated on the left side, or the Latian side of the Anio, which was there the boundary of the two countries. And we find Catullus not willing to allow his villa to be called Sabine, but rather Tyburtine, because it belonged to Tivoli; though it certainly stood on the Sabine side of the river. Therefore, if that spot on the same side of the Anio, which, without any authority, is shewn for Horace's villa, was really his, yet it may be doubted, whether he would have described it, as in the country of the Sabines; or if he had, it is very certain he could not have described it “ inter altos Sabinos,” which must mean high up in their country; whereas this, allowing it to be Sabine, is but just on the edge of their country, and Tivoli itself just at the beginning or entrance of the mountains.

Horace, in his seventh Epistle, writes to Maecenas, to excuse his staying in the country, and not returning to him at Rome, as he had promised. In this Epistle he mentions Tivoli.

“ Mihi jam non regia Roma,
“ Sed vacuum Tybur placet, aut imbellè Tarentum.”

It is plain, by this Epistle, that Horace was then in the country ; but it does not follow, that he retired to Tybur any more than to Tarentum. Yet, supposing him at Tybur, it does not appear that he was at a villa of his own ; but he might retire thither to Maecenas’s villa from his palace at Rome ; or to some other friend’s house ; or if he had a villa of his own there, I think it is pretty manifest, that he had another among the Sabine mountains.

I cannot think that Horace gives the epithet, *vacuum*, or thin of inhabitants, to Tybur, as to a desert place : for certainly a town so near Rome, and so celebrated for its good air and delightful situation, which tempted many of the greatest Romans to have their villas there, as we are assured by many writers, and as we find by the ruins still remaining, could not deserve that character. But we must consider that the Romans flocked to Tybur only at certain seasons of the year, as they do now to Fiescati, etc. to their Villeggiatura, as they call it, in spring and fall, as we do to Bath. And as Horace at that time of life delighted in retirement, he says ; “ I do not any longer like the hurry of Rome ; I prefer Tybur ; and I do not even chuse Tybur, when it is full of people, in the height of the season, but when it is *vacuum*, in its vacation.”

In the sixteenth Epistle Horace gives the following description of his villa :

“ Continui montes, nisi diffocientur opacâ
“ Valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat sol ;
“ Lacum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
“ Temperiem laudes. Quid si rubicunda benignè
“ Corna vepres et pruna ferant ? et quercus et ilex
“ Multâ fruge pecus, multâ dominum juvet umbrâ ?
“ Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
“ Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
“ Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus.”

In the sixth Satire, lib. II. he says, in allusion to this villa :

“ Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus,
 “ Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aquae fons.
 “ Et paulum silvae super his foret : auctius atque
 “ Dî melius fecere ; bene est, nihil amplius oro.”

In the eighteenth Epistle, Horace speaks of his villa near the river Digentia, not far from which was a villa, or town, called Mandelia ; which place he represents as lying in a very cold country ; “ rugosus frigore.” And since he celebrates the temperateness of his own villa, Epist. xvi. “ Temperiem laudes,” etc. and, again, Epist. x.

“ Est ubi plûs tepeant hiemes ? ubi gravior aura
 “ Leniat et rabiem canis et momenta leonis ?”

(if he may be supposed to be here speaking of his own villa) we may reasonably conclude, that his villa, though among the Sabine mountains, yet stood sheltered in a close vale on the side of a fountain near the river Digentia : and that the town Mandela lay exposed on the top of a hill above the same river :

“ Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
 “ Quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus.”

The vale of Licenza answers exactly to Horace’s description ; the right side being exposed to the rising, the left to the setting sun. Between Vicovaro and Bocca Giovane, about four miles from the former, and one or two from the latter, I observed a fine clear water running along the road ; and enquiring of my guide if it had any name, and where it rose, he shewed me an old fig-tree on the side of a stony hill on our left, where he told me was the spring-head, and that from thence it was called Fontana del Fico. Going up to it, I found it a large spring, the water very cold and well tasted ; and fancying it Horace’s Fons Blandusiae, it seemed to me more delicious than any I ever tasted in my life. My guide told me, that it was much esteemed ; and therefore, whenever he came that road, which he did often, he scarce ever passed without going up to drink of it. Its course is very short ; rising not above an hundred yards up the hill to the left of the road, runs about as many along the road, and, within the distance of about an hundred more to the right of the road, falls into the Licenza.

Near

Near the course of this brook I observed several pieces of broken bricks scattered about the field in great quantity; and there still remains, on the side of the road, the ruin of a wall almost covered with bushes. And in a house built thereabouts, called *Casale Questione*, on the confines of the two territories of *Vicovaro* and *Rocca Giovane*, I saw some of the large Roman bricks had been used, which undoubtedly were found on the place.

We were there on the fifth of November, and yet found it very hot, and our guide told us that the snow never lay long in the vale, though the mountains round it were usually covered for many months. Quaer. Which side the temple of *Vacuna* looked towards? Probably the front of it was towards the great road leading up to the town, as *Vitruvius* directs. If so, it must look towards *Licenza*. And then *Horace's* house, though nearer to *Rome*, might properly be said to be "post fanum," as behind or to the back part of the temple. So "limina post Pacis," in *Martial*.

VILLAE. See CENTUMCELLAE and CICCERO.

VINA. See FALERNUM, SINUessa, SETIA.

VIRGIL'S TOMB. See the Dissertation on it.

URBINO. Before the dome is a stone, with the following inscription:

C. VESIDIENO. CNF.

BASSO. AED.

IIII. VIR. IVR. DIC.

IIII. VIR. QVINC.

PVBLICE.

D. D.

QVOD. AQVAM. NOVAM.

CONQVIRENDAM. ET.

IN. MVNICIP. PERDVCEND.

ET. NYMPHAEVM FACIEND.

PEC. PVBL. C.

M U S C I P U L A,

S I V E

K A M B P O M T O M A X I A.

Απηνεες ανδρες

Καινοῖεραϊς τεχναις ΕΥΛΙΝΟΝ ΔΟΛΟΝ ἐξέυροντο,

Ἦν ΠΑΓΙΔΑ καλεεσσι, ΜΥΩΝ ολετειραν εσχαν.

ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΒΑΤΡΑΧΟΜ.

ROBERTO LLOYD,

ARMIGERO,

COLL. MAGD. OXON.

SOCIO-COMMENSALI.

CUM MUSCIPULA nostra, in Murium solummodo perniciem excogitata, mihimet ipsi quoque in damnum cesserit; utpote quae in lucem prodierit alienis maculis abunde inquinata; nugas has, qualescunque sint, novis typis mandare potius visum est, quam mendacis preli errata agnoscere, aeque ac mea.

At vereor, Juvenis dilectissime, ne me licentiam plusquam Poeticam sumpsisse credas, dum tuo nomine Opusculum hoc ausim exornare; quod iracundioribus quibusdam vix in patriae tuae laudem confici videatur. Hoc si ita foret, neque ego dignus essem, qui in Gentem tam illustrem turpissimam facerem contumeliam; nec Tu, qui eam in Te acciperes. Leviores autem sunt hae ludicrae Musae exercitationes, quam ut famae Cambro-Britannicae quicquam possent detrahere, aut ut Auctorem

“Seria ducant

“In mala.”

Fatendum quidem est, me humiliter argumentum e Populo laudis fecundissimo cepisse; qui sublimiores potius Epico Carmini imagines, quam ridiculo poemati materiam suppeditasset. Praeterquam vero quod inclita Cambrorum gesta jocosae minus conveniebant Musae; haud fas erat ea linguâ Latinâ deterere, quae non aliâ aptius possint exprimi, quam quâ ipsi utebantur Heroes. Summa tamen excusationis meae (siquidem quibusdam excusatione caruisse videar) haec est; quod nihil aliud vellem, quam ut antiquissimae Gentis tuae dignitatem merito ostentatam vindicarem.

Jampridem Graecia furtivos, undecunque potuit, honores sibi arrogavit: et parum contenta a Chaldaeis Astronomiam, a Phœnicibus Literas, a Cretensibus suum pene Jovem transtulisse, adinventâ insuper MUSCIPULA imperfectam adhuc gloriam voluit consummâsse. Cuinam idcirco Britonibilem non moveret, Homerum, qui haud ultra ter mille annos abhinc scripsisse censetur, stupendam hanc Machinam nupero attribuisse artifice, quae longe vetustiori Cambrorum astutiae acceptam refert originem? Hâc quidem de causâ, famae gentis tuae mature prospiciendum esse duxi, ne aut Graeci Cambros tuos aemulâ vetustate exsuperâsse viderentur; aut Homeri Faber suas a Tasseio vestro laudes furriperet.

Quum vero Cambri tui ob tot eximia facinora juste inclaruerint, nil mirere, si anxius haeream, quibus Te praefertim encomiis, mi charissime Condiscipule, celebrare gestiam. In quo, et patriae, et gentilitiae virtutes tam ambigûâ commiscentur elegantia, ut augurari vix liceat, utrum plus splendoris, familiae an nationi tuae, sis allaturus. Obfirmatum in tuendis Cambriae tuae juribus amorem, honestam in vindicandis legum institutis pertinaciam, piam in conservandâ Ecclesiae castissimae dignitate fortitudinem, Majores tui tibi derivârunt. Et quid non optimo jure spondeat sibi Wallia; dum accrescentem indies praecocis ingenii gloriam non sine summâ laetitiâ praevideat; dum haec eximia virtutum semina, accurata Magdalenae nostrae cura felicissimis excolat auspiciis?

Cum dehinc ad subactam maturitatem adoleverit judicii acumen, et inter majores amicorum plausus, tenuiores hae meae laudes evanuerint; parvulum hoc mutuae amicitiae pignus, subinde aspicere ne dedigneris. Neque sis prorsus immemor, aut mei, aut

“Actae non alio rege puertiae.”

Sum omni obsequio

Tibi devotissimus,

*Magd. Coll.
Oxon.
1709.*

E. HOLDSWORTH.

M U S C I P U L A.

Monticolam Britonem, qui primus vincula Muri
 Finxit, et exiguum conclusit carcere furem,
 Lethalesque dolos, et inextricabile fatum,
 Musa, refer. Tu, Phoebe potens (nam te quoque quondam
 Muribus infestum dixerunt Sminthea vates), 5
 O! faveas; et tot Cambrorum e montibus, unum
 Accipiens vice Pindi, adlis, dum pingere versu
 Res tenues, humilique juvat colludere Musâ.

Mus, inimicum animal, praedari, et vivere rapto
 Suetum, impune diu, spoliis qua innata libido 10
 Jufferat, erravit; sceleratam exercuit artem
 Impavidus, saliensque hinc illinc, cuncta maligno
 Corruptit dente, et patinâ male lusit in omni.
 Nil erat intactum, sed ubique domesticus hostis
 Assiduus conviva aderat; non moenia furtis 15
 Obstare, aut vestes poterant fervare placentas,
 Robustaeve fores; qua non data porta, peredit
 Ipse sibi introitum, dapibusque indulgit inemptis.

Pestis at haec totum dum serpsit inulta per orbem,
 Cambria praecipue flevit; quia caseus illic 20
 Multus olet: quem Mus non, aeque ac plurima, libat,
 Aut leviter tantum arrodit; sed dente frequenti
 Excavat, interiusque domos exsculpit edules.

Gens tota incensa est super his, rabiesque dolorque
 Discruciant animos; frendent, juga summa pererrant, 25
 Stare loco ignorant: nam Cambris prona furori
 Corda calent, subitâque ignescunt pectora bile;
 Cum digitis, credas animos quoque sulphure tinctos.

Ergo, jubente irâ, dignas cum sanguine poenas
 Sumere decretum est; sed quâ ratione latronem 30
 4 H 2 Tam

Tam cautum illaqueent, quo vindice furta repellant,
 Incertum: neque Felis enim tua, Cambre, tueri
 Testa, nec adversis poterat succurrere rebus.
 Illa quidem varias posuit circum ora cavernae
 Insidias, tacitoque pede ad cava limina repens 35
 Excubias egit; frustra: Mus nempe pusillo
 Corpore securus, tanto et praestantior hoste
 Quo minor, intentum praedae si forte videret
 Custodem ante fores, retro irruit; inque recessus.
 Aufugit curvos, atque invia Felibus antra: 40
 Inde caput metuens iterum proferre, nec ausus
 Excursus tentare novos, nisi castra moveret
 Praedo, atque onne aberat vigili cum Fele periculum.

Sic Cambri (Cambros liceat componere Muri)
 Eludere hostes, cum Julius, orbe subacto, 45
 Imperio adjecit Britonas; sic nempe recessit
 Ad latebras gens tota, et inexpugnabile vallum,
 Montes; sic sua faxa inter, medioque ruinae
 Delituit tuta, et desperans vincere, vinci
 Noluit: hinc priscus memorant longo ordine Patres, 50
 Indomitasque crepant terras, linguaeque senectam..

Felinos igitur postquam Mus saepius ungues
 Pugerat, et Britoni spes non erat ulla salutis
 A socio belli; supremo in limite terrae
 Concilium accitur, quâ nunc Menevia plorat 55
 Curtatos mitrae titulos, et nomen inane
 Semisepultae urbis: properant hinc inde frequentes
 Patresque, proceresque, et odorum sulphure vulgus.

Tum senior, cui saepe suis in montibus hircus
 Prolixam invidit barbam, cuique ora manusque 60
 Prisca incrustavit scabies, spectabilis aulâ
 Stat mediâ, fractus senio, postique reclinis
 Cambrorum vexato humeris; et gutture ab imo
 Densas praecipitans voces, " Non, inquit, aperto
 " De bello, sed furto agitur; non externus hostis, 65
 " Sed majus graviusque malum, nimis intimus hospes,
 " Compulit huc populum; dominabitur usque tyrannus
 " Mus

“ Mus petulans? Vos, ergo, Patres, venerabilis ordo,
 “ Queis patriae pretiosa falus, finite dolores
 “ Consilio tantos; et si spes ulla superfit,
 “ Propitias adhibete manus: sic CADWALADERI
 “ Dum clarescat honos, vestra hîc quoque gloria crescet.”

70

Dixit, et ante oculos fragmenta, et mucida tollens
 Frustrula, reliquias furti, monumenta rapinae,
 Exacuit Cambrorum iras: Nunc aemulus ardor
 Vindictae, nunc laudis amor, sub pectore Patrum
 Ardet; inauditam meditatur quisque ruinam
 Muri, Muscipulamque statim extudit omne cerebrum.

75

At quidam ante alios notus cognomine TAFPI,
 Et magis ingenio celebris, cui WALLIA nunquam
 Aequalem peperit, faber idem, idemque senator,
 Eximius, sic orsus erat: “ Si gloria gentis
 “ Caseus intereat, metuo ne tora colonum
 “ Deficiat coena; et mensae decus omne secundae
 “ Divitibus pereat: quoniam ergo Wallica virtus,
 “ Et Feles nequeant superare haec monstra, fabrilis
 “ Dexterâ quid possit, quid machina vafra dolique
 “ Experiar; *dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirit?*”

80

85

Talia jactantem circumstant undique fixis.
 Haerentes oculis, sperataque gaudia laeto
 Murmure certatim testantur; et unde salutem
 Promissam expectent, rogitant, ardentque doceri.

90

Ille, caput scalpens (nam multum scalpere Cambris
 Expedit), horrendum subrisit, et ora resolvens
 Talia verba refert: “ Cùm fessus membra quieti
 “ Hesternâ sub nocte dedi, et sopor obruit altus
 “ Lumina; Mus audax, sectatus, opinor, odores,
 “ Quos non concoctus pingui exhalavit ab ore
 “ Caseus, accessit furtim, et compage solutis
 “ Faucibus irrepit, jamque ipsa in viscera lapsus,
 “ Crudas ventris opes rapere, hesternamque paravit
 “ Heu! male munito furari e gutture coenam.
 “ Excussus subito sompis, sub dente latronem,

95

100

“ Dum

"Dum resiliere parat, pressi, frustraue rebellem
 "Mordaci vincolo astrinxi. Sic carcere Murem 105
 "Possè capi instructus, nova mox ergastula, mecum
 "Haec meditans, statui fabricare, animoque catenas
 "Effinxi tales, mihi quas suggesterat oris
 "Captivus. Mirum O! quali regit omnia lege
 "Dextra arcana Jovis! Quam caecis passibus errat 110
 "Causarum series! Nobis Mus ipse salutem
 "Invitus dedit, et quos attulit ante dolores,
 "Tollere jam docuit: neve hunc habuisse magistrum
 "Vos pudeat, Patres; *Fas est vel ab hoste doceri.*"

Haec ubi dicta, domum repetit, comitantur euntem 115
 Plaudentes populi, atque benigna laboribus optant
 Omina. Tum celeri sua quisque ad limina cursu
 Nuncius it, laribusque refert, quae munera TAFPI
 Ingenio speranda forent; dumque ordine narrant
 Omnia, dumque Deis, ut tanta incepta secundent, 120
 Vota ferunt; monitae praefago pectore I'eles
 Plus solito lufere, et (si fas credere famae)
 Sub manibus matrum faliere coagula lactis.

Interea TAFPI manibusque animoque vicissim
 Instat magno operi, et *divinâ Palladis arte* 125
 MUSCIPULAM *aedificat*; fit machina mira, novâque
 Induitur vultûs specie Tragi-comica moles.

Quin age, si tibi, Musa, vacat, spectacula pandas
 Infantis fabricae, et percurrens singula, totam
 Compagem expedias. Quadrati lamina ligni 130
 Summum imumque tegit; filorum ferreus ordo
 Munit utrumque latus, parvisque nti fulta columnis
 Stat domus: introitus patet infidiosus, amicum
 Muribus hospitium ostentans; sed desuper horret
 Janua, perniciem minitans, tenuique ruina 135
 Suspensa est filo (usque adeo sua flamina Parcae
 Muribus intexunt, et pendent omnia filo).
 In summo tecti, mediâque in parte tabellae,
 Srat lignum, erectum, scisso cum vertice; cui trabs
 Parvula transversim inferitur, jusleque libratas 140

Utrunque

Utrunque extendit palmas; quarum altera quantum
 Deprimitur, tantum annexam levat altera portam.
 Interiore domo, per testi exile foramen
 Demissum pendet ferrum, quod mobile ludit
 Huc illuc facili tactu; curvatur in hamum
 Infima pars, escamque tenet; pars altera prendit
 Perfidiosa trabem extremam: at cum senferit hostem
 Lethales gustasse cibos, mora nulla, solutam
 Dimittit portam, primumque ulciscitur ictum.

145

His ita dispositis, pendentem protinus hamum
 Induit insidiis TAFFI, exitiosaque Muri
 Ipsa alimenta facit; sed quo fragrantior esset
 Caseus, et Murem invitaret longius, escam
 Fatalem torret flammis, vinque addit odori.

150

Et jam nox memoranda aderat, cum fessa cubili
 Membra levans TAFFI, juxta pulvinar amicam
 MUSCIPULAM statuit, fidoque satellite tutus
 Indulgit facili somno. Gens improba, Mures
 Lascivi interea exiliunt; noctisque silentis
 Praesidio consilii errant: tum naribus acer
 Mus quidam, dux eximius, Diis natus iniquis,
 Castra inimica petit, quo grato flamine tostus.
 Caseus allexit. Venienti prima resistunt
 Clathra, aditumque negant; sed turpem ferre repulsam
 Ille indignatus, munimina ferrea circum
 Curstat, et crispat nasum, introitumque sagaci
 Explorat barbâ; jamque irremeabile limen
 Ingressus, votique potens, tristem arripit escam,
 Exitiumque vorat laetus, potiturque ruinâ.

155

160

165

TAFFI, exaudito strepitu, quem pendula porta
 Lapsa dedit, cubito erigitur, thalamoque triumphans
 Exilit, impatiens discendi, quis novus hospes
 Venerat. Interea furit intrus *Ridiculus Mus*,
 Et fronte, et pedibus pugnât; jamque intervallis
 Clathrorum caput impingit, ferrumque fatigat
 Dentibus insanis. Sic olim in retia Marfus

170

175

Actus

Aetus aper, fremit horrendus, sinuosaque quassat
 Vincula, ludibrium catulis; diffusa per armos
 It spuma, arrectaeque rigent in pectore setae.

Postera lux oritur, decurrunt montibus altis 183
 Praecipites Cambri, nam cunctas venit ad aures
 Res nova; quippe Asinus, solita gravitate remissa,
 Et jam pigritiae oblitus, lascivior haedo
 Aseendit montem, quâ Cambrum, dissonus ore;
 Præconem simulans, ter raucio guttore rudens, 185
 Te celebrat, TAFFI, ter publica narrat amicis
 Gaudia. Bubo etiam (Cambrorum dictus ab illo
 Tempore Legatus) per compita ubique, per urbes,
 Totâ nocte errans, rostrum ferale fenestris
 Stridulus impegit, cecinitque instantia Muri 190
 Funera. *Parturiunt montes*; atque agmine denso
 Penbrochiae multus ruit incola, Merviniaque,
 Quique tenent Bonium, et Mariduni moenia vate
 Inclyta Merlino; veniunt foecunda Glamorgan
 Quos alit, et Vagae potor, rigidusque colonus 195
 Gomerici montis. Tum, circumstante coronâ,
 Illudit capto TAFFI, iratumque laceffens,
 "Nequiequam lucteris (ait), damnaberis arae
 "Victima prima meae, memorique haec limina tinges
 "Sanguine; spes nulla est, retro fugientibus obstant 200
 "Non exorandi postes: dabis, improbe, poenas
 "Pro meritis, vitamque simul cum carcere linques."

Vix ea fatus erat, cum ludicra Felis aprico
 Culmine defiliit recti, quo saepe solebat, 205
 Cruribus extensis, molli languescere luxu.
 Aspicit instantem captivus, et erigit aurcs,
 Gibbosoque riget tergo; nec limen apertum
 Jam tentare audet, sed in ipso carcere solam
 Spem libertatis ponens, sua vincula prensat
 Unguibus hamatis, pedibusque tenacibus haeret. 210
 Exentitur tamen; et Felis rapidissima praedae
 Involat, et frustra luctantem evadere saevo

Implicat amplexu, crudeliaque oscula figit.
 Nulla datur requies; agili sinuamine caudae
 Gaudia testatur victrix, et flexile corpus 215
 Lascivo versans saltu; modo corpore prono
 Attente invigilat Muri, modo colla benignis
 Unguiculis leviter palrans, mentitur amorem.
 Dum lacerare parat; variâ sic arte jocosam
 Barbariem exercet, lepidâque tyrannide ludit. 220

At nugis tandem defessa, nec amplius iram:
 Dissimulans, acuit dentes, et, more leonis
 Impasti, incumbit praedae: jam pectore ab imo
 Murmurat, et tremulos artus, et sanguine sparsa
 Viscera dilaniat. Plebs circumfusa cruorem. 225
 Invisum aspiciens, laetis clamoribus implent
 Aethera; clamoresque Echo, Cambrae incola terrae,
 Laeta refert: resonat Plinlimmonis ardua moles,
 Et Brechin, et Snowdon; vicina ad sidera fertur
 Plausus, et ingenti strepit Offae Fossa tumultu. 230

Tu, TAFFI, aeternum vives; tua munera Cambri
 Nunc etiam celebrant, quotiesque revolvitur annus
 Te memorant; patrium gens grata tuetur honorem,
 Festivoque ornat redolentia tempora porro.

E F N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 26, line 25; read ornate. 45, 18. possit. 46, 20; caniculam. 48, 2; monse. 51, 12; sola. 59, 11; te, tam. 61, 15; Schiena: 17; Orecchie. 70, 3; forent. 74, 10; te exprefs. 75, 3; fragili. 76, 19; Ambarvalia. 85, 15; διευμέν. 87, 27; Laurel. 91, 13; ulmis. 93, penult. δακτύλοι. 95, 7; Liris. 104, 34; patebat. 110, 3; colere: 27; Casia. 144, 10; velut ad. 161, 14; Vellera. 164, 7; habitaretur: 8, οὐδὲν ἔν; 30, fasce. 168, 4; Lubricaque immotas. 172, 18; animo. 179, 12; Alvos. 184, 14; animos. 188, 18; foetis. 191, 21; alvos. 193, 15; Sifter. 195, 14; purpureus. 199, 16; moles. 218, 19; Abury. 219, 1; Agrippa. 239, 14; Sacrae. 248, 4; frusta. 250, 9; agmina. 256, 20; sanguine. 263, 32; *add*, "Nec, quae de parva Dis "pauper libat acerra." 270, 11; stimulos. 272, 8; Ulysses's: 18; Hortatur. 278, 29; ultrix. 284, 5; Quum — ejusque. 285, 13; subjectis. 288, 2; given by. 290, 10; augustum. 291, 13; Saturnusque. 314, 2; ullae. 323, 10; ulva. 338, *ult*. B. XI. 341, 23; quot: 35; ipsa. 344, 22; Pallanta. 346, 7; Punica. 347, 22; Terres. 349, 13; vano. 357, 19; Gortynia. 407, 6; Albos. 413, 20; to the third. 456, 2; Primi. 475, n. ^a δαίμονα — παραπαιδαγωγείν. — συσχηματίζειν. 477, 5; incerto: n. col. 2. l. 2. καὶ μετ. 478, 11; fountain. 487, 14; to the place. 489, 25; the side. 497, 6; *dele*, this care — water. 502, 19; Marcelle. 513, 21; Albenga. 515, 8; sacrae. 527, 2, 3, 4; *dele*, [Pes — est xvi.]: penult. fex millia: *ult*. cclxiiii. 535, 29; virgam et rutilam. 536, 22; Caeterum. 537, 24; facta est. 550, penult. Ambarvalia. 551, penult. et 552, 4; Capua: 19; totâ Italiâ. 554, 5; liquidumque. 559, 10; INVI. 560, 6; imposta: 15; clarissime: 33; ad urbem. 562, 23; transmittitur. 565, 23; Fable. 569, 6; have sunk. 571, 21; COS. 572, 16; ALIMENTOR: 19; MUNICIPII. 573, 29; Ecclesia: 32; AVGVRI. 574, 3; SANCTISSIMAE: 7; AVGVSTAE: 9; GERM. 12; PRAETORIAE. 575, 11; STLITIBVS. 576, 16; modicae. 583, 9; maxime. 584, 5; Albertus. 589, 16; Puteis. 591, 4; aestate. 595, 3; Aurunca. 605, 14; ear. 607, 7; Mandela: 22, Rocca: penult. *dele* and. 611, 16; possint. 614, 50; priscos.